DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 088 379 HE 005 260

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| TITLE | The Women's Educational Equity Act. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities of the Committee on Education and Labor House of Representatives Ninety-Third Congress First Session on H. R. 208. Part I. |
| INSTITUTION | Congress of the U.S., Washington, D.C. House Committee on Education and Labor. |
| PUB DATE | 73 |
| NOTE | 629p. |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$1.05 HC-$30.60 |
| DESCRIPTORS | Civil Rights; *Equal Education; *Equal Protection; *Federal Laws; *Federal Legislation; Females; *Higher Education; Sex Discrimination |
| IDENTIFIERS | United States House of Representatives; *Womens Educational Equity Act of 1973 |

ABSTRACT

This document presents the hearings before the subcommittee on equal opportunities of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Ninety-Third Congress. Hearings concern the Women's Educational Equity Act. It is the purpose of this Act, in order to provide educational equity for women in this country, to encourage the development of new and improved curriculums; to demonstrate the use of such curriculums in model educational programs and to evaluate the effectiveness thereof; to provide support for the initiation and maintenance of programs concerning women at all levels of education; to disseminate instructional materials and other information for use in educational programs throughout the Nation; to provide training programs for parents, teachers, and other educational personnel; to provide for the planning of women's resource centers; to provide improved career, vocational, and physical education programs; to provide for community education programs; to provide programs on the status, roles and opportunities for women in this society; and to provide for the preparation and dissemination of materials for use in mass media. Related document, the Senate hearings, is HE 005 282. (Author/MJM)

ED 088379

# THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

## H.R. 208

A BILL TO AUTHORIZE THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TO MAKE GRANTS TO CONDUCT SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE EDUCATIONAL EQUITY FOR ALL STUDENTS, MEN AND WOMEN, AND FOR OTHER RELATED EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

### PART 1

HEARINGS HELD IN WASHINGTON D.C.,
JULY 25, 26; SEPTEMBER 12, AND 18, 1973

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor
CARL D. PERKINS, *Chairman*

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23-159 WASHINGTON : 1973

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# CONTENTS

Hearings held in Washington, D.C.: Page

July 25, 1973 1
July 26, 1973 177
September 12, 1973 313
September 13, 1973 565
Text of H.R. 208 1

Statement of:

Allen, Hon. Ethel, city council, Philadelphia, Pa 165
Alroy, Phyllis, Women on Words and Images, Princeton, N.J 506
Cole, Katherine W., project director, Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, Washington, D.C 177
Dietrich, Allene, Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in Kalamazoo, Mich 462
Fraser, Mrs. Arvonne, president, Women's Equity Action League, Washington, D.C 7
Frieder, Bernice, chairman, Education Task Force, National Council of Jewish Women 264
Ladky, Ms. Anne, Scott, Foresman & Co., publishers, Glenview, Ill 487
Lehman, Hon. William, a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida 314
Lewis, Dr. Charles L., executive director, American Personnel and Guidance Association, Washington, D.C 282
Morgan, Ellen, coordinator, Task Force on University Compliance, National Organization for Women, Princeton, N.J 276
Norris, Dr. Audrey, chairman, Education of Women Committee, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Cincinnati, Ohio 170
Ramey, Dr. Estelle R., Department of Physiology and Biophysics, School of Medicine, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C 500
Ryan, Jennifer, representing the National Student Lobby, Washington, D.C 299
Sandler, Dr. Bernice, director, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C 37
Schlossberg, Dr. Nancy K., Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C 157
Simonson, Joy, Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women 244

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.:

Abzug, Hon. Bella, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York, statement of, enclosing a report by National Organization for Women 323
Allen, Hon. Ethel, city council, Philadelphia, Pa., statement of 163
Alroy, Phyllis, Women on Words and Images, Princeton, N.J.:
  "Dick and Jane as Victims," a booklet entitled 512
  Letter to Chairman Hawkins, dated September 17, 1973 584
Berndt, Rita J., Baltimore Feminist Project, Baltimore, Md.:
  "Baltimore Feminist Project Report on Sexism and Racism in Elementary School Readers," a report entitled 585
  Letter to Congresswoman Mink, dated September 6, 1973 584
Cole, Katherine W., project director, National Foundation for the Improvement of Education:
  "Sex Role Stereotypes Project," a report 180
  Statement of 177

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued

Page

- Collins, Hon. Cardiss, a Representative in Congress from the State of Illinois, statement of 322
- Dietrich, Allene, Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo, Mich., Public Schools:
  - "Evaluation Sheet for Secondary Textbooks," a document entitled 389
  - Letter to the Board of Education of the Kalamazoo Public Schools from the Committee To Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools, dated May 22, 1973 457
  - Letter to Caspar Weinberger, Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, dated May 29, 1973 460
  - Letter to Kalamazoo Public Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Kalamazoo, Mich., dated August 1, 1973 462
  - "Michigan Convention of PTA—Spring 1973," a document entitled 458
  - "Report of the Elementary School Textbooks Task Force," a report entitled 371
  - "Report of the Personnel Task Force," a report entitled 436
  - "Report of the Physical Education/Athletics Task Force," a report entitled 434
  - "Report of the Selected Studies Task Force," a report entitled 403
  - "Report of the 'Student Oriented' Task Force," a report entitled 391
  - Statement by 365
  - "Summary of the Report of the Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks 387
- Edwards, Hon. Don, a Representative in Congress from the State of California, statement of 363
- Fraser, Mrs. Arvonne, president, Women's Equity Action League, Washington, D.C.:
  - "Sex Discrimination in the Dallas Independent School District," a study of 17
  - Statement of 7
- Gething, Dr. Judith, Hawaii Women's Political Caucus, statement by 571
- Grant, Anne, coordinator, National Organization for Women, letter to Chairman Hawkins, dated September 13, 1973 583
- Herndon, Terry, executive secretary, National Education Association, statement of 303
- Ladky, Anne, Scott, Foresman & Co., publishers, Glenview, Ill.:
  - "Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks," a booklet entitled 477
  - Letter to Chairman Hawkins, dated October 4, 1973 493
  - Statement of 474
- Lehman, Hon. William, a Representative in Congress from the State of Florida, testimony of 313
- Lewis, Dr. Charles L., executive director, American Personnel and Guidance Association:
  - Letter to Hon. Patsy Mink, dated September 6, 1973, enclosing a letter received from Thelma C. Lennon, director, division of pupil personnel services, Raleigh, N.C., along with a statement 284
  - Senate resolutions for 1972 and 1973 regarding women's concerns 286
- McDonald, Diane, Women's Caucus, National Education Association, statement of 229
- Mink, Hon. Patsy, a Representative in Congress from the State of Hawaii:
  - Letter to Congresswoman Mink, dated September 4, 1973 580
  - Mailgram to Congresswoman Mink, dated July 25, 1973 580
  - "Major Step in 'Rights' Direction," a news article entitled 317
  - Telegram to Congresswoman Mink, dated September 14, 1973 580
- Morgan, Ellen, coordinator, Task Force on University Compliance, Princeton, N.J.:
  - Letter to Hon. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., from NOW, dated October 10, 1971 280
  - Statement of 268

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued

Page
Murphy, Irene L., Ph. D., Federation of Organizations for Professional Women, letter to Chairman Hawkins, dated July 30, 1973 ........ 312
Myers, Bessie, chairperson, Education Committee, Hawaii State Commission on the Status of Women, statement by ........ 580
Norris, Dr. Audrey, chairman, Education of Women Committee, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Cincinnati, Ohio, statement of ........ 170
Patten, Hon. Edward J., a Representative in Congress from the State of New Jersey, statement of ........ 361
Ramey, Dr. Estelle R., Prof., Georgetown University School of Medicine, Washington, D.C.:
Letter to chairman, Department of Anatomy, enclosing excerpts from "The Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice" and "Biological Science: Molecules to Man," dated July 12, 1972 ........ 496
Letter to Dr. William V. Mayer, Director, Biological Sciences Curriculum Study, Boulder, Colo., dated April 19, 1973 ........ 495
Statement of ........ 493
Rinaldo, Hon. Matthew J., a Representative in Congress from the State of New Jersey, statement of ........ 361
Ryan, Jennifer, National Student Lobby, statement of ........ 294
Sandler, Dr. Bernice, director, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges:
"A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW," a report ........ 57
Statement of ........ 37
"Women Students: The End of Second Class Citizenship," an article by Margaret Dunkle ........ 41
Saunders, Marion, vice, chairperson, Hawaii State Commission on the Status of Women, letter to Chairman Hawkins, dated August 20, 1973 ........ 581
Schlossberg, Nancy K., director, Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education:
"A Framework for Counseling Women," a publication article ........ 126
"Imperative for Change: Counselor Use of the Strong Vocational Interest Blanks," a magazine article ........ 141
"On measuring the Vocational Interests of Women," a magazine article ........ 145
"Perspectives on Counseling Bias: Implications for Counselor Education," a magazine article ........ 131
Statement of ........ 123
Schroeder, Hon. Patricia, a Representative in Congress from the State of Colorado, statement of ........ 320
Simonson, Joy R., president, Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women:
"Bibliography of Materials From State Commissions of IACSW," a survey by States ........ 243
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Commission on the Status of Women, statement of ........ 255
"Eliminating Sex Bias in Education," a pamphlet ........ 260
"Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, State Capitol, Little Rock, Ark.," a press release ........ 256
Letter from Shirley Bridge, president, Seattle Women's Commission, dated July 18, 1973 ........ 260
Letter from Marjorie Ruth Moon, chairman, Idaho Commission on Women's Programs, dated July 16, 1973, enclosing an excerpt ........ 262
Pittenger, John C., secretary of Education, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, memorandum from ........ 254
"Selected Resolutions—Passed by Third Annual Conference—June 15–17, 1973," resolutions ........ 242
Statement of ........ 240
Wilson, Cristine, chairperson, State Commission on the Status of Women, Des Moines, Iowa, statement of ........ 257

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc.—Continued

Page

Stark, Hon. Fortney H. (Pete), a Representative in Congress from the State of California, testimony of ........ 321

Sullivan, Hon. Leonor K., a Representative in Congress from the State of Missouri, statement of ........ 322

Taylor, Suzanne S., coordinator of research, Connecticut Education Association:

 Letter to Chairman Hawkins, dated July 23, 1973 ........ 304

 Statement of ........ 305

Westervelt, Esther M., director, Institutional Studies, Simmons College, Boston, Mass., "Femininity in American Women: The Influence of Education," an article entitled ........ 572

# THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT

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**WEDNESDAY, JULY 25, 1973**

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities
of the Committee on Education and Labor,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to notice, in room 2261, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Hawkins, Mink, and Chisholm.

[H.R. 208, 93d Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to conduct special educational programs and activities designed to achieve educational equity for all students, men and women, and for other related educational purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973".

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds and declares that present educational programs in the United States are inequitable as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups and limit their full participation in American society.

(b) It is the purpose of this Act, in order to provide educational equity for women in this country, to encourage the development of new and improved curriculums; to demonstrate the use of such curriculums in model educational programs and to evaluate the effectiveness thereof; to provide support for the initiation and maintenance of programs concerning women at all levels of education (preschool through adult education); to disseminate instructional materials and other information for use in educational programs throughout the Nation; to provide training programs for parents, teachers, other educational personnel, youth and guidance counselors, community leaders, labor leaders, industrial and business leaders, and government employees at the State, Federal, and local level; to provide for the planning of women's resource centers; to provide improved career, vocational, and physical education programs; to provide for community education programs; to provide programs on the status, roles, and opportunities for women in this society; and to provide for the preparation and dissemination of materials for use in mass media.

(c) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as prohibiting men from participating in any of the activities funded.

Sec. 3. (a) There is hereby established within the Office of Education a Council on Women's Educational Programs (hereinafter referred to as the "Council") consisting of twenty-one members (including not less than twelve women) appointed by the President. The Council shall consist of persons broadly representative of the public and private sectors with due regard to their knowledge and experience relating to the role and status of women in American society, and with due consideration being given to geographical representation. The Director of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, the Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and the Director of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Women's Action Program shall serve as ex officio members of the Council. The Council shall be provided with adequate staff and facilities to carry out its duties as prescribed by this Act.

(b) The President shall appoint one member of the Council to serve as its Chairman. The Chairman shall be compensated at a rate not to exceed the maximum rate prescribed for grade GS–17 in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

(c) The remaining twenty members of the Council shall serve without compensation, except that they shall be allowed travel and subsistence expenses while actually engaged in the business of the Council as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

(d) The members of the Council shall serve for terms of three years, each, except that the initial appointments shall be made in accordance with procedures designed to allow for the staggering of appointments so that the member or members whose terms expire in any year will be approximately the same as the number of members whose terms expire in any other year.

(e) The Council shall—

(1) advise the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") concerning the administration of, preparation of, general regulations for, and operations of, programs assisted under this Act;

(2) make recommendations to the Secretary with respect to the allocation of any funds pursuant to this Act, with due respect to the criteria developed to insure an appropriate geographical distribution of approved programs and projects throughout the Nation;

(3) develop criteria for the establishment of program priorities;

(4) develop programs and procedures for reveiw of projects assisted under this Act annually; and

(5) develop and disseminate an annual independent report of the programs and activities authorized under this Act.

Sec. 4. (a) The Council shall advise, review and make recommendations for the administration of the programs authorized by this Act, and the coordination of activities within the Federal Government which are related to women's educational programs.

(b) The Secretary shall annually present to the Council a design for a program of making grants to, and contracts with, institutions of higher education, State and local educational agencies, regional research organizations, and other public and private nonprofit agencies, organizations, and institutions (including libraries and museums) to support research, demonstration, and pilot projects designed to fulfill the purposes of this Act; and shall carry out a program of grants and contracts for such purposes in accordance with the policies of the Council; except that no grant may be made other than to a nonprofit agency, organization, or institution.

(c) Funds appropriated for grants and contracts under this section shall be available for (but not limited to) such activities as—

(1) the development of curriculums;

(2) dissemination of information to public and private pre-school, elementary, secondary, higher, adult, and community education programs;

(3) the support of women's educational programs at all educational levels;

(4) preservice and inservice training programs;

(5) projects including courses of study, fellowship programs, conferences, institutes, workshops, symposiums, and seminars;

(6) research, development, and dissemination of curriculums, texts and materials, nondiscriminatory tests, and programs for adequate and nondiscriminatory vocational education and career counseling for women;

(7) development of new and expanded programs of physical education and sports activities for women in all educational institutions;

(8) planning and operation of women's resource centers;

(9) community education programs concerning women, including special programs for adults;

(10) preparation and distribution of materials;

(11) program or projects to recruit, train, and organize and employ professional and other persons, and to organize and participate in women's educational programs;

(12) research and evaluation of the effectiveness of such programs;

(13) research and development of programs aimed at increasing the number of women in administrative positions at all levels in institutions of education;

(14) research and development of programs aimed at obtaining and maintaining an adequate distribution of instructors, counselors, and other professionals of both sexes in educational institutions;

(15) training, educational, and employment programs for unemployed and underemployed women; and

(16) research and development of programs aimed at increasing the proportion of women in fields in which they have not traditionally participated.

(d) In addition to the activities specified in this section, such funds may be used for projects designed to demonstrate, test, and evaluate the effectiveness of any such activities, whether or not assisted under this Act.

(e) Financial assistance under this section may be made available only upon application to the Secretary. Any such application shall be submitted at such time, in such form, and containing such information as the Secretary shall prescribe by regulation and shall be approved only if it—

(1) provides that the activities and services for which assistance is sought will be adminisetered by, or under the supervision of, the applicant;

(2) describes a program for carrying out one or more of the purposes of this Act which holds promise of making a substantial contribution toward attaining such purposes;

(3) sets forth policies and procedures which assure that Federal funds made available under this Act for any fiscal year will be used so as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be made available by the applicant for the purposes described in this section, and in no case supplant such funds;

(4) sets forth policies and procedures which insure adequate evaluation of the activities intended to be carried out under the application;

(5) provides for such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this Act;

(6) provides for making an annual report, and such other reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Secretary may reasonably require, and for keeping such records and affording such access thereto as the Secretary may find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports; and

(f) For the purposes of this section, the Secretary shall require evidence that an organization or group seeking funds shall have been in existence one year prior to the submission of a proposal for Federal funds and that it shall submit an annual report to the Secretary on Federal funds expended. The Secretary may waive such one-year existence requirement where it is determined that an organization or group existing for less than one year was formed because of policies or practices of a predecessor organization which discriminated by sex, provided that such organization or group meets eligibility standards in other respects.

(g) Amendments of applications shall, except as the Secretary may otherwise provide by or pursuant to regulation, be subject to approval in the same manner as the original applications.

Sec. 5. The Secretary, in cooperation with the heads of other agencies with relevant jurisdiction, shall insofar as practicable, upon request, render technical assistance to local educational agencies, public and private nonprofit organizations, institutions at all levels of education, agencies of State, local, and Federal governments and other agencies deemed by the Secretary to affect the status of women in this society. Such technical assistance shall be designed to enable the recipient agency or institution to carry on education and related programs concerning the status and education and the role of women in American society.

Sec. 6. The Secretary is authorized to make grants to, or enter into contracts with, public or private nonprofit agencies, organizations, and other institutions for planning and carrying out community-oriented education programs or projects on women in American society for the benefit of interested and concerned adults, young persons, ethnic and cultural groups, community and business leaders, and other individuals and groups within a community. Such programs or projects may include, among other things, seminars, workshops, conferences, counseling, and information services to provide advice, information, or assistance to individuals with respect to discrimination practices, and vocational counseling, and will include information centers designed to serve individuals and groups seeking to obtain or disseminate information, advice, or assistance with respect to the purposes and intent of this Act.

Sec. 7. (a) In addition to the grants authorized under section 4, the Secretary from the sums appropriated therefor, shall have the authority to make grants, not to exceed $15,000 annually per grant, for innovative approach to women's educational programs.

(b) Proposals submitted by organizations and groups under this section shall be limited to the essential information required to evaluate them, unless the organization or group shall volunteer additional information.

SEC. 8. In administering the provisions of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and of any other public or private agency or institution in accordance with appropriate agreements, and to pay for such services either in advance or by way of reimbursement, as may be agreed upon. The Secretary shall publish annually a list and description of projects supported under this Act, and shall distribute such list and description to interested educational institutions, citizens' groups, women's organizations, and other institutions or organizations and individuals involved in the education, status, and role of women.

SEC. 9. Payments under this Act may be made in installments and in advance or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of previously made overpayments or underpayments.

SEC. 10. As used in this Act, the term "State" includes (in addition to the several States of the Union) the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

SEC. 11. There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $15,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976, and $40,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 1977 for carrying out the purposes of this Act.

Mr. HAWKINS. The Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities is called to order.

The hearing this morning is on the Women's Educational Equity Act, H.R. 208. I am very pleased that through these hearings the subcommittee will examine the issues of sex discrimination and sex role stereotypes in education. The tremendous impact of education on children's life chances is clearly established. Through schooling, children learn to perceive their own worth, capabilities, goals, and limitations. But the school can also be an influence in limiting opportunities and restricting individual growth.

I want to commend Representative Patsy Mink, particularly for her leadership and innovation in sponsoring legislation to encourage new approaches in education which will do away with the stricture of old stereotypes.

At this time, to begin what we anticipate will be a series of hearings that will commence here in Washington, but which will take the committee across the country in various places, I would like to have our two distinguished members have some expression at this time. I will call first on Mrs. Patsy Mink, the author of the bill, H.R. 208.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to express my personal appreciation to the chairman of the subcommittee, Congressman Hawkins, for making possible the inauguration of these hearings which I believe will have a very profound effect upon not only the course of education in America, but will be the driving force toward the accomplishment of full equal opportunity in this country.

The quest for equal rights for women has, as its ultimate objective, a society in which all individuals are free to develop and participate freely and fully in American life and leadership. But without the practical means to open up opportunities, the equal rights amendments and legislation to prohibit discrimination in employment will remain wholly promises.

The Women's Educational Equity Act will provide such practical direction through teacher training, curriculum development, community programs, counseling, and other means. It will confront sex bias, in testing, vocational training, and in the hidden curriculum—the rituals and roles of school.

But most important, this legislation seeks to do away with the whole concept of sex role stereotyping in education.

A few days ago, I ran across a Gallup poll in which parents were asked, "If you had a son, would you like to see him go into politics as a life's work?" Son, not daughter, not child, just son. Why in 1973 is it still conceivable for a national organization such as the Gallup poll to contemplate politics in the public concept as something which is still strictly limited to men?

Let me read to you from a children's book, "I'm Glad I Am A Boy, I'm Glad I'm a girl," by Whitney Darrow, Jr. This book was published in 1970, not 1930 or 1920, but in the year 1970. Let me just show you some of the illustrations that I think really go to the heart of what this legislation is attempting to achieve.

Here is a picture in the book, "Boys are doctors, girls are nurses." "Boys are policemen, girls are metermaids." "Boys are pilots, girls are stewardesses." And I am sure my colleague, Mrs. Chisholm, would be interested in this, "Boys are Presidents, girls are First Ladies." "Boys can eat, girls can cook." "Boys invent things, girls use what boys invent."

Well, that is an illustration of what our problems are in school. I think this book shows very vividly why in 1971, according to the most recent statistics, only 2.8 percent of the lawyers were women and only 7.6 of our doctors were women. It shows why there is still no woman Justice on the Supreme Court and no Member of the U.S. Senate is a woman. Boys are expected to be strong, aggressive, competent, unemotional. Girls are taught to be submissive and dependent.

The hardship which these stereotypes impose on children is permanently damaging and in my view more so on boys. Boys are expected to act out more and are therefore subjected to more discipline in school. They are prodded to succeed, often beyond their interests or capabilities. Few parents have ever apologized for their daughters who did not make the bar examinations, but there are legions of parents who have to apologize for sons who fail to go to law school or medical school.

The school system is but one aspect of society and cannot be held wholly responsible for attitudes toward sex roles which pervade the whole fabric of society. Education is the most organized and systematic agent of socialization. No other activity except sleeping occupies so much of a child's time, 10,000 hours by graduation from high school. School does not have to channel boys and girls into separate activities. There does not have to be a biased and prejudiced curriculum. The roles in school do not have to sharply differentiate between boys and girls.

It is the job of education to prepare children to meet changes in society capably and intelligently and in accordance to their individual needs. Most females in school today are going to work outside of the home a good part of their lives. They don't spend their lives in kitchens. The stereotype of adult women encased in aprons and children is less relevant to the experience of children today.

It is important for children to have models upon which to shape their conceptions. All too often the rigid role stereotypes taught in schools are reinforced by the authority structure of the school itself.

Eighty-five percent of all elementary school teachers are women, while 79 percent of the principals are men.

These hearings will begin the subcommittee's in-depth study of the role of education in sex stereotyping. We plan to examine the impact of counseling and teacher attitudes on channeling boys and girls into traditional work. We will consider the woman who is entering education late in life after her responsibilities as a mother and wife are completed.

We will look into the limited opportunities offered women in vocational training and in advancement in the professions.

This is for me, Mr. Chairman, a most exciting moment in my nearly 10 years of service in the Congress. I am extremely pleased that you have given the women of this country an opportunity to pursue this subject matter through these hearings.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Mrs. Mink.

Before introducing the next member, may I make this explanation. In light of what Mrs. Mink has said that I want you to realize that in the Congress boys are not always the chairmen and girls the members.

The next person whom I will introduce is our distinguished member from New York and I am quite sure that if the seniority rule did not prevail, she probably would be chairman of the committee, but seniority and not sex in this instance was a controlling factor.

Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Thank God the day has come when the women of this country really have an opportunity to make public statements about what has been occurring for many, many years behind the scenes with respect to the stereotyping of women in this country.

I think we have to recognize, first of all, that we must give a great deal of attention to the tradition in this country, a tradition whereby women have been given certain prescribed roles from the time they were brought into the world and wrapped in those pink blankets.

Immediately at that particular time, the stereotyping began.

We have to recognize further that there are thousands of women in this country today, particularly in our educational institutions, who have labored in the vineyards for many, many years and have not had an opportunity to move up the ladder. I am particularly interested and concerned because for 7 years of my life in the State of New York, I have been involved in making a study of such universities as Brooklyn College and NYU, in terms of this question of what do we do with women who have exhibited leadership potential and superior intellectual abilities. The study concerned how we treat them in terms of the overall picture of this society and how we can move them up to positions commensurate with their intelligence, experience, and education.

We have to first of all bring out in the open the traditional stereotyping in this society. This is why I think this is a wonderful opportunity to have women come in from all areas and testify publicly so that the American public becomes aware that this is not a situation that is just being grabbed on by a few women libbers.

It is a human situation that has to be dealt with intelligently to meet the circumstances of the day.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Mrs. Chisholm.

The first witness is Mrs. Arvonne Fraser, president of the Women's Equity Action League, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Fraser, it is a pleasure to welcome you before the committee. Your very distinguished husband is not a stranger to this committee. He certainly is doing a tremendous job in the Congress, in the House. It is a pleasure certainly to have you as a coworker in that family present your views before this commitee this morning.

## STATEMENT OF ARVONNE FRASER, PRESIDENT, WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Fraser. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee.

I am delighted to be here. This is the first time I have testified. I have watched my husband occasionally. So I am honored that I came to testify for such a bill. I come as president of the Women's Equity Action League, a national women's rights organization primarily interested in education, legislation, and the legal and economic rights of women. I have submitted copies of my testimony. I have brought with me the whole "Study of Sex Discrimination."

Mr. Hawkins. Mrs. Fraser, without objection, the statement that you have presented will be printed in the record in its entirety at this point. I see that you are summarizing and departing from the prepared statement, but the statement itself will appear in the record.

[The statement referred to follows:]

### Statement by Arvonne Fraser, President, Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)

I have come to testify in favor of the Women's Educational Equity Act both as President of WEAL, a national women's rights organization primarily interested in education, legislation and the legal and economic rights of women, and as a mother of six children—four of them daughters. My children attended schools here in Washington, in Minneapolis, and in Montgomery County, Md. I rode a school bus from kindergarten through high school and then went off to the University of Minnesota.

So I come to testify with some personal experience with various kinds of public schools—rural, inner city and suburban—and with a deep commitment to public education and to equal opportunity in education.

Free, public education is one of the underpinnings of American democracy and it is an important factor in our economy.

Our public school system is good but it is not perfect. It needs improvement.

Our educational system has given boys and men first place long enough. Traditionally, we have looked at the education of girls as a kind of life insurance—something they need "just in case"—just in case their husband can't support them, in case they can't find a husband or in case they need to support themselves while looking for a husband.

It is WEAL's position and our goal through this legislation to help educate each and every child—male or female, rich or poor, black or white—to be self-sufficient, self-confident, and capable of self-support.

We want children to be educated as individuals, not as *assigned* members of a group. We believe that it is as bad for any teacher to look at girls as only future wives and mothers as it is for teachers to look at certain kids and decide they are never going to make it so it's not worth wasting much time on them. Both attitudes are wrong and not to be tolerated in our schools.

And although WEAL has been noted primarily for its work in higher education (we are the group that has filed charges of sex-discrimination against over 300 colleges and universities under Executive Order 11246 as amended), we have realized that working at sexism in higher education is late. Discrimination in education starts in kindergarten. Therefore WEAL is now working on elementary and secondary education and on vocational education.

But before I talk about elementary and secondary education I want to make one short plea for people to start thinking of education not just as an activity concentrated in the first quarter or third of one's life. Rather, we believe that education should be a lifetime process. Training and retraining as well as education for personal growth and pleasure should be available to all people regardless of age, sex, race, creed or national origin. To tell a person they are too old to learn is to tell them they are dead; to tell them they are too old to change careers or be retrained is to admit a rigidity that should not be supported with public funds. To employ any of these forms of discrimination is to injure society.

One of the reasons WEAL is concerned about age discrimination is that we realize many women do take time off from working outside the home to have and raise children. Thus, there are often breaks in their education and in their working careers.

But labor statistics will show that most women (over 90%) work outside the home at some time during their lives, and that currently women are 38% of the work force. Over 40% of the women over 16 years of age are in the work force. Many of them are married and many have children under 18. More than half the children in school today have mothers who work outside the home.[1]

Thus, it is not even accurate, to say nothing of honest, to expect little girls to become only housewives and mothers. They do much more. They are workers—inside and outside the home. They are citizens and they deserve equal treatment before the law, on the job, and in our schools.

This is not to say that being a housewife and mother is a bad thing. Frankly, I liked raising little kids and I hate housework. I'm willing to pay decent wages for household help and respect the person who helps me. I know some women who do very creative jobs at keeping house and they enjoy it. That is their choice and I respect them for it. But that does not mean that all women should be assigned to housework and caring for children only. There's much more to a woman's life than that.

Bearing and raising children takes only a very small part of a woman's life these days—on the average about 10 years from the birth of the first child until the last child goes off to school. And ten years out of a woman's life is not a very long time. My own grandmother just died a year or so ago at 94. She had thirteen children. Her last child went off to kindergarten some 50 years before she died. She spent—even with 13 kids—more years of her life working outside the home than she did at home with children. And though her great-granddaughters—girls in school today—will not have thirteen children, they too will live a long time and many of them will spend the greater part of their lives working outside the home.

Our schools must begin to deal with the reality of people's lives, not with stereotyped or idealized concepts of life.

That's what the legislation we are discussing today is about.

### TEXTS AND MATERIALS

In the last few years there have been numerous studies pointing out that school readers do not give equal treatment to boys and girls. First these articles appeared in feminist sheets or magazines and then they appeared in scholarly journals. Now they are in the Sunday supplements. The July 1, 1973 *Parade*, a magazine distributed with numerous U.S. Sunday newspapers, has an article entitled: "Do Kids' Schoolbooks Distort Sex Roles?" by Ilene Barth. This article reports on a publication by a New Jersey group of women called "Dick and Jane as Victims"[2]

*Parade* lists the New Jersey groups findings as:

"*Males Dominate*

"More than two-thirds of all stories are about boys or men.

"Boys are presented in active, creative situations like building walkie-talkies, or using their wits in capturing hijackers, dealing with a genie, or solving problems for girls or even mother.

"Girls are pictured quietly watching boys play, or in domestic activities like cooking, cleaning the house, or sewing. Often girls are teased by boys for their stupidity when they make mistakes.

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[1] For statistics on working mothers see "Who Are the Working Mothers?" leaflet 37 (Rev.) 1972. Women's Bureau.

[2] Available for $1.50 from Women on Words and Images, P.O. Box 2163, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

"Men are illustrated in a variety of occupations, 147 in all. Women are shown in only 26 occupations, most of them mere extensions of household labor—cooking in a school cafeteria, for example.

"Fathers solve problems for everyone and frequently participate in joint activities with their kids.

"Mothers, however, rarely have a life apart from housework, seldom leave the kitchen, and are more likely to scold than play with their children."

And then the article points out publishers reactions:

"Macmillan plans to use some artwork in a few of its readers . . ."

"Bank Street Publications chairman . . . 'In anything new we write, . . . we'll try to improve the balance between girls and boys . . .' "

But the publishers complain that it takes "half a million dollars to launch a new series, and a few millions more before the publisher makes a profit . . . No one is willing to drop or do complete overhauls of series which now exist. Changes will come—but over a period of years."

An earlier article by Dr. Mary Ritchie Key of the University of California, Irvine,[3] notes the spontaneous growth of studies about children's readers and children's literature. "The studies overwhelmingly document discrimination and prejudice against females in children's books," Dr. Key points out and then goes on to discuss the studies.

"One of the earliest statements in the recent acknowledgement of sex prejudice in children's books was made by the well known anthropologist, John Honigmann, in *Personality in Culture* (1967):

> "Reflecting a poorly concealed bias in American society, central characters in the stories are male more than twice as often as they are female. Surely this confirms the reader's belief that one sex is more important than the other, even if that isn't the only way he finds it out. . . . In other words, girls are pictured as kind, timid, inactive, unambitious, and uncreative. . . . The school readers portray males as bearers of knowledge and wisdom, and also as the persons through whom knowledge reaches a child.

"Some of the other recent textbooks adopted or recommended for second through sixth grade in California were analyzed by U'Ren, Gail Ann Vincent, and our committee. In these books at least 75 percent of the main characters are male. . . .

"Vincent's study concentrates on the socialization of the female in the California textbook series. . . .

"With regard to physical tasks, Vincent observes that boys are more competent than girls in the California textbooks: the boy fixes his bike and rides it while the kneeling girl admires him; the boy shoots a basket, while the girl tries and misses.

"In creative activities the males also excel: A boy is the best painter; a boy is the best story teller; father is the best at riddles; a boy wins a contest in snow-sculpting.

"In children's books, females do not have the freedom to inquire, explore, and achieve . . . Vincent analyzes the repeated theme of a female not succeeding and notes that when a girl does initiate a tree-climbing episode, punishment is the result (a broken leg for one boy), and a grandmotherly character scolds her for shameful behavior: 'What's wrong with you?'

"With regard to pictures and illustrations, U'Ren found that many California textbooks included females in only about 15 percent of the illustrations. . . .

"The treatment of females in comedy is another area of concern in children's books. Too often the butt of the joke in poems and stories is a female . . .

"Diane Stavn analyzed for attitudes about girls and women novels which are known to be popular with boys. She made two observations: '. . . the sweeping, sometimes contradictory' incidental comments about the female sex, and 'the fact that the girlfriends and mothers are almost always unrealized or unpleasant characters—and one-dimensional, idealized, insipid, bitchy, or castrating—while sexually neutral characters, such as little sisters and old ladies, are most often well conceived and likeable.' . . . Good old Mom, on the other hand, often is depicted as 'an insipid lady who flutters around chronically worrying and inanely commenting.' . . . According to her literature, a female has no alternate life styles, but lives in a limited world with no control over

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[3] "The Role of Male and Female in Children's Books—Dispelling All Doubt," Wilson Library Bulletin, October, 1971, p. 167–176. (The bibliography at the end of this article is excellent.)

**her future. Nilsen calls this the 'cult of the apron' and notes that this conditioning starts early. Of fifty-eight picture books which happened to be on a display cart of children's literature at Eastern Michigan University last year, twenty-one had pictures of women wearing aprons . . .**

"It is well known nowadays that 40 percent of all mothers work, and yet many studies indicate that there is not one mention of a working mother in the particular group of books reviewed . . . And a notable discrepancy is the *Bank Street Readers*, a series designed for the inner-city child. In the three books, only one mother is shown as a working mother, a woman who serves in a cafeteria.

"In Jamie Frisof's analysis of social studies textbooks, men are shown in or described in over one hundred different jobs and women in less than thirty, and in these thirty jobs, women serve people or help men to do more important work. Men's work requires more training; men direct people and plan things; men go places and make decisions; at meetings men are always the speakers; men make the money and are the most important members of the families . . . Rarely are men and women working together or seen in equally competent roles . . .

"Regarding professional persons depicted in children's books, Heyn points out that among the several books in the field of health and medicine, without exception the doctor is portrayed as a white male—nurses and receptionists as female.

"U'Ren and Vincent report that one of the California textbooks gave an account of Madame Curie, where she appears to be little more than a helpmate for her husband's projects . . . 'The illustration which accompanies this section reinforces that view of her. It portrays Madame Curie peering mildly from around her husband's shoulder while he and another distinguished gentleman loom in the foreground engaged in serious dialogue.' . . .

"The Little Miss Muffet syndrome, which depicts females as helpless, easily frightened, and dreadfully dull, occurs over and over again in the literature. If one compares this image . . . with the potential of women in adulthood, it becomes apparent that both male and female have difficulty in participating in equal sharing dialogues at the professional level. Males who have grown up learning dialogues such as are in children's books today are not able to listen to a female in adult life. Males paralyze when a rare female makes a constructive suggestion. Likewise females are trained not to take their share, or hold their own in decision-making interchange. There are no linguistic models in this early literature for females to take active parts in the dialogue nor for males to respond with dignified acceptance and a willingness to listen . . .

I have made extensive quotes from Dr. Key's article but she and her committee surveyed most of the work done up to the time of her publication and therefore it is an important piece. It states the case for the need for new materials. How can girls emerge from school with any self-confidence or much self-respect with that kind of image portrayed in their texts?

The Ann Arbor Committee to Eliminate Sexual Discrimination in the Public Schools[4] looked at both math and reading books used in the elementary grades. They discovered that the math books had "fairly adequate racial representation but are totally rigid with regard to male-female membership, particularly in the case of occupational groupings. Men may be doctors, astronauts, chefs, policemen and firemen while women may be nurses, stewardesses and waitresses." This study goes on to point out that it is not only adults who are "stereotyped in math book pictures . . . boys are active . . . run and play. Girls tend to stand and smile sweetly and jump rope."

In another study, a group of Yale faculty women led by Lenore Weitzman of the Law School compiled material for a paper read this fall at the American Sociological Association meeting entitled: "Sex Role Socialization in Picture Books for Pre-School Children." They examined award-winning children's books as well as the Little Golden Books. These books are both the nation's best books, according to experts, and, in the case of the Little Golden Books, the best sellers. Weitzman and her group discovered that "Most children's books are about boys, men, and male animals and most deal exclusively with male adventures."[5] In the sample of Caldecott winners and runners-up they found 261 pictures of males compared to 23 of females. This comes out of an 11 to 1 ratio. If animals with sexual identities are included the bias is even worse—95 males to one female.

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[4] Let Them Aspire! A Plea and Proposal for Equality of Opportunity for Males and Females in the Ann Arbor Public Schools" prepared by the committee to eliminate sexual discrimination in the public schools. Mimeographed May, 1971.

[5] Paper read at the section on sociology of sex roles at the American Sociological Association meeting, September 2, 1971, in Denver, Colorado.

This past winter I was asked to appear on a TV show here in Washington to talk about children's readers. I decided I needed some props so I asked my 10-year-old to bring home some books. Her principal cooperated by sending home a variety of readers. Though I was mentally prepared to have the above findings confirmed, I was actually shocked. Every mother in the piece was either incompetent or stupid—little boys were always helping them out of trouble. Girls couldn't do anything right and were constantly insulted.

Boys were the smart ones and had all the fun. Husbands drove wives to the bus stop so they could go shopping and mothers always wore aprons and did dishes. Girls don't come out either self-sufficient, self-confident or capable of self-support. These readers are about two generations behind the times.

The need for new texts and materials is obvious. The publishers admit they aren't going to do it.—not until it becomes profitable and the old books are worn out. Even if publishers were interested in doing non-sexist textbooks, I have heard it said by educators and administrators that it takes about five years to get a textbook from writer to child. At that rate, if the writter was working now, today's kindergartner would be in 5th grade, the fifth grader in high school and the high schooler in college or out working before the text got to class.

This is why the bill before you calls for development and dissemination of new materials. We do not have time to wait for the private sector to find them profitable and produce them.

Teachers need supplementary materials and they need to be taught how to use them. For I fear not all teachers are as creative or as aware as Ms. Anne McEvoy Schmid who explained in a recent issue of American Teacher[*] how she developed her own non-sexist curriculum.

"Materials I have used with my eight and nine-year-olds this school year include library books, textbooks, newspaper and magazine pictures and articles, a flannelboard story I made, and other devices.

"Methods vary. I have used storytelling, a skit, discussions, creative writing, and others. One method I have found especially enlightening is criticism of existing materials . . .

"We had a lot of fun the day I read 'What Will I Be From A to Z.' a soft-cover 'career guide for primary pupils' that shows women performing six out of 20 jobs: homemaker, librarian, nurse, office worker, teacher, and violinist. In the discussion that followed, we decided which jobs could be performed by women and discovered that all, with the possible exception of quarterback, could and should be handled by women . . . I felt pretty good when I saw a mother later that afternoon and she told me her son had come home and said, 'Guess what? We found out today that girls can be judges! * * *'

"While there are many specific lessons that can and must be drawn up, and many materials already obtainable that must be compiled and organized into teachable units, there remains much more material to be produced. The 'Miss Muffet Fights Back' booklist should be extended . . . We need good books (text and trade), and it isn't going to happen overnight . . .

"Unfortunately, there seems to be a dearth of visual aids. I have yet to see a poster-sized picture of Susan B. Anthony, and while I was able to get a beautiful poster of Sojourner Truth, the well-known abolitionist and feminist, it was only because I happened to be in a small, out-of-the-way bookstore and saw it there. I am also unable to get big pictures of women doctors and dentists, suitable for wall or bulletin-board display along with a reminder to visit your doctor or dentist twice a year or whatever. Pictures of women doing jobs formerly done by men are sorely needed for display in elementary schools. It is our job to provide suitable role models . . .

"Feminism in education is more than material; it is a point of view and an attitude that permeates the entire curriculum and affects nearly every aspect of teacher-pupil behavior . . .

"When devising worksheets, use non-sexist language. One vocabulary test I made this year had this sentence in it: 'Father hustled after baby as she crawled toward the stairway.' And I don't need to tell an elementary-school teacher what an obvious reversal this is . . .

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[*] November, 1972, CE-4-5., published by the American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C.

"Feminism must be taught, and caught, in the classroom. It must not be relegated to a two-week unit on women in history and then neglected the rest of the year. Eventually, a teacher will become so attuned to discrimination that his or her ears will perk up when he or she is confronted with any offensive materials. The teacher will become adept at editing films, filmstrips, texts, or people, and so will the students."

Ms. Schmid makes an excellent case for this legislation—materials and new curriculum ideas and aids are needed and the private markets are not supplying them. Meanwhile, children are going to school and using the old, discriminatory materials.

On an older group level, our WEAL group in Dallas, Texas, along with the American Association of University Women, the Dallas County Women's Political Caucus, the League of Women Voters, the Unitarian Women's Alliance and Women for Change did an exhaustive study of sex discrimination in the Dallas Independent School District.[7] I am attaching a copy of the study for the committee but I would like to quote here some examples of sex-stereotyping and sex-discrimination in history texts recently adopted by the Dallas schools:

"1. Lack of Women in Material

""*In Americans All—A Nation of Immigrants* (Benefic Press, 1972), a 5th grade history text, only 17 women are named or mentioned out of 210 immigrants.

"*In Foundation of Freedom*, U.S. History to 1877 (Laidlaw, 1972), an 8th grade history text, women are mentioned or shown 22 times in the 516 pages.

"2. Women Mentioned in Relationship to Males

"The following passages are the only two mentions of Eleanor Roosevelt in *The Adventure of the American People* (Rand McNally, 1972), a high school history text:

" 'In the same year he wed a distant cousin, the gifted and energetic Eleanor Roosevelt. (She was given in marriage by her Uncle Theodore, the President of the United States, who had come from Washington for the occasion.)'

" '. . . and he and Mrs. Roosevelt showed warm sympathy for people of this minority.'

" '. . . the President and the attractive First Lady, Jacqueline ("Jackie").'

" 'Especially to lure women into the growing audience, newspapers and magazines invented the human-interest story.'

"The woman's club movement grew stronger after the beginning of the century as the "weaker sex" attempted to put its increasing leisure time to good works.'

" 'But, meanwhile, in addition to political freedom, the so-called gentle sex was finding social freedom in postwar America that was startling even to the suffragettes.' (The four preceding quotations from *The Adventures of the American People*, Rand McNally, 1972, a high school history text).

" 'Elizabeth C. Stanton, a wife and the mother of seven children . . .' (*From Foundation of Freedom*, U.S. History to 1877, Laidlaw 1972, an 8th grade history text)."

The Dallas group recommends:

". . . Provide a workshop, seminar, and/or staff development program for librarians to provide information on sexism in books, recommended supplementary materials, and other educational aids.

". . . Allot funds for the generation and purchase of presently available non-sexist curriculum materials."

WEAL believes that passage of this bill would help carry out these fine recommendations. In Section 4(c)(4) funds are requested to be made available for preservice and inservice training programs, and in (c)(5) for group conferences, symposiums, seminars and institutes.

All of us are victims or products of our own past, of our own education and our own socialization. Today's teachers have not escaped the sex-role stereotyping and socialization which is described here. Teachers must be made aware of their own sex biases; they must be trained and retrained to treat students as individuals with potential to learn and not as males and females with roles to play. Preservice and inservice training institutes and seminars have become accepted in the civil and human rights field. Short courses, seminars and institutes must be developed in the same way to combat sexism and open up opportunities and options for all children. And programs, fellowships, conferences, seminars and institutes must also be developed to work out new course materials and curriculum showing the positive contributions of women to society and the reality of women's lives in the past, present and future.

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[7] Available from Dallas WEAL, % Dr. Paula Latimer—mimeographed, 24 pps. $2.00 mailed.

Our teacher training institutions must be encouraged to de-sex their courses and curriculum, bringing women into the mainstream and into equal partnership in education. They must quit considering teachers (female) as the servants of the system and administrators (male) as the executives and policymakers for the system. First priority should be given to educating children.

### VOCATIONAL AND CAREER EDUCATION

A major goal of education is to prepare the individual for the world of work—inside and outside the home—and for a vocation which will make that individual capable of self-support.

Domestic work and the care of children is socially valuable and necessary work. People should be taught to do it well and have a respect for it. To be able to take care of food, clothing, and housing is a necessary set of skills. All children should learn these self-sufficiency skills. This means that the traditionally sexually-separated course of home-ec and shop or industrial arts must be integrated and updated. This is a machine-oriented society and both boys and girls need to know how to operate and take care of machines. Boys and girls, also need to know something about the purchase and preparation of food, something about nutrition, the care of their clothing and how to clean up after themselves. Consumer education is also necessary in this day when we buy everything. Typing is a valuable skill. Every child ought to be taught to type in the upper elementary grades; it should come right after handwriting, or penmanship. Teaching typing as a word-skill, as a machine skill and as a vocational skill would be a great asset to thousands of children.

But instead of training all children in these skills, our schools have been assigning these skills on the basis of sex. That's stupid and wrong and a waste of *man*power.

WEAL is grateful for the anti-sex discrimination provisions in Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which starts out: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." Those words are music to the ears of every woman. And we hope that this subcommittee will make sure that HEW carries out the provisions of Title IX. We are anxiously awaiting the guidelines for implementation of this legislation.

But still we need this act—the Women's Educational Equity Act—to help make non-discrimination a reality. We need, for example some creative thinking about, planning for, and counseling in vocational and career education. I have a great fear that this new thing—career education—is simply old stereotyping under a new name. And I'm going to cite the Washington, D.C. schools as an example, not because they are any worse than others but rather because I think they are somewhat typical.

WEAL wrote a letter this past spring to the D.C. Advisory Committee for Vocational Education pointing out that Title IX had been passed and did apply to vocational schools and asking what plans the schools had for de-sexing the schools. In response we got telephone calls explaining that in five or so years they would have career development centers and that anyway girls really wouldn't want to go to schools where they were the only girls. The implication was that there would be so few girls wanting to go to the boys schools that it wasn't worth bothering about. A look at the course listings for these various vocational high schools in the District will tell you which are the boys schools and which are the girls.

The letter that brought us this course listing also states: "The Department of Career Development . . . sent a letter to all junior, senior and vocational high school principals requesting that they assure counsellors that girls will be admitted to vocational programs in any area of their interest." However, the memo that went to principals states "that the vocational high schools will all admit girls who have a sincere interest in one of their areas of specialized training."

What about boys? Do they have to prove a "sincere interest?" Apparently not.

In other words, in Washington, D.C., where 56% of the women work outside the home and where 95% of the school children are non-white, a girl's choice of vocational courses is very limited when compared to that of a boy. (Course lists by school attached.)

*Bell Vocational High School.*—Architectural/mechanical drawing; auto body and fender repair; auto mechanics; driver education; electrical wiring; electronics; machine shop; military science; painting and decorating; paper hanging; plumbing; printing; related typing; sheet metal; upholstery; welding.

*Chamberlain Vocational High School.*—Air conditioning and refrigeration; baking; barbering; busines education; commercial art; cooperative distributive education; cosmetology; drafting; driver education; electronics/electricity; general business; graphic arts; military science; office machines; photography; printing; radio and TV; typewriter repair; watch repair.

*Burdick Vocational High School.*—Accounting classification; business; cooperative retailing; cosmetology; foods; health occupations; home economics; music; nursery assistant; practical nursing; shorthand and typing; surgical technician; trade dressmaking.

*Phelps Vocational High School.*—Agriculture; architectural drafting; auto body repair; auto mechanics; auto repair; barbering; brick masonry; carpentry and cabinetmaking; driver education; house wiring; landscaping; military science; printing; radio and TV; shoe repair; tailoring.

*M. M. Washington Vocational School.*—Business; cooperative distributive education; cosmetology; dressmaking; driver education; dry cleaning; foods; home economics; music; nursing assistant; nutrition; practical nursing; shorthand and typing.

And just to make sure I wasn't being too hard on the D.C. system I called Monday to check if these schools were really sex-labelled. My suspicions were confirmed. A person, in response to my call, told me that Bell, Chamberlain and Phelps were "for males" and Burdick and Washington "for females."

In Waco, Texas, our WEAL group did an excellent analysis of sex-discrimination in the WACO public schools. Among their findings were "sex and race discrimination in the area of student course assignments. The WACO school district, by dictum, 'counseling,' persuasion or lack of alternatives, requires girls to enroll in hairdressing (minority girls only), cooking and sewing classes. Boys are similarly placed in auto mechanics, woodshop, repair hand construction courses."[3] The report goes on to state that an educational consultant testified in federal court that WACO homemaking courses appeared to be training minority girls to be maids and waitresses.

This is still another example of assigning a place in the world on the basis of sex or race.

Discriminatory or outmoded tests should not be used to steer students toward specific occupations either.

For some time I was interested in the Strong Vocational Test which I first learned about from a young high school neighbor (male): "You know, Mrs. Fraser," he said, "you ought to do something about this test they give kids they don't think are going on to college. The girls take a test that's on pink paper and the boys one on blue."

Upon investigation I learned that the two tests were being redone; the pink and blue tests were being combined, outdated items dropped, and the new test put on a neutral white paper. Psychologists and counsellors urged me not to be too rough on the Strong test because "it's one of the best we've got. If you take this away, worse tests will be used."

The Strong test, even on white paper, does not test skills. It takes attitudes and personality traits of people in existing occupations and matches them with the child being tested. If the profiles match—if the child has matching attitudes and personality traits, then apparently that child would be appropriate for that occupation. In other words, the test perpetuates the status quo.

Under the bill, we would hope that development of non-sexist vocational aptitude tests would be a very high priority. This is, apparently, a very expensive process which no private group is willing to undertake while they have a money-maker on their shelves. Meanwhile, kids are steered by counsellors into various occupations or courses using these tests.

And we would hope there could before information and training including retraining for guidance counsellors so that sex-stereotyping in vocational and career education will stop. And, I might add, it would be helpful if we figured out ways to quit labelling vocational education as second class education. The world needs trained technicians—male and female. In my own state of Minnesota, I am told, our post-high school vocational-technical schools are filling up with college graduates looking for a skill with which to find a job.

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[3] Copies of the report are available from Dr. Paula Latimer, Texas WEAL President, 9511 Hollow Way, Dallas, Texas 75220.

Developing skills with which to find a job is a problem for all students—women and men alike. And schools of all kinds must develop new attitudes about the world of work, new programs, new ways of training people and new ideas about the kinds of work people can do. Section 4 (c) (15) of this bill calls for "training, educational and employment program grants for unemployed and underemployed women." Women who leave the labor force to raise a family do need training and retraining to develop new skills or brush up on old ones. There are small programs of this kind but not nearly the number or variety.

Also, we must start bringing workers of all kinds into the schools. Children—young and older—need to learn more about the world of work and too often that world is utterly foreign, especially to the suburban child. In doing this women in nontraditional occupations should be encouraged to come into the schools to talk about their jobs. As indicated earlier by the St. Paul teacher, pictures of women workers are needed as well as solid information about a variety of occupations.

### SPORTS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

In the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women Memorandum: "Need for Studies of Sex Discrimination in the Public Schools" there is an excellent section on physical education, sports, and other extra-curricular activities: "This is the area where discrimination is most pervasive and most readily apparent. Per capita expenditures on these activities by sex are an objective measure of the discrimination. Principals and teachers sometimes discourage an interest in participation in sports by girls. Facilities such as swimming pools, tennis and basketball courts are generally far less available, measured on a dollar, per capita basis of interested participants, to girls than boys. In addition, coaches of girls' sports are rarely supplied and if available are often not included in policymaking committees.

"Short-changing of girls in physical education and sports deprives them of the opportunity to establish life-time habits of exercise which lead to a high level of continuing good health in adult life. The opportunity for achievement in sports, scholarships and other recognition for ability in sports and for developing a competitive spirit within a framework of team cooperation should be available to girls. The Ann Arbor, Michigan study discusses denial of opportunity in sports in some detail.

"Other examples of this type of discrimination are sex-stereotyping of musical instruments; choice of students for teachers' helpers, hall proctors, and safety patrols; staffing of school newspapers; and participation in debating teams."

Our Texas WEAL group did two studies on sports and physical education. In Waco:

> "With 19,000 students and an athletic program of $250,000 annually for boys, the girls were allowed to participate only in tennis and the program was allotted $970. Girls were prohibited use of $1,000,000 worth of stadiums, athletic fields, equipment and gyms. No girls teams are permitted in Waco, while every other school district in Central Texas equips and fields girls teams, the study said.
>
> "An Athletic Committee, composed entirely of men, was appointed last October by the Waco school board to recommend changes in athletic programs and policies.
>
> " 'This Committee recommended and received approval for expansion of the present boy's athletic program at an estimated increase of $154,000 annually, with no allotment for a girl's program,' Dr. Paula Latimer, WEAL President said."

In Dallas, "A fact sheet from Supt. Dr. Nolan Estes shows that, of 9,680 students involved in interscholastic activities—team competition between schools—a total of 8,809 participants are boys and 871 are girls." The recommendations of the Dallas group's study are excellent:

> "Both emotionally and physically, girls derive the same benefits from sports activities as boys. All that has been said in favor of team sports for boys—that it teaches cooperation, leadership, self-confidence, discipline, etc.—is also true of girls, and these qualities are as much their right as their brothers'. In addition, all reliable medical evidence demonstrates that girls

> are no more endangered by physical exercise than are boys, that they derive the same benefits in improved health as their male peers. Therefore, we feel that there should be no difference in sports and P.E. activities available to girls and boys, and we make the following suggestions toward a remodelling of the athletic and P.E. programs so as to offer the best opportunities possible to all our students.
>
> "We recommend that the DISD reallocate its athletic funds so as to make available a broad range of sports activities to *ALL* students—not just the male star athlete. Presently, not only girls but average boy students are discriminated against by the heavy concentration of athletic funds on activities in which only a tiny minority can participate.
>
> "We further recommend that teams and activities be available to all students equally and at the level of their ability. That is, each student would be placed on a team commensurate with her or his ability and regardless of sex. At the grade school level, such a policy would sexually integrate all sports activities immediately. At the junior and senior high level, the best teams would probably, for awhile, be virtually all male, due to the past discouragement of girls from sports participation. But female and average male students would be able to play and compete on other teams, according to their ability. And in a few years, as girls become more athletically expert, sexual integration of all teams will gradually increase.
>
> "To those who argue that girls should not compete directly in contact sports with boys because of their presupposed physical weakness, we answer that individual girls, like individual boys, would not be allowed on teams for which, after tryouts, they could not qualify. Ability should be the only requirement in each and every sport offered by the district. No rule or guideline should be changed or modified unless it applies to both sexes."

No one will argue that most men are physically stronger than most women. Many of us think that in the area of competitive sports we are going to have to think long and hard about how we divide our tax dollars and arrange competitive sports. If we rely only on physical strength we are going to have mostly male competition. We may have to go to some variation of the old "separate but equal" philosophy in competition. But surely in grade school we should not be segregating boys and girls and reserving the playground for boys ball games while the girls watch—which is what happened in my daughter's school until the girls organized, outvoted the boys and integrated the team and the playground.

But it is not only sports and physical education that must be integrated.

### WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS IN SCHOOLS

Our WEAL group in Minnesota has been challenging local school districts over the number of women in administrative positions. The *Minneapolis Tribune* of Wednesday, June 27, 1973 says:

> "Joyce Jackson became a member of a select group—female secondary school administrators—when she was named principal of Central High School.
>
> "She is one of three women in the Minneapolis School District to be an administrator of secondary schools. Betty Jo Webb is an assistant principal at Ramsey Junior igh. Rachel Leonard, was named Tuesday to be assistant prnicipal of Olson Junior High.
>
> "Last month, the Minnesota Division of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) accused 31 metropolitan school districts of sex discrimination in the employment of high school administrators.
>
> "At that time, Minneapolis had one woman administrator, and the only other district to have any women in secondary administration jobs was North St. Paul-Maplewood, which has an assistant principal.
>
> "A study by Clifford Hooker, professor of educational administration at the University of Minnesota, showed that of 2,632 Minnesota school administrators, 202 were women, and most of them are elementary school principals. His study earlier this year showed there were no women school superintendents.
>
> "Mrs. Jackson, named to the Central High School post earlier this month, said, 'Only in recent years have women been encouraged to go into administration. Secondary school administration has not been perceived as a role for women.' "

Mrs. Jackson is unusual, as the story indicates, but the situation is not, Minnesota's situation is typical. Men are the executives in schools, women are the teacher and the kids get the message.

This has got to change. We need men teachers and women executives; we need to show the kids, not just tell them, that sex-assignment is wrong.

This means, however, that our colleges of education all over this country are going to have to change. It may mean we will need seminars and short courses in school management for teachers so they can move into administrative positions, if they like. And maybe we should even send administrators into the classroom occasionally to tell the kids how it is to run a big operation and to let the administration learn how kids really act in a classroom.

The goal of education should be to give individuals skills and information so they can make choices about their lives; schools ought to be helping individuals develop their full potential; each child ought to have equal educational opportunities in our public school system.

Some may argue that Title IX is enough, that prohibiting discrimination will end discrimination.

WEAL argues that this legislation—the Women's Educational Equity Act—is an affirmative action plan with money to make it work. It is positive legislation aimed at changing old habits and instituting new ideas, materials, and ways of doing things.

If Title IX is enforced and this legislation passed and financed eventually we should have equality of opportunity between the sexes and we would no longer need this legislation.

When all children come out of school self-confident, self-sufficient and self-supporting then this legislation can self-destruct.

Thank you.

Mrs. Fraser. Thank you.

With your permission, I would like to add the WEAL study of sex discrimination in the Dallas Independent School District. Then I will summarize my testimony.

[The information referred to follows:]

## A STUDY OF SEX DISCRIMINATION IN THE DALLAS INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT

### Chapter I.—Counseling and Curriculum

#### I. GRIEVANCES

#### *A. Counseling*

1. Counselors' attitudes. Basically, counselors are not aware of the changing roles of women and men in today's society.

a. One counselor reported that a boy wanted to take cooking, but that after she finished with him, he had changed his mind. "He did not want to be in there with all those girls."

b. The large number of students assigned to a counselor makes her view each she naturally assumed that architectural drafting was what the conversation concerned "since girls just don't take technical drafting."

2. Understaffing.

a. A student often sees his or her counselor no more than once or twice a year.

b. The larger number of students assigned to a counselor makes her view each students as a number, not as an individual with special aptitudes and needs.

3. Lack of aggressive directional counseling which is particularly needed for girls.

a. Counselors do not think they should help girls in their role selection.

b. Counselors say "Girls are not forbidden to take any course," but they do not encourage girls to take courses which have been traditionally for boys.

c. Counselors perpetuate sexual stereotypes and are not aware of changing roles.

4. Discriminatory vocational testing, as seen in the Kuder Preference Test and the Strong Vocational Test.

#### *B. Curriculum*

1. Required shop course for boys and required home economics course for girls on the junior high school area. A middle-school principal blamed this discrimination on the inability of the computers to schedule boys and girls into one class. That is, classes would be too large.

2. Imbalances of males and females in certain classes. See Charts I & II.

3. Sexist attitudes on the part of teachers, particularly those who are teaching classes where one sex is in the majority.

a. An auto mechanics class teacher said girls could do fine work, but small girls could not lift heavy equipment. In reality, pulleys are available in the classes to lift heavy equipment.

b. A TV Arts teacher pointed out girls' physical "limitations."

c. A shop teacher in one high school felt girls in a class would take the boys' attention from the machines and accidents would occur.

d. A typing teacher felt that only girls should take typing. There was only one boy in her class.

4. Perpetuation of sexism in the placing of students in jobs by the Distributive Education teachers. They allow discrimination by employers.

a. Boys are preferred in sales jobs.

b. Service stations insist on boys only.

c. An employer of students from one high school said, "The cute ones (girls) add so much to the office, but it doesn't hurt for them to be intelligent."

5. Requiring that pregnant girls attend a "special school" which may be inferior academically and which implies that pregnancy is shameful.

## II. RECOMMENDATIONS

### A. Counseling

1. Enlarge the counseling staff.

2. Institute an in-service training course for counselors and for prospective counselors on non-sexist counseling.

3. Emphasize aggressive counseling for girls, especially for girls from lower economic levels.

a. Inform girls of the broad range of occupational alternatives.

b. Educate students as to successful employment placement, that is, how to get various jobs they might be considering.

c. Make female students aware of the changing role of women, and make them aware of opportunities available to them.

4. Eliminate discriminatory tests.

a. Research and development should be undertaken in the area of testing materials available to counselors at all educational levels.

b. Girls should have the opportunity to score in all available professions on vocational and interest surveys.

5. Strengthening counseling on the elementary school level.

### B. Curriculum

1. Institute a Preparation for Life Course or a Course for Human Survival. This course would begin in the elementary grades to teach skills which both boys and girls need to have.

2. Eliminate the mandatory home economics for girls and shop for boys on the junior high level. A course incorporating both would be given for boys and girls together.

3. Institute an in-service training course, examining sexist attitudes and practices, for those teachers teaching courses traditionally limited to students of one sex.

4. Allow pregnant students to remain in their home schools if they wish.

TABLE 1.—BREAKDOWN BY SEX AND DEPARTMENT FOR SELECTED HIGH SCHOOLS

| Course | Hillcrest |  |  | Thos. Jefferson |  |  | Carter |  |  | Skyline |  |  | Total |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | M | F | Total | M | F | Total | M | F | Total | M | F | Total | M | F | Total |
| Homemaking | 12 | 164 | 176 | 0 | 299 | 299 | 83 | 466 | 549 | 42 | 309 | 351 | 137 | 1,238 | 1,375 |
| Art | 100 | 209 | 309 | 83 | 145 | 228 | 173 | 167 | 340 | 106 | 102 | 208 | 462 | 623 | 1,085 |
| Business | 189 | 309 | 498 | 292 | 428 | 720 | 294 | 460 | 754 | 188 | 463 | 651 | 963 | 1,660 | 2,623 |
| Vocational/ Co-op | 148 | 154 | 302 | 80 | 34 | 114 | 138 | 224 | 362 | 119 | 92 | 211 | [illegible] | 504 | 989 |
| Industrial Arts | 318 | 11 | 329 | 444 | 16 | 460 | 625 | 2 | 627 | 282 | 6 | 288 | 1,669 | 35 | 1,704 |
| Total | 767 | 847 | 1,614 | 899 | 922 | 1,821 | 1,313 | 1,319 | 2,632 | 737 | 972 | 1,709 | 3,716 | 4,060 | 7,776 |

TABLE 2.—BREAKDOWN BY SEX AND COURSE FOR SKYLINE CDC PART-TIME STUDENTS

| Course | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Apparel industry | 0 | 67 | 67 |
| A. & T. drafting | 77 | 7 | 84 |
| Aviation technology | 149 | 4 | 153 |
| Beauty culture | 1 | 56 | 57 |
| Business management technology | 11 | 140 | 151 |
| Child-youth | 4 | 109 | 113 |
| Electronics | 109 | 6 | 115 |
| Environmental control | 24 | 0 | 24 |
| Graphic communications | 41 | 11 | 52 |
| Interior design | 1 | 22 | 23 |
| Photo arts | 63 | 28 | 91 |
| Plastic tech | 30 | 4 | 34 |
| Science, advanced | 52 | 18 | 70 |
| TV arts | 52 | 5 | 57 |
| Transportation services | 108 | 2 | 110 |
| World of construction | 63 | 0 | 63 |
| World of manufacturing | 21 | 0 | 21 |
| Total | 806 | 479 | 1, 285 |

## CHAPTER II.—EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

### I. RATIONALE

Textbooks are of special interest because they are used to teach boys and girls not only subject matter, but attitudes, roles, and values. A publication entitled "Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks," prepared by the Sexism in Textbooks Committee of Women at Scott, Foresman, and Company, September, 1972, describes quite explicitly the various types of sexism found in most textbooks used in public schools.

"Textbooks are sexist if they omit the actions and achievements of women, if they demean women by using patronizing language, or if they show women only in stereotyped roles with less than the full range of human interests, traits, and capabilities. . . . Females as well as males possess courage, physical strength, mechanical skills, and the ability to think logically. Males as well as females can be fearful, weak, mechanically inept, and illogical. Females can be rude, active . . . or messy. Males can be polite, inactive . . . or neat. Because such characteristics are shared by males and females in reality, textbooks that classify them as 'masculine' or 'feminine' are misrepresenting reality. . . . Children often conform to the standards of their peers because they fear ridicule. . . . If only boys are encouraged to be active and competitive, girls with these inclinations may learn to stifle them. If only girls are encouraged to express openly such emotions as fear, sorrow, and affection, boys may feel reluctant to express these emotions. . . . Both women and men have much to gain from the elimination of stereotypes. Textbooks which avoid male and female stereotyping will more accurately represent reality, encourage tolerance for individual differences, and allow more freedom for children to discover and express their needs, interests and abilities."

In recognition of this need to examine sexism in textbooks, J. W. Edgar, State Commissioner of Education, issued the following proclamation effective May 12, 1973:

Add a new 3331.3(6) to read as follows with the present 3331.3(6) becoming 3331.3(7):

> Textbooks presented for adoption shall not include language or illustrations which are blatantly offensive or which would cause embarrassing situations in the classroom or cause interference in the learning atmosphere of the classroom.
>
> Textbooks shall, whenever possible, present varying life styles, shall treat divergent groups fairly, without inaccurate stereotyping, and shall reflect the positive contribution of all individuals and groups to the American way of life. Illustrations and written materials should avoid bias toward any particular life style, group, or individual. Particular care should be taken in the treatment of ethnic groups, roles of men and women, the dignity of workers, and respect for all productive work.
>
> (6–1) Textbooks shall provide an objective view of cultural confluence, with the information necessary for developing mutual understanding and

respect among all elements of our population. Materials shall reflect an awareness that culture and language variation does exist and can be utilized to promote successful learning.

(6–2) The books shall present men and women participating in a variety of roles and activities, including women in leadership and other positive roles with which they are not traditionally identified. Illustrations and written material shall present goal choices and life styles for girls and women in addition to marriage and homemaking. Economic, political, social, and cultural contributions of men and women, past and present, shall be presented objectively.

(6–3) Content which treats aspects of the world of work should reflect the positive contributions of all types of careers to the American economic system and way of life. People presented in the books should reflect varieties of work and should be treated without bias toward particular kinds of work.

Effective Date: May 12, 1973.

Respectfully submitted,

J. W. EDGAR,
*Commissioner of Education.*

### II. GUIDELINES FOR EVALUATING SEXISM IN TEXTBOOKS

A. Compare the amount of space given females with that given males (the number of stories, paragraphs, or illustrations).

B. What kind of roles, personality characteristics, and value commitments are shown for each sex? Is a broad range of emotion and activities shown to be open to each sex? Are stereotypes about either sex perpetrated?

C. What is the proportion of females to males in the illustrations? Are females passive or active, watching or doing? Would a girl get the impression that her sex comprises half the human race?

D. What kind of adult role models are presented?

E. Do social science texts give the impression that humankind is 95% male? Are "women" listed in the index? At what points is the text inaccurate because of its omissions of the contributions or history of women?

F. Are the texts for vocational courses (home economics, business, etc.) slanted for use by one sex only? Would a student of the other sex find something to identify with comfortably in that text if she or he were enrolled in the course?

### III. FINDINGS BY EVALUATORS OF BOOKS ADOPTED BY DISD THIS YEAR

A. Sex discrimination is pervasive in educational material recently adopted by the DISD. Its most obvious form is the unequal representation, misrepresentation, and omission of females in educational material. Textbooks reviewed by the committee provide conclusive evidence that women and girls are not featured often enough, that famous and historically significant women and girls are often not included in the text, and that women and girls are consistently mentioned in relationship to men and boys rather than on their own merit. The material does not deal candidly with past and present barriers to full equality. Females, as individuals, groups, an as a cultural, social and economic force, are simply not reflected in the books recently adopted. It is tempting to suggest, as an exercise, that the men contemplate living in the worlds that these books describe. Such uni-sex societies do not and could not have existed.

Perhaps less overt, but in some ways more damaging, is the discrimination which results from sex stereotyping, that is, the imposition of inflexible roles and behavior patterns according to sex. Textbooks constantly reinforce the traditional female role in society, which is secondary to and supportive of the male. They fail to portray females sympathetically and in depth as valuable, contributing elements in our culture. Women are treated rather from a narrow, condescending viewpoint, as an "outgroup"—strange, different, isolated, and limited.

Another aspect of this depreciation of women is language. The English language has sexism built into it, which symbolically has handed over the entire world to men with pronouns like the bisexual "he" for person, and words like "man" to stand for all people. This linguistic habit in textbooks is so pervasive that students will assume that only men are involved in the activities and occupations discussed, an assumption reinforced by the lack of women in examples and stories. This habit misrepresents reality and limits options and roles for women. The generic "he" may be frequently necessary, but in many cases the plural can be substituted and females used as examples and characters, particularly in traditionally male dominated roles.

B. Examples from Textbooks Recently Adopted by the DISD.

1. Lack of Women in Material.

In *Americans All—A Nation of Immigrations* (Benefic Press, 1972), a 5th grade history text, only 17 women are named or mentioned out of 210 immigrants.

In *Foundation of Freedom, U.S. History to 1877* (Laidlow, 1972), an 8th grade history text, women are mentioned or shown 22 times in the 516 pages.

2. Women Mentioned in Relationship to Males.

The following passages are the only two members of Eleanor Roosevelt in *The Adventure of the American People* (Rand McNally, 1972), a high school history text:

"In the same year he wed a distant cousin, the gifted and energetic Eleanor Roosevelt. (She was given in marriage by her Uncle Theodore, the President of the United States, who had come from Washington for the occasion.)"

". . . and he and Mrs. Roosevelt showed warm sympathy for people of this minority."

3. Linguistic Sexism.

"Man on the Land" is the title of Part I of *The Wide World, A Geography* (Macmillan, 1972), a high school text.

"If you are sick and have to go to a new doctor, how are you sure that he has really studied medicine?" From *Of, By and For the People* (Benefic Press, 1972), an 8th grade Civics text. In contrast, nurses are always referred to as "she."

4. Demeaning and Stereotyping Women.

" 'Even if there were, there is only one person to do anything with—Midge Glass—and Midge is a girl!' . . . Midge had retreated to the corner of the house where she stood watching." (From *Images*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972, 5th grade reader)

"You certainly do catch on to it quickly . . . for a girl."

" 'What a baby! What do you expect to find? Monsters?' . . . Karen was unhappy about this arrangement, but she was afraid of Mark's ridicule if she showed again that she was afraid."

" 'We'll be drowned if the boat hits the rocks!' she wailed. 'Oh, rubbish!' exploded Eddie." (The three preceding quotations from *Kaleidoscope*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972, 4th grade reader)

". . . the President and the attractive First Lady, Jacqueline ('Jackie')."

"Especially to lure women into the growing audience, newspapers and magazines invented the human-interest story."

"The woman's club movement grew stronger after the beginning of the century as the 'weaker sex' attempted to put its increasing leisure time to good works."

"But, meanwhile, in addition to political freedom, the so-called gentle sex was finding social freedom in postwar America that was startling even to the suffragettes." (The four preceding quotations from *The Adventures of the American People*, Rand McNally, 1972, a high school history text)

"Elizabeth C. Stanton, a wife and the mother of seven children . . ." (From *Foundation of Freedom, U.S. History to 1877*, Laidlaw, 1972, an 8th grade history text)

### IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. A woman active in the women's rights movement should be included on the textbook committee.

B. Provide a workshop, seminar, and/or staff development program for librarians to provide information on sexism in books, recommended supplementary materials, and other educational aids.

C. Require school administrators to make available non-sexist book lists and films to teachers for self-education and classroom use, and to encourage their use.

D. Allot funds for the generation and purchase of presently available nonsexist curriculum materials.

## CHAPTER III.—EMPLOYMENT

### I. GRIEVANCES

A. Women in the DISD are concentrated in the lowest paying jobs.

1. Although highly paid administrators are recruited principally from the teaching faculty, which is 75% female (4443 out of 6061), women comprise the following percentages of the administrative staff:

a. Principals or assistant principals ($14,780–$27,204)—11% (27 out of 233).

b. Central staff ($16,000–$31,000)—13% (5 out of 65).

c. Central staff ($13,000–$20,000)—35% (41 out of 115).

2. Jobs in which women constitute 95% to 100% of the staff (e.g., clerks, secretaries, maids, food personnel) have an estimated mean salary of $425 a month. Those jobs similarly dominated by men (custodial and maintenance personnel) have an estimated mean salary of $520 a month. This discrepancy is not due to greater skills required of the male employees, for the reverse is the case. Secretaries, e.g., who are required to have at least high school degrees and the usual secretarial skills, average less per hour in the DISD than do the relatively unskilled male custodians.

3. In direct violation of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, women who have essentially the same job responsibilities as the male custodial helpers are relegated to the category "mind," with a salary scale that begins at $.50 an hour less than that of the men and has a $2.00 an hour lower ceiling.

B. Promotional opportunities for women are severely limited.

1. Women in the Leadership Training Program are usually "promoted" to the job of Resource teacher, which pays no more than a regular teaching job, whereas men in the program are usually promoted into administrative positions.

| 1971–72 class | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Promoted to administration | 15 | 6 | 21 |
| Promoted to counselor | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Resigned | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Returned to classroom | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Remained as intern | 14 | 10 | 24 |
| Promoted to resource teacher | 1 | 10 | 11 |
| Assigned to other jobs | 3 | 0 | 3 |

2. 21% of all DISD principalships were recruited from the coaching staff, where few women have had the opportunity to hold a job.

C. Women are under-represented in certain DISD job categories.

1. coaching—less than 10% (30 out of 337)

2. custodial and maintenance staff—14% (236 out of 1,655)

3. administrative positions—figures given in I.A.1. above

D. Men are under-represented in certain DISD job categories.

1. counselors—7.8% (15 out of 193)

2. elementary teachers—12% (368 out of 3,063)

3. clerical staff—2% (12 out of 947)

4. food services—0% (0 out of 1,337)

E. The current maternity leave policy of the DISD, while it complies with federal guidelines, is, in practice, discriminatory against men and adoptive parents of both sexes, none of whom have the privilege of using accrued leave time to remain home after the arrival of a new child.

G. Insurance benefits offered by DISD to cover maternity costs are discriminatory in that they require the mother to be married in order to be eligible.

### II. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. An Affirmative Action plan to achieve the full participation of women and men in all job categories shall be implemented.

1. Goals and timetables for improving the ratio of women and men in those jobs in which they are presently underutilized.

a. for women, these jobs include administrative, custodial, and coaching

b. for men, these jobs include all teaching levels, but particularly elementary, the clerical staff, counselors, and food services

2. Active recruitment of women and men for those jobs in which they are presently underutilized.

a. clearly and publicly advertising all job openings for both sexes, not merely with the label "equal opportunity employer" but in the text of the advertisement

b. notifying interested organizations, such as Business and Professional Women, Women's Equity Action League, and Women for Change, of all openings

c. including women's colleges in the itineraries of recruiting trips

d. encouraging employees and applicants into those jobs dominated by the opposite sex

3. Publication and distribution of this plan to all personnel and interested citizenry.

B. The salaries for jobs now dominated by women (e.g. secretaries, clerks, and food personnel) shall be re-evaluated and readjusted so as to be competitive with those jobs dominated by men and requiring similar levels of skill, effort, and responsibility.

C. The job designation "maid" shall be removed and women shall be fully integrated into the other custodial ranks.

1. Women will be paid the same for equal work and will be offered the same promotional opportunities.

2. Because women have not had access to 12 month contracts, years already served by nine month employees (women) shall be considered on an equal basis with years served by 12 month employees (men) in similar job capacities regarding promotion.

3. Women presently in "maid" positions will be placed in the custodial level commensurate with their years of experience and seniority.

4. All 9 month and 12 month job categories shall be open to all persons, regardless of sex, and present female employees shall have top priority to apply for all 12 month job openings.

D. An objective, clearly defined line of advancement for all DISD jobs shall be distributed to all employees.

E. Marital status shall not be a consideration in hiring and promotional policies, and written district policy shall so indicate.

F. Employment benefits shall not be affected by sex, marital status, or parental status.

1. Fathers shall be allowed to use accrued leave of up to 10 days per year upon arrival of a new child.

2. Adoptive parents of either sex shall be allowed to use accrued leave up to 10 days per year upon arrival of a new child.

3. The District shall submit for bids a change in maternity benefits that allows a woman employer to insure herself under a "lone employee" plan. She shall not be required to enroll a spouse or other family member, or to submit proof of marital status.

## CHAPTER IV.—SPORTS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

### I. ATHLETICS[1]

A. Participation—The DISD with 55,400 students enrolled in grades 8–12, maintains an athletic program which includes interscholastic competition and a Physical Education Department.

A fact sheet from DISD Superintendent Dr. Nolan Estes shows that, of 9,680 students involved in interscholastic activities—team competition between schools—a total of 8,809 participants are boys and 871 are girls. The breakdown for 1972–73 for all interscholastic sports is as follows:

| Activity | Girls | Boys | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Football | 0 | 3,700 | 3,700 |
| Basketball | 0 | 1,450 | 1,450 |
| Baseball | 0 | 900 | 900 |
| Track | 0 | 1,500 | 1,500 |
| Tennis | 215 | 215 | 430 |
| Golf | 6 | 194 | 200 |
| Cross country (long distance runs) | 0 | 100 | 100 |
| Swimming (all programs) | 600 | 600 | 1,200 |
| Bowling | 50 | 50 | 100 |
| Soccer | 0 | 100 | 100 |
| Total | 871 | 8,809 | 9,680 |

However, of the grand total of 871 females involved in interscholastic activities, 220 are in synchronized swimming teams, which, according to a May 10, '73, Office Memo from persons in the school administration building through Dr.

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[1] Information in this report was obtained from correspondence, telephone conversations and meetings with Dr. Ruby Morris, of the Pupil Personnel Services, DISD, principals of local high schools, drill team sponsors, Mr. Robert Shelton, Athletic Director, DISD, Mr. Morris Brantly, Director of Physical Education, DISD, Ms. Joanne Romaine and Mr. Chad Woolery, administrators of DISD, the DISD Athletic Manual, and personal conversations with teachers, students, and parents.

**Morris' office, "are not yet ready for AAU competition." A team that does not compete with other schools' teams is not interscholastic. 195 of the remaining 380 female swimmers represent other water activities, such as Lifesaving and Water Safety Instruction courses, which are not under the athletic department nor could be considered interscholastic sports. Therefore, a true total of girls in interscholastic swimming competition is 285, rather than 600, according to a letter from Robert Shelton, DISD Athletic Director, to Dr. Ruby Morris, dated March 27, 1973.**

**Thus the actual number of girls in interscholastic competition in DISD is 456, rather than 871, or approximately 5% of the total number of girl students in interscholastic competition.**

**B. Facilities—Each high school has its own boys' gym and girls' gym, and swimming pools are available to both sexes, equally.**

**However, the stadiums, fields, and field houses owned by the DISD are for football, basketball, and baseball games—which exclude girls. The only uses that girls have of these facilities are in performing with the band or drill team and in their nominal use of the field houses and fields in extramural basketball and track activities. We were not able to obtain exact figures on the frequency of the girls' use of these facilities, but it appears to be minimal. Therefore, we conclude that of the approximately $10 million listed below as the cost of these facilities, girls derive virtually no benefit.**

| Facilities: | *Total cost* |
|---|---|
| P. C. Cobb Stadium and Field House | $190,437.55 |
| Sprague Field and Field House | 2,011,858.75 |
| Alfred J. Loos Stadium and Field | 5,616,791.60 |
| Franklin Field | 76,996.24 |
| Herschel Forester Stadium and Field House | 1,562,502.16 |
| Pleasant Grove Stadium (approx.) | 100,000.00 |
| Seagoville Stadium (approx.) | 500,000.00 |
| | 10,058,586.30 |

**In addition, a great deal of money is allotted annually to maintain and improve these facilities, improvements from which girls derive no benefit. For example, in 1972, $891,258 was spent on artificial turf for DISD fields, used almost exclusively by boys.**

**C. Coaches—Sex discrimination among the coaches arises in the areas of hiring, promotions, pay and the heavy concentration of coaching activities on boys' sports.**

**Women coaches do not have equal opportunities for jobs, advancement, and pay, as compared to the men coaches. There are approximately 144 coaches in high schools in the DISD, 7 of which are women. Junior high schools have 92 coaches—5 or 6 are women. Of the physical education instructors serving as coaches in the elementary schools, 89 of the 217 total are women. Thus, women are concentrated in the lowest paying coaching position, that of the P.E. teacher who receives no extra compensation above the base teaching salary and no decreased teaching load. In contrast, junior and senior high coaching positions, held almost exclusively by men, receive substantial bonuses and lighter teaching loads, as indicated by the chart below for senior high coaches:**

| Position | Bonus | Classes | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Teaching load | Teaching load, off-season |
| Head coach (usually football) | $2,250 | 2 | 3 |
| Assistant coach (basketball, swimming, baseball, track) | 1,400 | 3 | 4 |
| Assistant coach (tennis) | 150 | 4 | 5 |
| Assistant coach (bowling) | 350 | (1) | (1) |
| Assistant coach (golf) | 150 | 4 | 5 |

[1] Not listed.

**The scale is slightly lower for Junior High coaches, with $1450.00 as top bonus to the head coach. Coaches' travel expenses are also paid by the DISD.**

**A further example of discrimination in coaches' salaries is that of the swimming coaches. All competitive swimming activities are coached by men, who receive $1400 a year bonus and a decreased teaching load. Women swim coaches**

instructing the synchronized swim teams are paid $6.00 an hour and receives no reduction in their teaching load. Though no figures are available on the amount paid these women beyond the regular teaching salary, we estimate from talking to them that they average two hours a week for approximately 32 weeks, bringing their additional salary to about $400 a year, as compared to the $1400 increment of the men swimming coaches.

An additional inequity in the coaches' salaries results from the lack of benefit from this expense to half the student body—the girls. This year, approximately $342,000.00 was spent on increments in coaches' salaries or boys' sports activities, while only $18,000.00 was similarly spent on coaching girls. (These figures are based on the previously established fact that only 5% of the students involved in interscholastic competition are girls.)

D. Athletics Manual—If there is any doubt that girls are discriminated against in the DISD sports program, a scanning of the current athletic activities schedule of the Athletics Manual will show that most of the activities lised are for boys only. The whole of the manual is directed toward boys. Even in sports that include girls, the manual often refers to the "boy" participant.

Example: page 6, Article III, Section 2. "The coach must remember that he is a living example for all the boys in the community in which he works."

Example: page 40. Press Box Regulations list those persons to be admitted to the press box with the stipulation that "women are not permitted in press box except for half-time activities."

Example: page 5. ". . . that the boys who have played under him are fine and more decent men for having done so . . ."

### II. DRILL TEAM

Approximately 3600 girls participate in either drill team or band, the largest single number of girls involved as a group. P.E. credit is given by the DISD—the fact sheet from the Superintendent lists them under Student Participation in Interscholastic Athletic Activities and includes them in the total number of girls in athletic activities. However, the designation of drill team as an "athletic" activity needs examination.

Drill teams are often used as an example of an opportunity for girls comparable to football for boys. Drill teams, of course, are no more a sport or an athletic activity than are high school bands, although drill teams and bands are often listed as "auxiliary participants."

Even assuming that drill team were comparable to football, for girls to have equal opportunities, there should at least be some financial outlay for the drill team and the drill sponsor. There is none.

According to principals of 5 high schools—Carter, North Dallas, South Oak Cliff, Bryan Adams, and Hillcrest—there are no funds to support the drill teams. The girls supply their own uniforms and raise what money they can through bake sales, etc.

The drill team sponsor is paid $3.00 an hour if the drill team practice is part of the Extended Day program, which means it must take place after school hours. Most drill teams, however, practice in the mornings before school and during first period in order to coordinate with the band's schedule, which means the drill team sponsor is not compensated for her work, while the head coach, who works with the football team, is paid $2,250 extra for his work.

### III. PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The Physical Education Department, which is separate from the Athletic Department, includes two sections:

A. Regular Physical Education courses. Sex discrimination in the P.E. courses exists in several ways:

1. Calisthenic exercises are different in kind and quantity for girl and boy students. For example, girls and boys may be required to do different kinds of chin-ups and push-ups; boys are usually encouraged to do 100 sit-ups, while girls are forbidden to do more than 50; running exercises are timed differently for girls and boys; etc.
2. A wider variety of activities is usually offered in the boys' P.E. classes than in the girls'.
3. All courses and instructors are sex segregated.

B. DISD Extramural programs.

The Extramural Program of the Physical Education Department is an after-school athletic program for grades 6 through 12, developed informally according to student demand. According to the DISD estimate, student participation is regularly 150–160,000 of the total 168,000 student enrollment, at an estimated cost of 15¢ per student. Officials, usually students, are paid $1.65 per hour. Leaders, usually P.E. teachers or other school personnel, are paid $3.00 an hour and are often responsible for 2 teams or more. Girls are offered volleyball, basketball, track and soccer. Boys are offered football, soccer, basketball and track.

Although sex discrimination exists in the program (such as a small minority of the officials and leaders being girls and women and the girls' exclusion from football), it is in many ways an improvement over the Athletic Department. The lower cost per student allows more students to participate, thus affording more opportunity to the average student—both girl and boy.

Also, the Extramural program appears to place more emphasis on the recreational value of sport then on the development of highly skilled athletes—a healthy balance to the interscholastic program.

## IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

Both emotionally and physically, girls derive the same benefits from sports activities as boys. All that has been said in favor of team sports for boys—that it teaches cooperation, leadership, self-confidence, discipline, etc.—is also true of girls, and these qualities are as much their right as their brothers'. In addition, all reliable medical evidence demonstrates that girls are no more endangered by physical exercise than are boys, that they derive the same benefits in improved health as their male peers. Therefore, we feel that there should be no difference in sports and P.E. activities available to girls and boys, and we make the following suggestions toward a remodelling of the athletic and P.E. programs so as to offer the best opportunities possible to all our students.

We recommend that the DISD reallocate its athletic funds so as to make available a broad range of sports activities to *ALL* students—not just the male star athlete. Presently, not only girls but average boy students are discriminated against by the heavy concentration of athletic funds on activities in which only a tiny minority can participate.

We further recommend that teams and activities be available to all students equally and at the level of their ability. That is, each student would be placed on a team commensurate with her or his ability and regardless of sex. At the grade school level, such a policy would sexually integrate all sports activities immediately. At the junior and senior high level, the best teams would probably, for awhile, be virtually all male, due to the past discouragement of girls from sports participation. But female and average male students would be able to play and compete on other teams, according to their ability. And in a few years, as girls become more athletically expert, sexual integration of all teams will gradually increase.

To those who argue that girls should not compete directly in contact sports with boys because of their presupposed physical weakness, we answer that individual girls, like individual boys, would not be allowed on teams for which, after tryouts, they could not qualify. Ability should be the only requirement in each and every sport offered by the district. No rule or guideline should be changed or modified unless it applies to both sexes.

Recommendations concerning P.E. classes and extramural activities:

1. all P.E. Classes be sexually integrated
2. the assignment of men coaches to boys and women coaches to girls be prohibited
3. the same P.E. and extramural activities be available to girls and boys
4. all exercises be identical for girls and boys and that girls, as a class, not be given lower standards of performance, but that all students be treated individually, regardless of sex.

Additional miscellaneous recommendations:

1. women not be prohibited from press boxes in DISD stadiums, and no DISD team play in any stadium having this policy
2. the Athletics Manual be revised so as to clearly include both sexes on an equal footing
3. more effort be made to obtain qualified female coaches, and non-sexist guidelines be established for their recruitment (An applicant for a P.E. instructor's job, who stated in her resume and interview for the job her desire to coach in many areas, was asked by the interviewer, ignoring all other specified interests, if she was interested in drill team)

4. women coaches be given equal opportunities for promotion and equal pay for their work
5. the DISD administration take the lead in raising the consciousness of male coaches to the needs and abilities of female athletes
6. an aggressive attempt be made by the administration to interest girls in sports activities from which they have previously been excluded or discouraged from participation.

### CHAPTER V.—GENERAL RECOMMENDATION

General Recommendation from the Dallas Women's Coalition: that the DISD hire a woman active in the women's movement and knowledgeable about these issues as "ombudswoman" to oversee all aspects of the school system's compliance with Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

### RELEVANT LEGISLATION

1. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 states that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." The penalty for violation of this law is the loss of all federal funds. For the school year 1972–1973, DISD received $5,096,846 in federal monies.
2. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act forbids discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, creed, sex, or national origin. The Revised Sex Guidelines for Title VII cover, among other things, hiring, recruitment, promotion, pay, pregnancy policy, insurance coverage, and retirement leave.
3. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 requires employers to pay women and men employees the same salary for jobs requiring similar amounts of skill, effort, and responsibility.
4. The Equal Legal Rights Amendment to the Texas Constitution states that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged because of sex, race, color, or national origin."
5. Article 6252–16 of Vernon's Texas Civil Statutes, popularly known as the Civil Rights Act and amended in 1969, prohibits, among other things, discrimination in employment, use of facilities, or participation in any program by the state or any subdivision thereof on the basis of the person's race, religion, color, sex or national origin.

Mrs. **FRASER.** I come to testify with some personal experience with various kinds of public schools. I myself rode a school bus from elementary to public high school. My children attended school here in Washington and in Minneapolis.

Free public education is one of the underpinnings of American democracy and is an important factor in our economy. But our educational system has given boys and men first place long enough. Traditionally, we have looked at the education of girls as a kind of life insurance—something they need "just in case"—just in case their husband can't support them, in case they can't find a husband, or in case they need to support themselves while looking for a husband.

It is WEAL's position and our goal through this legislation to help educate each and every child—male or female, rich or poor, black or white—to be self-sufficient, self-confident, and capable of self-support.

We want children to be educated as individuals, not as assigned members of a group.

Discrimination in education starts in kindergarten or even before in preschool. Therefore, WEAL is now working on elementary and vocational education. We have been noted primarily for our work in higher education up to now. We are the group that has filed charges of sex discrimination against over 300 colleges and universities.

Before I talk about elementary and secondary education, I want to make one short plea for people to think of education not as just something concentrated in the first quarter or third of one's life. It should be a lifetime process. Training and retraining as well as education for personal growth and please should be available to all people regardless of age, sex, race, creed, or national origin. To tell a person they are too old to learn is to tell them they are dead; to tell them they are too old to change careers or be retrained is to admit a rigidity that should not be supported with public funds.

I think my own university, which is the University of Minnesota, has been criticized as have others for men as well as women telling people when they came back in their 40's, sorry, you are too old.

One of the reasons WEAL is concerned about age discrimination as Mrs. Mink indicated, is that we realize many women do take time off from working outside the home to have and raise children. Thus, there are often breaks in their education and in their working careers.

But labor statistics will show that most women, over 90 percent, work outside the home at some time during their lives, and that currently women are 38 percent of the work force. Over 40 percent of the women over 16 years of age are in the work force. Many of them are married and many have children under 18. More than half the children in school today have mothers who work outside the home.

Thus, it is not even accurate, to say nothing of honest, to expect little girls to become only housewives and mothers. They do much more. They are workers—inside and outside the home. They are citizens and they deserve equal treatment before the law, on the job, and in our schools.

This is not to say that being a housewife and mother is a bad thing. Frankly, I like raising little kids and I hate housework, but I am not one of those who says you are not a good person unless you are out working.

What women contribute to society in volunteer work and others is as important as bringing home a paycheck. But bearing and raising children takes only a very small part of a woman's life these days—on the average about 10 years from the birth of the first child until the last child goes off to school. And 10 years out of a woman's life is not a very long time.

To illustrate, I often tell a story about my grandmother. The last child went off to kindergarten some 50 years before she died. She spent—even with 13 kids—more years of her life working outside the home than she did at home with children. And though her great-granddaughters—girls in school today—will not have 13 children, they too will live a long time and many of them will spend the greater part of their lives working outside the home.

Our schools must begin to deal with the reality of people's lives, not with stereotyped or idealized concepts of life. That's what the legislation we are discussing today is about.

I am sure many people will talk about them. I am interested that the popular magazines are now picking this up. I think we are going to get some place.

The reason we need this legislation is that publishers have their books on the market and they are reluctant to put out anything new. In the Parade article I quoted, Macmillan says they are going to use new artwork. But the publishers go on to campaign that it takes half a million dollars to launch a new series and a few millions more before the publishers make a profit. They are not willing to make any new series or overhauls, I don't think, unless we have this legislation.

I have long quotes in here from an article in the Wilson Library Bulletin and they talk a fair amount about the California textbooks. Apparently there the state orders the books and they are used throughout the State in every school. Again they illustrate the same things as Mrs. Mink pointed out.

I have often been worried about the treatment of females, I think when you make jokes about somebody you are saying something. Too often in school, females are the butt of jokes. In social studies textbooks, again, the image of woman is that women serve people or help men do the important work. Man's work requires more training, men direct people, and plan things and make decisions. At meetings men are always the speakers, well, not always, sometimes in political meetings they are women. Men make the money and are the most important members in the family. Rarely are men and women working together or seen in equally competent roles.

I think the important thing that children should learn is that men and women should be partners in this society, not master and servant.

Dr. Key points this out in the literature, that males paralyze when a rare female makes a constructive suggestion. Likewise females are not trained to take their share or hold their own in decisionmaking interchange. There are no linguistic models in this early literature for females to take active parts in the dialog nor the males to respond with dignified acceptance and a willingness to listen.

I wonder how girls can emerge from school with any self-confidence or much self-respect with the image that is portrayed in textbooks.

Others will talk about textbooks, but I would like to give a personal observation because I think if one does it oneself it makes more of an impression.

I do appear on TV and I thought well, I had better have some props, so I asked my 10-year-old to bring home some books. I was mentally prepared to have the findings I read about confirmed. But I was shocked. Every mother in this piece—and they sent me this series so I had readers from the first to fifth grade—every mother in the piece was washing dishes and if she got into trouble, the boy bailed her out. I remember one story of a flood where the boy rescued his mother. She couldn't do a thing. A little girl invented a recipe by making everything wrong. She just couldn't do anything right. Boys are the smart ones in the book and had all the things. Husbands drove the wives to the bus stop so that they could go shopping.

In almost all the schoolbooks, women are not pictured driving a car. The readers actually are about two generations behind the time. The need for new texts and materials is obvious. The publishers admit they are not going to do it until it becomes profitable and the old books are worn out.

Even if publishers were interested in doing nonsexist textbooks, I have heard it said by educators and administrators that it takes about 5 years to get a textbook from writer to child. At that rate, if the writer was working now, today's kindergartener would be in fifth grade, the fifth grader in high school and the high schooler in college or out working before the text got to class.

This is why the bill before you calls for development and dissemination of new materials. We do not have time to wait for the private sector to find them profitable and produce them.

Teachers need supplementary materials and they need to be taught how to use them. For I fear not all teachers are as creative or as aware as Ms. Anne McEvoy Schmid who explained in a recent issue of American Teacher how she developed her own nonsexist curriculum. One method she found enlightening was criticism of existing terms. She said one day she read "What will I be from A to Z," a soft-cover career guide for primary pupils that shows women performing 6 out of 20 jobs: homemaker, librarian, nurse, office worker, teacher, and violinist. In the discussion that followed, we decided which jobs could be performed by women and discovered that all, with the possible exception of quarterback, could and should be handled by women. I felt pretty good when I saw a mother later that afternoon and she told me her son had come home and said, "Guess what? We found out today that girls can be judges."

The teacher goes on and gives some illustrations of the things she did. She said they could not find visual aids. I have yet to see a poster-sized picture of Susan B. Anthony, and while I was able to get a beautiful poster of Sojourner Truth, the well-known abolitionist and feminist, it was only because I happened to be in a small, out of the way bookstore and saw it there. I am also unable to get big pictures of women doctors and dentists, suitable for wall or bulletin-board display along with a reminder to visit your doctor or dentist twice a year or whatever. Pictures of women doing jobs formerly done by men are sorely needed for display in elementary schoolrooms. It is our job to provide suitable role models.

Feminism in education is more than material; it is a point of view and an attitude that permeates the entire curriculum and affects nearly every aspect of teacher-pupil behavior.

Our WEAL group in Dallas made a study of sex stereotyping. I was interested in the history books and maybe because I am a politician's wife this caught my eye. They quoted from "The Adventure of the American People," a Rand McNally book, which came out in 1972, a history text has only two mentions of Eleanor Roosevelt. One says:

> In the same year he wed a distant cousin, the gifed and energetic Eleanor Roosevelt. (She was given in marriage by her Uncle Theodore, the President of the United States, who had come from Washington for the occasion.)
>
> * * * And he and Mrs. Roosevelt showed warm sympathy for people of this minority.

I think the message girls get is that in this country you make it by marrying an important man.

It goes on, another quote from this history book:

> The women's club movement grew stronger after the beginning of the century as the "weaker sex" attempted to put its increasing leisure time to good work.

I think statements like that are the reason that women are rebelling a little bit about volunteer work like we do it to keep busy or something. That is an aside, but I think that is part of the problem.

Our Dallas group recommends:

**Provide a workshop, seminar, and/or staff development program for librarians to provide information on sexism in books, recommended supplementary materials, and other educational aids.**

**Allot funds for the generation and purchase of presently available nonsexist curriculum materials.**

WEAL believes that passage of this bill would help carry out these fine recommendations. In section 4(c)(4) funds are requested to be made available for preservice and inservice training programs, and in (c)(5) for group conferences, symposiums, seminars, and institutes.

All of us are victims or products of our own past, of our own education and our own socialization. Today's teachers have not escaped the sex-role stereotyping and socialization which is described here.

I must say feminists like myself have not escaped. Every once in a while my children catch me in a sexist expression. Teachers must be made aware of their own sexist biases; they must be trained and retrained to treat students as individuals with potential to learn and not as males and females with roles to play. Preservice and inservice training institutes and seminars have become accepted in the civil and human rights field.

In our State of Minnesota teachers are required to take some human rights courses and we are beginning to add courses on sexism. But there ought to be a lot more of them. Fellowships, conferences, seminars, and institutes must be developed to work out new course materials and curriculum showing the positive contributions of women to society and the reality of women's lives in the past, present, and future.

Our teacher training institutions must be encouraged to de-sex their courses and curriculum, bringing women into the mainstream and into equal partnership in education. They must quit considering teachers—female—as the servants of the system and administrators—male—as the executives and policymakers for the system. First, priority should be given to educating children.

A major goal of education is to prepare the individual for the world of work—inside and outside the home—and for a vocation which will make that individual capable of self-support.

Domestic work and the care of children is socially valuable and necessary work. People should be taught to do it well and have a respect for it. To be able to take care of food, clothing, and housing is a necessary set of skills. All children should learn these self-sufficiency skills. This means that the traditionally sexually separated course of home-ec and shop or industrial arts must be integrated and updated. This is a machine-oriented society and both boys and girls need to know how to operate and take care of machines.

Boys and girls also need to known something about the purchase and preparation of food, something about nutrition, the care of their clothing, and how to clean up after themselves. Consumer education is also necessary in this day when we buy everything. Typing is a valuable skill. Every child ought to be taught to type in the upper elementary grades; it should come right after handwriting, or penmanship. Teaching typing as a word skill, as a machine skill, and as a vocational skill would be a great asset to thousands of children.

But instead of training all children in these skills, our schools have been assigning these skills on the basis of sex. That is stupid and wrong and a waste of manpower.

WEAL is grateful for the antisex discrimination provisions in title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which starts out:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Those words are music to the ears of every feminist in this country. And we hope that this subcommittee will make sure that HEW carries out the provisions of title IX. We are anxiously awaiting the guidelines for implementation of this legislation.

But still we need this act—the Women's Educational Equity Act—to help make nondiscrimination a reality. We need, for example, some creative thinking about, planning for, and counseling in vocational and career education. I have a great fear that this new thing—career education—is simply old stereotyping under a new name. And I am going to cite the Washington, D.C., schools as an example, not because they are any worse than others, but rather because I think they are somewhat typical.

WEAL wrote a letter this past spring to the D.C. Advisory Committee for Vocational Education pointing out that title IX had been passed and did apply to vocational schools and asking what plans the schools had for desexing the schools. In response we got telephone calls explaining that in 5 or so years they would have a career developments centers and that anyway girls really wouldn't want to go to schools where they were the only girls.

I said, "OK, send me your course list of what you are offering next fall." I got it and in Washington, D.C., where 56 percent of the women work outside the home, these are the girls' choices of vocational courses. We have five vocational schools, two listed as girls' schools and three are men's. Girls can take accounting classification, business, cooperative retailing, cost methodology, foods, health occupations, home-ec, music, nursery assistant, practical nursing, shorthand, and typing, surgical technicians, or trade dressmaking.

The boys have three schools with courses ranging from agriculture to watch repair.

After our memo, the schools sent out a letter saying girls will be admitted to these other schools if they can prove they have a special interest. I wondered if a girl, and I wondered if boys had to prove they had a special interest to get in these classes.

Under the boys schools are commercial art and a number of others that I thought were perfectly normal things for girls to be in and yet they are limited to boys, office machines, photography, printing, et cetera.

Well, I don't want to pick on the District of Columbia schools. That would not be fair. But I think this is typical of vocational schools.

In our own State of Minnesota, where we have post-high-school vocational and technical training, people tell me that the women are again counseled into the typical female occupations, even women who have to support families, and the men go into or are counseled into the other occupations.

In Waco, Tex., our WEAL group did an excellent analysis of sex-discrimination in the Waco public schools. Among their findings were:

> Sex and race discrimination in the area of student course assignments. The Waco school district, by dictum, "counseling," persuasion or lack of alternatives,

**requires girls to enroll in hairdressing (minority girls only), cooking and sewing classes. Boys are similarly placed in auto mechanics, woodshop, repair hand construction courses.**

The report goes on to state that an educational consultant testified in Federal court that Waco homemaking courses appeared to be training minority girls to be maids and waitresses.

This is still another example of assigning a place in the world on the basis of sex or race.

Discriminatory or outmoded tests should not be used to steer students toward specific occupations either.

I think another person will testify about the Strong Vocational Test which I first learned about from a young high school neighbor (male). To redo that test will take millions of dollars unless somebody provides some help or money to desex these tests. I understand Mrs. Schlossberg will talk about this.

Section 4(c)(15) of the bill calls for training, education, and employment training grants for unemployed and underemployed women. I think this is terribly important.

The recent issue of "Manpower" has a good article on the training or retraining of women for nontraditional jobs. It is about making women the breadwinner or something like that. It has some excellent ideas for good vocational training of women. But we do need this very much.

Many, many women are supporting families. They need to be able to find jobs. They need to be trained for jobs that will pay them enough to support that family. I am sure other will talk about sports and physical education.

Our WEAL group has done a number of studies. It seems there is a ratio of 10 to 1. They will have programs for sports and there will be about 10 boys to 1 girl in these programs or the money will be allotted about at that ratio.

This is tax money and I just don't think that is fair.

In Dallas, 8,809 participants are boys, 871 are girls.

In my own city of Minneapolis, I am told that we spend more to outfit one football team for 1 public high school than we do for all the girls sports in all 11 public high schools in the city of Minneapolis. I maintain that is not quite fair.

I think this is going to be a tough one. People feel very strongly about sports. I am not convinced we are going to be able to have girls competing with boys. This will end up with all boys teams anyhow, so we are going to have to figure out something.

I think under this bill there are conferences and institutes and work on this being done.

Women in administrative positions is my last point.

Our WEAL group in Minnesota has been challenging local school districts over the number of women in administrative positions. The Minneapolis Tribune of Wednesday, June 27, 1973 says:

**Joyce Jackson became a member of a select group—female secondary school administrators—when she was named principal of Central High School.**

"She is one of three women in the Minneapolis School District to be an administrator of secondary schools. Betty Jo Webb is an assistant principal at Ramsey Junior High. Rachel Leonard was named Tuesday to be assistant principal of Olson Junior High.

"Last month, the Minnesota Division of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) accused 31 metropolitan school districts of sex discrimination in the employment of high school administrators.

"At that time, Minneapolis had one woman administrator, and the only other district to have any women in secondary administration jobs was North St. Paul-Maplewood, which has an assistant principal.

"A study by Clifford Hooker, professor of educational administration at the University of Minnesota, showed that of 2,632 Minnesota school administrators, 202 were women, and most of them are elementary school principals. His study earlier this year showed there were no women school superintendents.

"Mrs. Jackson, named to the Central High School post earlier this month, said, 'Only in recent years have women been encouraged to go into administration. Secondary school administration has not been perceived as a role for women.' "

Mrs. Jackson is unusual, as the story indicates, but the situation is not. Minnesota's situation is typical. Men are the executives in schools, women are the teacher and the kids get the message.

We need men teachers and women executives. We need to show the kids, not just tell them, that sex-assignment is wrong. This means, however, that our colleges of education all over this country are going to have to change. It may mean we will need seminars and short courses in school management for teachers so they can move into administrative positions, if they like.

I should not say up into administrative positions, because I happen to think teaching is probably even more important than administration, but we need to integrate. We need more men teachers and more women administrators.

The goal of education should be to give individuals skills and information so they can make choices about their lives; schools ought to be helping individuals develop their full potential; each child ought to have equal educational opportunities in our public school system.

Some may argue that title IX is enough, that prohibiting discrimination will end discrimination.

WEAL argues that this legislation—the Women's Educational Equity Act—is an affirmative action plan with money to make it work. It is positive legislation aimed at changing old habits and instituting new ideas, materials, and ways of doing things.

If title IX is enforced and this legislation passed and financed eventually we should have equality of opportunity between the sexes and we would no longer need this legislation.

When all children come out of school self-confident, self-sufficient and self-supporting, then this legislation can self-destruct.

Thank you.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Mrs. Fraser, for a very excellent statement. We have just one or two questions from the Chair.

You deal with the subject of vocational courses in the schools. To what extent is the decision a voluntary one and to what extent is it a telling fact that girls take certain courses and boys take others?

In other words, the courses which you indicated as being listed at some of the schools, would it have been possible for one of the girls to have selected, let's say, auto body and fender repair if she had wanted to? To what extent was she compelled to accept that course or not to select that particular one?

**Mrs. Fraser.** What the memo said was that the girl had to prove a special interest and a real interest in this course before she would be admitted and the man I talked to kind of "pooh-poohed" the idea that any girl would want to do this, that it would just be too difficult.

My point is not that vocational education shouldn't be voluntary, but girls too often are counseled out or steered out of occupations that they might otherwise be interested in.

**Mr. Hawkins.** Would it also be true that the choice may to some extent depend on what the person anticipates, that is, a girl would anticipate that even if she selected certain courses that she would not be allowed to, let's say, to qualify for a job or that she would be rejected by the employer because of the fact that she is a girl?

**Mrs. Fraser.** Well, I think that is a factor, but if we accept that, nothing ever changes.

**Mr. Hawkins.** The other question is this: You indicated that certain textbooks were discriminatory, that the publishers base their decision not to reprint purely on the cost factor, that it would not be profitable to revise the textbooks.

Do you think that this is the sole reason or is the reason much more complex than that, the curriculum commissions and others in education also influence textbooks, that there are a lot of political implications involved other than merely the cost factor?

**Mrs. Fraser.** I would guess we are coming along far enough that a lot of publishers must be aware that they are being criticized and that they ought to change and if they are not aware of it yet, they will shortly be.

I think it is pretty much money. I guess I don't see much else because they are so old fashioned.

**Mr. Hawkins.** Thank you.

Mrs. Mink.

**Mrs. Mink.** I certainly want to join the chairman in commending you for the comprehensiveness of your testimony, Mrs. Fraser. I am sure that your contributions to this hearing will be extremely significant in the final development of our legislation.

It is my own personal feeling in regard to the many problems you have discussed: The older woman wanting to return to college, the problem of vocational choices, the difficulties in universities and promotions to executive responsibilities, that because our colleges are so difficult to deal with as instruments of change, this legislation tries to concentrate in such areas where changes can occur like curriculum and the way in which curriculum is presented. Such changes will not only affect the children who will be in the classroom, but it will have a profound effect on the teacher who is confronted with this new textbook, with new ideas portrayed in the text, in the pictures and in its presentation. This is one way in which the system can come to realize how it has been contributing toward the perpetuation of these sex stereotypes.

I would like to put a question to you in terms of textbook revision. Where do you place it in terms of priorities. Do you consider this as important or do you think that some of these other areas that you have discussed are of equal importance or more important? Is this notion of textbook revision really critical to the overall idea of equity in educational presentation?

**Mrs. Fraser.** I think the textbook revision is critical, but I accept the fact that it is going to take a long time so we have to do other things in between.

In terms of priority, yes, I would have three. The first would be supplementary materials, so that to counteract, or whatever, the textbooks until we get new ones.

I think it would probably be foolish for me to come here and say tomorrow every school system in the country has to buy new textbooks. From a fiscal point of view that wouldn't work. The second one is the inservice, the retraining of teachers, sensitizing of teachers. Just as we did with race, I think we have to do it with sex.

I think it can be done because I have a great respect for teachers and I think they want to help kids.

The third priority I would put is the whole business of vocational education. There are just too many women in this country not trained for jobs that will make them capable of self-support. We have to accept the fact that there are a lot of women who are going to be supporting families. That is growing.

So those three, supplementary materials, retraining for teachers, and desexing vocational education would be my priorities.

**Mrs. Mink.** Thank you very much.

**Mr. Hawkins.** Mrs. Chisholm.

**Mrs. Chisholm.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I only have one question I would like to ask you. Granted the fact that there would be a change in your curriculum and textbook materials, wouldn't you say that in order to begin to reverse attitudes, you must have some kind of posteducational sessions for those who are administrators and supervisors in your institutions. Even if they have said materials, the fact that many of them have been in these supervisory positions over a period of anywhere from 10 to 20 years, doesn't necessarily mean that they are going to be committed to this new concept. So it seems to me that the materials are not enough, that you would have to have some posteducational training. Wouldn't you agree?

**Mrs. Fraser.** Yes. I don't think it has to be very long. It can even be rather informal and in terms of time, maybe a month, I mean, have a session 1 month and a couple of months later and so on. Once people have started to be sensitized they can almost sensitize themselves and you get a group action going.

So I agree, I guess I left that out, that sensitizing the administrators and the supervisory people and the people in charge of curriculum is terribly important.

**Mrs. Chisholm.** Just one last question. Would you say on the basis of your knowledge or your contacts in this field that perhaps we need to take a very good look at the kind of counseling training that is being given in our institutions today?

Wouldn't you say that this would be necessary since the guidance counselors who are giving a sense of direction to the young people have ingrained feelings about this?

**Mrs. Fraser.** Yes. I skipped over that part in my testimony. It is important and I think vital. I also think that we maybe ask counselors to do too many things. My own kids would come home and say the counselor is too busy or all the counselor does is OK transfers between transfers.

I think too many times our counselors are clerks and not counselors.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you again, Mrs. Fraser. Your testimony has been very valuable to this committee.

The next witness is Dr. Bernice Sandler, director, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges.

## STATEMENT OF DR. BERNICE SANDLER, DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. SANDLER. Thank you very much.

I ask that my written testimony be printed in the record since I will not read it all this morning.

Mr. HAWKINS. It will be entered in this record at this point.

[The statement referred to follows:]

### STATEMENT OF DR. BERNICE SANDLER, DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN, ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES

I am Dr. Bernice Sandler, Executive Associate and Director of the Project on the Status and Education of Women at the Association of American Colleges. Formerly, I was the Chairman of the Action Committee of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) which was instrumental in bringing about federal enforcement of Exectuive Order 11246 regarding sex discrimination in universities and colleges. I am a member of the Board of numerous women's organizations, including WEAL, and I am also a member of the Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women to the President's Council of Economic Advisers. I am also a former Visiting Lecturer at the University of Maryland, and a former Educational Specialist, working on women's rights, with the House of Representatives' Special Subcommittee on Education.

Discrimination against women and girls in our educational institutions is real and not a myth. Until the last few years it has gone unnoticed, unchallenged and unchecked. Indeed in 1970, when the first charges of a pattern and practice of discrimination were filed against colleges and universities, there were no laws whatsoever forbidding sex discrimination in our schools and colleges. Women students and faculty had no legislative protection; only Executive Order 11246 applied, and that covered only institutions with federal contracts.

It was not until 1970 that any Congressional hearings were ever held on the subject of sex discrimination in education. Representative Edith Green's hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education documented a massive and extensive pattern of sex discrimination in over 1200 pages of testimony.

One of the least noted achievements of the 92nd Congress, however, was the legislative "explosion" concerning sex discrimination in education. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (which covers employment) previously excluded educational institutions; in March 1972 that exemption was removed with the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. *All* institutions, public or private, and regardless of whether or not they receive federal assistance, are now covered by Title VII. Similarly, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 contains provisions protecting students and employees from discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs. Title IX also removed the exemption for professional, executive and administrative employees contained in the Equal Pay Act of 1963, so that women faculty are now covered. Moreover, in October 1972 the Congress extended the jurisdiction of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to include sex discrimination. The Congress has clearly mandated a national policy to end sex discrimination in education.

With the passage of Title IX, many of the overt forms of discrimination are now prohibited by law—discriminatory admissions is forbidden;[1] all courses in coeducational schools and colleges must be open to all students on the basis of their abilities and not on the basis of their reproductive organs; differential regulations, policies and practices are forbidden; equal access to all programs and facilities is now a matter of national policy and legislation. But much of the discrimination that young girls and women face goes beyond the matter of official policies and practices.

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[1] Private undergraduate colleges and all single sex undergraduate colleges are exempt from the admission requirements of Title IX. However, they are not exempt from the provisions forbidding discrimination *after* admission.

Our young women, even when allowed equal access will still face a pervasive pattern of sex discrimination. Our schools, like the rest of society, are caught in a web of outdated attitudes, stereotypes, and assumptions about women. Despite the fact that women are now more than 40% of the work force, our schools still operate as though *all* women marry and quit work. Our young girls are not encouraged to think as part of their future lives, although most of them will work for 25 years or more, regardless of whether they marry, have children, or take time off for childrearing.

From the time a young girl enters school she learns more than just reading, writing and arithmetic. Her textbooks are far more likely to be written about boys and men; girls and women are rarely major characters. She will read about boys who do interesting, exciting things: they build rafts and tree houses; they have challenging adventures and solve problems, and they rescue girls who are "so stupid" that they get into trouble. One typical book pictures a 14-year-old girl standing on a chair, screaming because there is a frog on the floor; her 8-year-old brother rescues her. When girls appear in books, they are passive: they watch, they read, they dream, and are incapable of solving the most elementary problems. About the most exciting thing that girls do in books is help mother with the dishes or take a trip to the supermarket.

Although half the mothers of school-age children now work (and one-third of the mothers of pre-schoolers also work) mothers in children's books all stay home and usually wear aprons. They are a somewhat crabby group, always entreating their children to be clean and to be good, although they are warm and loving when children are hungry or ill. Women are simply characters in children's books; they have no interests beyond children and home; they rarely even drive cars; and they too are incapable of solving even the simplest of problems, like finding a box for a kitten, or mending a simple toy: all problems are deferred "until Daddy comes home."

Even arithmetic books—a seemingly neutral field—are riddled with sexual sterotypes that cripple our young girls. A sensitive 9th grade girl, Ann MacArthur, in a Maryland junior high, analyzed her algebra textbook and noted many examples[2] in math problems, such as: boys and men deal with large sums of money, make large purchases and invest their earnings. Girls and women deal with smaller sums, such as the amount necessary to buy butter or eggs. Men and boys do interesting things: they build a road, paint a barn, ride bicycles and paddle canoes. The problems that females deal with are almost always in the home: they measure materials for a blouse, and are concerned with "improbable and impractical age problems", such as: "Janet being ⅘ as old as Phil." Women have no occupational role other than housewife or club member.

I could go on and tell you more about half of our population, our girls and women, and how they have their lives and talents and aspirations crippled by a society which sees them as second-class citizens. I could tell you of well-meaning teachers and counselors who tell our young women that most fields are "too hard for a female," or who tell young women "not to worry about a career because a pretty girl like you will get married." I can tell you of a second grade teacher who told a parent not to worry about a bright girl who was bored in school, because "after all, she'll only be a housewife." And I can tell you of teachers who tell their students that boys are better in math, which becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, even though there is no difference in math achievement in the early years of grade school.

I can tell you, too, of professors who tell their women students that women shouldn't be professionals; who discourage women students from considering graduate work, and I can even tell you of professors who ignore women students in their class, or make "jokes" about how the "girls" wouldn't understand "what we men are talking about. I could tell you about the "under achievement" of women, which is a national scandal. For too many women, education produces a sense of inferiority.

Half of the brightest people in our country are women, yet the average woman with a bachelor's degree who works full time earns about the same median income as a man who is a high school dropout. No nation can long afford to waste half of its resources; yet that is precisely what is happening throughout our society now. If we are to begin to remedy the inequities that women face we will need a massive program to counteract the biases that women face.

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[2] As reported in the Women's Studies Newsletter, No. 4, Summer 1973, p. 2. (Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, New York 11568).

H.R. 208 would help develop new programs for women and girls at all levels, programs which would help women overcome the disadvantages of being raised in a society where they are not given the same opportunities that are the birthright of their brothers.

Much of what happens to women and girls is unconscious and not deliberate but that does not make it hurt any the less. H.R. 208 would allow for the development of materials, training programs and inservice programs to help our educational personnel fullfill their obligations and new responsibilities toward our young women and men. The bill would encourage the development of all sorts of programs—programs designed to encourage young women to enter study areas and jobs from which they have traditionally been excluded; model programs in providing physical education, evaluation and development of textbooks and curriculum; reach-out programs for poor women, unemployed women, older women.

Specific attention also needs to be given to minority females. Too often many of our minority programs have been aimed at minority *males*, and too often, our programs aimed at women have focused on *white* women. For example, textbook publishers have made a special effort to show picture of blacks and other minorities in prestige positions; minorities now appear in books as doctors, judges, engineers. But these pictures and stories are almost exclusively limited to minority males. It is a disservice to hold out encouragement for higher aspirations to male children only. H.R. 208 specifically allows for programs to be developed for minority females of all cultural and ethnic groups.

### RELATIONSHIP OF TITLE IX OF THE EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1972 TO H.R. 208

Title IX forbids discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs, but it will not create new programs for direct assistance to women. For example, Title IX prohibits a school from denying girls admission to an auto mechanics course. However, it would not provide for a new program to be designed to directly encourage girls to take the course, or to train counselors to advocate the entry of girls into such a course, nor would it train the instructor to deal fairly with the new female students. To merely end discrimination is not enough; new programs are vitally needed to deal with the new issues arising as discrimination ends.

*Why is a Separate Bill Necessary? Can't the Same Things Be Done By Already Existing Programs?*

In HEW and in the U.S. Office of Education are numerous programs within which funding for specific activities concerning women might well be funded. The likelihood of any substantial effort for developing women's programs by OE is very small, considering OE's past history. In November 1972 the Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women issued its report "A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW." The report is damning, particularly when one notes that it was prepared *by OE personnel* who are thoroughly familiar with the problems of OE programs. The following quotes are from the Report:

> Throughout the agencies [OE and NIE], the Task Force found little understanding of educational awareness . . . Unless equal opportunity for women is made a priority, neither agency is likely to sustain major changes. (p. 66)
>
> . . . it is abundantly clear that education contributes its share to the exploitation of women. Through its system of formal education, society should seek to nurture young minds and to open doors to lifelong opportunities. On both counts, education is failing the female sex. (p. 21)
>
> OE funds help to support the many discriminatory practices that make it particularly difficult for women to gain access to the education they want. (p. 32)

The Report, which is 141 pages long, examines virtually every program within OE, NIE, and OCR for women, documenting how government activities, programs, policies and practices ignore the problems of women. Specific recommendations were made, and eventually various heads of administrative units were asked to respond to the recommendations. To the best of my knowledge, these recommendations have not been officially accepted, nor implemented, nor has a date been set for future implementation. It is clear that, without a specific mandate from the Congress, such as that contained in H.R. 208, very little will be done by OE on its own initiative.

Moreover, the categorical programs supported by HEW have their own priorities: the aim of the vocational education program, for example, is not to help women but to support vocational education. With the substantial budget cuts being implemented throughout HEW, the most favored programs of administrators are those most likely to be funded, with women's programs given a low priority.

It is also important to note that many programs are funded because of personal contacts. This is not to imply that the programs do not have merits, but only that being part of the "old boy" network (the informal) relationships of old friends and acquaintances) is sometimes useful in getting government funding. Women are largely excluded from this network: they are not the administrators, they rarely serve on review panels, or advisory committees, and are not often used as consultants to programs. Education may be known as a "women's field" but women are not part of the network that is involved in determining policy and practices. With a specific bill for women's programs, more women would enter the informal network, and have the opportunity to affect other policies and practices.

What is needed is a "cross-cutting" approach, a program that would override narrow categorical aims, a program that would indicate commitment at a national public policy level. And this is what H.R. 208 would do.

*Would H.R. 208 Conflict with the Equal Rights Amendment When Ratified?*

The Equal Rights Amendment would forbid discriminatory practices and policies by federal, state and local governments. It would make sex a "suspect" classification in the same way that race is a "suspect" classification under the 14th Amendment. The question may then be raised as to whether activities funded by H.R. 208 would be "preferential" treatment and violate either the Equal Rights Amendment or the 14th Amendment.

The courts have held that when shaping a remedy for race discrimination, "present correction of past discrimination is not preferential".[3] Case after case has upheld affirmative action measures as a proper and equitable means of relief.[4] In numerous school desegregation cases, affirmative correction programs of a far stronger nature than those contained in H.R. 208, have been implemented by the courts.[5] Mere non-discrimination is not enough; concerted effort is necessary to remedy the effects of past discrimination.

Under the strict scrutiny utilized to determine discrimination concerning a suspect classification, it might well be argued that there is a "compelling national interest" to remedy the effects of past discrimination. This argument would justify having sex-based remedial programs for women under the Equal Rights Amendment. Moreover, when a classification which is usually deemed onerous (i.e., race, sex) is used to *remedy* past deprivations, a lower standard (i.e., "reasonable" or "rational basis,") may be used. In *Katzenbach* v. *Morgan* (384 U.S. 641 (1966)), the court upheld the use of the "reasonable" basis test on the ground that remediation of past inequities was involved, even though it involved a benefit based on race.

H.R. 208 (Section 2(c)) contains a provision that men could not be excluded from any of the programs funded by the bill, and we welcome this.

Moreover, there is Congressional precedent to justify the programs that would be undertaken by H.R. 208. Under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Commissioner of Education is empowered to render technical assistance to public institutions preparing, adopting and implementing desegregation plans. The Commission is also authorized, through grants or contracts with institutions of higher learning, to operate short-term or regular session institutes for special training to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. The Commissioner is also authorized to make grants to pay in whole or in part for the cost of teacher and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incidental to desegregation and employing specialists to advise in problems incidental to desegregation.

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[3] *Jones* v. *Lee Way Motor Freight, Inc.*, 431 F2d, 2 FEP Cases 895 (10th Cir. 1971), cert denied 401 U.S. 954, 3 FEP Cases 193 (1971); and other cases.

[4] See, for example, the 1973 "Statement of Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunities" by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and "Technical Comment No. 1," International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies, 1625 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, September 1972.

[5] See, for example, *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 amended Title IV to include sex, so that statutory authority for some of the programs covered by H.R. 208 already exists, although no funds were appropriated for these purposes.

However, H.R. 208 recognizes that the problems of women are not identical to those of racial minorities. The latter have been excluded by separate school systems. The problems of women occur within an "integrated" setting; females have been involved in coeducational institutions but have not had equal treatment, encouragement, or opportunities within those institutions. Title IV deals with desegregating institutions and would apply only to those single sex schools that are in the process of admitting the other sex. It does *not* apply to coeducational institutions. H.R. 208 would allow for the development of programs in a variety of settings both in and out of school. The Congress has passed legislation for programs dealing with other disadvantaged groups; H.R. 208 would similarly provide for programs for women.

### ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the bill is exceptionally well-drafted, there are a few minor technicalities that might best be changed:

1. Sec. 3(b) lines 16 and 18 should read: ". . . at a rate not to exceed the maximum *daily* rate prescribed for grade GS *18* in section 5332 of title 5, United States Code" (italics added). The GS 18 category is in keeping with other similar legislation.
2. I would urge that the bill go into effect for the fiscal years of 1974, 1975 and 1976, rather than 1975, 1976, and 1977.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our educational and community institutions will need a substantial amount of assistance if they are to help women gain their place as equal participants and beneficiaries of our society. They are caught in the traditions and policies of the past, traditions which are outmoded by the new realities of women working, of non-discrimination laws, and the new recognition of the rights of women. The way to solve the problems emerging as woman's role changes is far from clear; we do not know the answer or the best way to handle the new ideas and issues. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to discover these answers unless there is a concerted substantial effort at a national policy level, with finding and commitment. Unless our institutions receive help of this sort, they will be vulnerable to continued charges of discrimination, as well as being unable to adequately fulfill their responsibilities to women.

Although the women's movement is growing at a tremendous pace, women's groups are not well financed nor able to mount a comprehensive program to do what needs to be done; the government must lead the way to help our nation utilize the human resources of this nation. And half of those resources are women.

H.R. 208 asks for a pathetically small amount of money: $15 million for the first year with slightly larger amounts in the two years following. $15 million is the cost of *one* F-14 jet plane. Surely our nation can well afford that amount to help half of its citizens overcome the disadvantage of having been born female in a society where being born female is too often a handicap.

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## WOMEN STUDENTS: THE END OF SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP

(By Margaret Dunkle)

For some, the words "women's liberation" evokes images of radical, man-hating bra-burning women. My friends in the women's movement—and many of them are married, to men—tell me that bras were never burned, and that the more serious and important activities of the women's movement rarely get the attention of the press.

Women and men too are becoming increasingly concerned about and aware of discrimination in education. How many of you know that formal charges of sex discrimination have been filed against more than 400 colleges and universities in the past three years? How many of you know that none of these charges have yet been refuted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare? Some of our "finest" institutions have been charged: Columbia University, Harvard University, Yale University, the University of Michigan, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Minnesota, the University of Chicago, and the entire state university and college systems of the states of New York, New Jersey, California and Florida.

In January 1970 when the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) filed the first charges of sex discrimination against universities and colleges, there were no laws whatsoever that prohibited sex discrimination against women in education. At that time Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (which forbids discrimination in employment) exempted educational institutions; now, as of March 1972, all educational institutions are covered. Title VI of the same act which prohibits discrimination against the beneficiaries (i.e., students) in federally assisted programs only applied to race, color and national origin, not sex: now, as of July 1972 with the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972 (the Higher Education Act), discriimnation on the basis of sex in federally assisted education programs is prohibited. The Equal Pay Act did not cover executive, administrative and professional employees until July 1972. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights didn't apply to sex discrimination. Now it does. In fact, when WEAL filed its first historic charge, Congressional hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment had not yet been held. In January 1970 only the Executive Order applied, which forbade contractors from discriminating in employment. It was not enforced with regard to discrimination on the basis of sex. Sex guidelines had not been issued, and Order No. 4 which details the requirements for affirmative action plans did not include women; it applied only to minorities.

We have indeed come a long way in the past three years, but it is just a beginning.

Discrimination in student employment (including work-study programs) is prohibited by the same laws and regulations which prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex among regular employees—Executive Order 11246, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, and Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972. These laws prohibit any differences on the basis of sex in hiring, upgrading, salaries, fringe benefits, training and all other conditions of employment.

Practices such as routinely assigning female students to secretarial jobs and male students to the *higher paying* grounds and building jobs, are in violation of these laws. Another example of the disciriminatlon against student employees: a woman at a coeducational Ivy League institution who applied for a job in the university greenhouse was told that women were not hired to work there because "they kill the plants."

We cannot separate the education of women students from the climate of that education—the treatment of female employees by the educational institution, the respect that women receive from their professors and peers, women's access to facilities and resources, etc. Much of the social context of an educational institution is both determined by and reflected in the composition of its work force. Girls will not aspire to become professors or doctors or lawyers or business executives if they do not see women successfully performing these jobs.

A recent study by Dr. Elizabeth Tidball statistically confirms the importance to women of female "role models." She found that the number of "career successful women" was directly proportional to the number of women faculty present in the achievers' undergraduate institutions at the time they were students. In fact, the correlation was a *practically perfect +0.953*. Clearly, the visibility of women successfully performing highly professional jobs positively influences the career aspirations of female students.

Although many people still assume that women will be wives and mothers first, and students and employees second (if at all), this is no longer the case. Now the average woman can expect to spend at least twenty-five years in the paid labor market. Over half of the women between 16 and 65 are in the paid labor force and the number is growing. More women are becoming students, just as more women are joining the paid labor force.

Most people have at least some familiarity with the employment issues which are of concern to women—equal pay for equal work, equal access to jobs, equal chance at promotions, the elimination of anti-nepotism policies and practices, treating pregnancy and childbirth like any other temporary disability, etc. All of these issues arise when universities which are government contractors develop their "affirmative action plan" (under the Executive Order) or when they review their policies to assure that they are in compliance with other legislation.

Many of the student issues are less familiar and less obvious. It is these issues, however, which both illustrate and determine the educational climate for women at an institution, and most likely, it is these issues which are of the most interest to you.

Until the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act in July of 1972, there was no federal legislation which prohibited discriminatory treatment of students on the basis of sex. Although you may not have liked being kept out of a shop or carpentry or home economics class in high school, it was perfectly legal for schools to do this. Now it is not. The key section of Title IX reads:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. . . .

Title IX covers all educational institutions—preschools, elementary and secondary, colleges and universities (public and private) that get any federal money whatsoever—loans, grants, revenue sharing, contracts, etc.

Before we talk about what Title IX *can* do, perhaps we should mention what it can't do. There are three exemptions to these provisions:

*Religious institutions* are exempt if the application of the antidiscrimination provisions is not consistent with the religious tenets of the organization. Discrimination on the basis of sex for reasons of custom, convenience, or administrative rule is clearly prohibited. For example, an institution run by a religious order (e.g. Jesuit) could *not* limit admission to graduate school to members of one sex because of tradition. It could, however, limit faculty appointments to members of one sex if a religious tenet of the controlling organization requires that faculty members be members of a religious order that admitted one sex only. This exemption is very *limited.*

*Military schools* are exempt if their *primary purpose* is to train individuals for the military services of the United States or the merchant marine. This exemption does not apply just because an institution may offer ROTC. This exemption is very *limited.*

*Exemptions from nondiscriminatory admissions.*—Private undergraduate institutions (such as Harvard, Stanford), traditionally and continually single-sex public undergraduate institutions (and there are only a handful of these) and elementary and secondary schools other than vocational schools are exempt from the admissions provision of Title IX. Discrimination in admissions *is* prohibited in vocational institutions, all graduate and professonal institutions, public or private, and public undergraduate coeducational institutions (state colleges and universities). The effective date for this prohibition is July 1973, one year from the effective date of the Act in general. These exemptions apply to admissions only: they do not exempt institutions from the obligation to treat students equally *once they are admitted to a program.*

Title IX of the Education Amendments Act is patterned after Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits discrimination against the beneficiaries of programs receiving federal money on the basis of race, color and national origin, but not sex. Like Title VI, Title IX is enforced by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It provides students with the legal tool to protest sex discrimination. It is a potentially powerful tool: if an institution does not comply with its provisions, the government may delay money, take back money previously awarded to the institution or debar the institution from receiving future contracts or grants. At this point, regulations have not been issued. However, complaints can be made by writing to HEW Secretary Weinberger. Title IX can be expected to have an impact on a variety of areas. Let's look at some of these in more detail.

Perhaps the most obvious is *sex-blind admissions.* If an institution is interested in having a student body of the highest calibre possible, why do quotas on women exist? Since when do your ovaries control your IQ? The most often cited reason is that women are "bad risks." However, the career patterns of educated women do not confirm this assumption. A 1968 study showed that ninety-one percent of the women who received their doctorates ten years before were working, that four out of five had never interrupted their carrers, and fewer women than men experience career interruption lasting from eleven to fifteen months.

Changes in admissions policies and practices come slowly, even when the law mandates nondiscrimination. For example, some medical schools did not want to sign the government assurance (under the November 1971 Amendments to the Public Health Service Act) that they would admit women and men on an equal basis. Other institutions, even public institutions, often have quotas on women or require that women be more qualified to be admitted. For example, until the Spring of 1972, the University of Georgia, like many other institutions (both public and private) had a forty percent quota on women. Until the Fall of 1972 Stanford University had a 1933 regulation on the books which limited the enrollment of women to forty percent.

Discrimination in admissions and the lack of encouragement women get to pursue their education are two of the primary reasons why women are so underrepresented in higher education. In 1968 women made up *forty-three percent* of those receiving a bachelor's degree and less than *thirteen percent* of those awarded doctorates. It is estimated that only one of three hundred women in the United States today with the potential to earn a Ph.D. does so, while one of every thirty men with the potential receives a doctorate.

*Money: fellowships, scholarships and financial aid.*—The inability of women to compete equally with men for financial aid at many institutions tells women that their education is considered less important than the education of men.

A study by the Educational Testing Service found that, although women and men need equal amounts of financial aid in college, *the average award to a man was $215 higher than to a woman.* Another study found that, although undergraduate female applicants for financial aid were on the average better qualified than the male applicants and their need for financial aid was equivalent, the women had greater difficulty in obtaining aid and had to rely more heavily on loans. Dr. Helen Astin has reported a similar pattern at the graduate level. In a study of women doctorates, Astin noted that women were less likely to receive aid from the government, from their institutions and were therefore more likely to rely on their own savings or support from their families and/or spouses.

*Faculty Attitudes and Equality in the Classroom.*—The same assumptions that often lead financial aid committees to give priority to male students often cause faculty to treat women differently in the classroom. Although the discouragement that women often receive from faculty may be benign in intent, it often has the effect of devastating career aspirations and feelings of self-worth in the embryonic stage. Often professors and peers unwittingly reinforce sex stereotypes.

Women at the University of California at Berkeley reported example after example of this type of discrimination in their 1970 study:

> I was told "I'd never accept a woman graduate student unless she was unmarriageable," etc.
>
> I entered UC as a freshman and upon my first interview with an advisor, was advised that it was silly for a woman to be serious about a career, that the most satisfying job for a woman is that of wife and mother . . .

A well-meaning faculty member who serves on the affirmative action committee at a Maryland community college, distributed the following notice to his Spring semester students in 1973:

> Unfortunately, most men write worse than I do, which is atrocious. For that reason, I prefer (strongly prefer) all such papers to be typed, solely for the purpose of legibility. If you men cannot get such papers typed, please have your girl friend, wife or mother write them for you.

It is hard to solve a problem unless there is recognition that a problem exists. Although the law now prohibits differential treatment of students on the basis of sex, those perpetuating the discrimination often do not even realize that they are in fact, discriminating. All too often, sex discrimination or a sex role stereotype is so widely accepted that it is regarded as the norm: A man being asked his grade point average and a woman being asked her typing speed. A male science student being encouraged to go to medical school, while the woman who helped him pass organic chemistry is counseled to become a nurse or lab technician. Male chemistry students expected to build rockets and female science students expected to wash test tubes. A woman athlete being regarded as a biological mistake, while a male athlete is revered as a "real man."

All of these assumptions—and many more like them—are both widespread and deeply ingrained. At this point, only the faculty member with a keen sensitivity to women's concerns can free herself or himself from these limiting stereotypes.

*Textbooks and curriculum which treat both sexes fairly.*—Textbooks, other instructional materials and curriculum at all levels now often present this same sort of stereotyped image of women and men. Textbooks from Dick and Jane to medical school anatomy texts have come under fire for their biased, stereotyped portrayal of women. The Association of Women in Science (AWIS) forced publishers Williams and Wilkins to recall *The Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice* because of its portrayal of women. It was surprisingly easy to get this book recalled. Some of the lines in this text included:

> We are sorry that we cannot make available the addresses of the young ladies who grace our pages. Our wives burned our little address book at our last barbecue get-together.
>
> If you think that once you have seen the backside of one female, you have seen them all, then you haven't sat in a sidewalk cafe in Italy where girl watching is a cultivated art. Your authors, whose zeal in this regard never flags, refer you to Figures 111–50 and 53 as proof that female backs can keep an interest in anatomy alive.
>
> Thus the "little bit" of difference in a woman's built-in biology urges her to ensnare a man. Such is the curse of estrogen.

A new area of activity in higher education is the analysis of textbooks and documentation of omissions and stereotyping in them. For example, one study showed that in 27 college textbooks used in American History courses, women were virtually absent: no book devoted more than two percent of its pages to women and one devoted only 5/100 of one percent to women.

The number of Womens Studies courses has been increasing and now there are well over a thousand such courses. Although these courses are often excellent—rigorously academic as well as enlightening—they, much like Black Studies programs and continuing education programs, often occupy only a fringe status at the college.

Most people agree that Women's Studies courses are performing a vital role in educating women and men about the role of women in society. At the same time, however, women agree that the presence of a few Women's Studies courses does not relieve an institution from the obligation to take the sex bias out of *all* courses and materials.

Women are beginning to use the principles established by the passage of Title IX and the momentum for change to encourage educational institutions and publishers to eliminate sex stereotyping in textbooks and materials, just as minorities used Title VI (of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) to force the elimination of racial and ethnic slurs and stereotypes.

*Counseling on an individual, unstereotyped basis.*—Much (some say most) learning takes place outside the formal classroom situation. Women are often discourage from pursuing rigorous academic programs by counselors who urge them to train for traditionally female, dead-end, low-paying jobs, rather than for traditionally male, upwardly mobile, high-paying, high status jobs. In order to counsel women realistically for life in the Twenty-first Century, counselors need to become more familiar with the changing (and increasing) role of women in the marketplace, as well as the research on achievement and motivation in women. For example, counselors need to be more aware of what psychologist Matina Horner has called a woman's "motive to avoid success." Dr. Horner points out that:

> A bright woman is caught in a double bind. In testing and other achievement-oriented situations, she worries not only about failure, but also about success. If she fails, she is not living up to her own standards of performance; if she succeeds, she is not living up to societal expectations about the female role. Men in our society do not have this kind of ambivalence, because they are not only permitted but actively encouraged to do well.

Although a good deal of the problem in the area of counseling lies in the fact that many counselors accept stereotyped notions about women and men, the problem sometimes lies, at least in part, in the very instruments that are used. At its annual meeting in March 1972, the American Personnel and Guidance Association charged that the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, (which has pink forms for women and blue forms for men) is discriminatory and called for its revision. The resolution said that:

> Whereas, the Strong Vocational Interest Blanks (SVIB) provide different occupational scores for men and women: that is, women cannot be scored on occupations like certified public accountant, purchasing agent, public administrator, and men cannot be scored on occupations such as medical technologist, recreation leader, physical education teacher; and whereas, when the same person takes both forms of the SVIB, the profiles turn out differently: for example, one woman scored high as a dental assistant, physical therapist, occupational therapist on the woman's profile, and physician, psychiatrist and psychologist on the man's form; and whereas, the SVIB

> manual states: "Many young women do not appear to have strong occupational interests, and they may score high only in certain 'premarital' occupations: elementary school teacher, office workers, stenographer-secretary. Such a finding is disappointing to many college women, since they are likely to consider themselves career oriented. In such cases, the selection of an area of training or an occupation should probably be based upon practical considerations, fields providing backgrounds that might be helpful to a wife and mother, occupations that can be pursued part time, are easily resumed after periods of non-employment and are readily available in different locales" (Campbell, rev. 1966, 13); therefore, be it resolved, that APGA commission duly authorize members to petition and negotiate with the SVIB publishers to revise their instruments, manuals and norm groups so as to eliminate discrimination; and be it further resolved, that this duly authorized commission develop with the test publishers an explanatory paper to circulate among all purchasers of SVIB materials including answer sheets a statement which outlines the possible limitations inherent in the current SVIB with suggestions for ways to minimize the harm; and be it further resolved, that the commission in cooperation with the test publisher set a deadline for the new forms to be published and distributed.

*Equality in health and medical services.*—Other services, such as health and medical services, also tell women students what their "place" is. Although women make up about forty percent of the college students, a survey by the National Student Association revealed that fifty-three percent of the college and university health services do not provide gynecological services and fully seventy-two percent do not prescribe birth control for women. On many campuses student health fees are used to pay team doctors for male sports (football, basketball, etc.), but not to hire a gynecologist to meet the health needs of women. In fact, the health services of many institutions are of no help to a woman who needs gynecological care, treatment for venereal disease, or contraceptive advice. The lack of adequate health care and medical services for women has become a central issue on some campuses. Students have staged sit-ins or demonstrations specifically protesting the inadequacy of the health care facilities available to women on several campuses, including the University of Kansas and the American University (Washington, D.C.). Women on campus have cited some specific practices which they feel emphasizes their second-class position:

> Inadequate services or facilities to meet the routine gynecological needs of women (although the institution may provide urological services for males)
>
> The lack of contraceptive information and services. (Although some institutions do not provide this information for religious reasons, at other institutions the prime motive is "economy.")
>
> Treating pregnency as different from any other temporary disability in terms of rules, student insurance, restrictions, availability of housing, etc. (The principle of treating childbearing like any other medical disability is firmly established in the area of employment.)
>
> Insurance coverage which is especially limited for women. For example: policies which cover childbirth only for married women, policies which cover pregnancy for faculty wives but not female employees, and policies which do not cover pregnancy at all, and policies which cover vasectomies but not sterilization for women. All of these policies tell a woman that her health (and, by inference, she herself) is not as important as the health of a male student or the health of the wife of a male employee.

*Sports and athletic opportunities.*—The time, energy and money that are spent on athletic opportunities and facilities for men, but not women, are coming under increasing criticism. Although there are some honest—and some dishonest—disagreements over what constitutes equality in terms of sports and athletics, there is no question that—whatever the definition—women do not receive an equal opportunity in this area in virtually every coeducational institution in the country.

Let me read you a brief quote:

> The present generation of younger male population has not become so decadent that boys will experience a thrill in defeating girls in running contests, whether the girls be members of their own team or an adversary team. . . . Athletic competition builds character in our boys. We do not need that kind of character in our girls, the women of tomorrow.

When was this said? Not two hundred or fifty or even ten years ago. This was part of the dicta of a 1971 Connecticut Court judge who denied women the right to participate on a "male" cross country team.

The inequities in terms of money alone are tremendous. For example, women at a "Big Ten" university had to have bake sales and sell Christmas trees in order to finance their athletic activities. At one state university with an annual budget for male athletic teams of approximately $800,000, the women had difficulty getting $15,000 to finance their athletic activities.

The Women's Equity League (WEAL) has issued the following statement on athletic opportunities for women:

> In terms of athletic programs, however, the thrust of efforts to bring about equal opportunity for women must be two-fold: While outstanding female athletes should not be excluded from competition because their schools provide teams only for males, separate but equal programs should also be provided for average female students, who cannot compete equally in athletics with male students.

*Equalization of rules and regulations.*—Like sports, student rules and regulations often reflect a "double standard." A variety of rules and regulations—from curfew hours, to parietal hours, to dress codes, to requirements that women (but not men) live in on-campus housing—are being reviewed and challenged on campuses across the country. Increasingly, women and men are saying that these rules perpetuate the "double standard" and subtly tell women students that they are sexual objects who must be protected from themselves and from men.

Housing rules have sometimes been used in the past to deny women admission to an institution. For example, institutions assign a smaller number rooms to women, then insist that all women live on campus, although male students are allowed the privilege of living anywhere they choose. The institution then claims that a shortage of dormitory rooms is the reason for limiting the admission of women.

Different rules on the basis of sex are now prohibited by Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972.

*Women as student leaders.*—There are more subtle factors as well. For example, how many female student leaders are there in most coeducational institutions? Often the percentage of female leaders is as small as the percentage of tenured women full professors. We can assume that the effect is similar as well: that is, if women students see few women in responsible positions, they are less likely to aspire to those positions themselves, no matter how qualified they are. Under pressure, some institutions are increasing the number of women in leadership positions by appointing them to committees, boards, etc. The presence of a disproportionate number of men in student leadership positions—president of the student government, editor of the newspaper or literary magazine, president of other organizations and groups—raises some serious questions about the message that the institution is conveying to women students.

*The visibility of women in campus publications.*—Similarly, promotional, recruiting or other materials often unintentionally tell women that they are either invisible or viewed primarily as dates or sex objects. Overuse of the word "he" is one subtle way that excludes women. Other exclusions are not so subtle. For example, when women reviewed the catalogue of one of the most prestigious scientific schools in the country, they found that women were conspicuously absent from the pictures and that the few women pictured were clearly "dates."

*Flexible and part-time programs.*—New approaches are needed to give the non-traditional student or older woman a fair chance. Most college programs were designed for young males with few, if any, home or parental responsibilities. Institutions have often been discouragingly slow to adapt their programs to students who do not fit into this model, such as older people returning to college and persons—generally women—with parental responsibilities. Too often "flexibility" is interpreted as meaning "second rate," rather than an alternative way to achieve substantially the same end results.

The lack of flexibility of a great many academic programs cannot help but make women anxious about how they can both marry and pursue their studies or a career. Although the trend is towards more equal sharing of work both in the home and in the labor force, most women still bear the principal responsibility for child rearing and housekeeping. Thus, they are less likely to be able to work or go to school full time, at least while their children are young.

The necessity of restrictive rules, such as on-campus residency requirements and time limits for degree completion, is being questioned.

*Opportunities for older women.*—The same woman who can only go to school part-time might well be a woman who is not an 18–22 year-old Betty Coed. Currently the woman who delayed her education so she could raise a family often finds herself in a "damned-if-she does, damned-if-she-doesn't" situation. Her children are in school, so the job of "wife and mother" may well no longer be a satisfying full-time occupation. However, if she tries to go back to school, she is often told that she is too old for admission or past the cut-off age (often 35) for eligibility for scholarship or fellowship aid. Because fewer qualified women than men go to school, older women returning to college make up the largest single group of potential new students. Many institutions are finding that one of the easiest ways to increase their lagging enrollment without diluting academic standards is to develop programs and services which facilitate the reentry of these women into academia.

Still, many many institutions often retain the old roadblocks to this, despite all of the data that show that older students are better academically, and more highly-motivated. We are all familiar with the veteran who was a mediocre high school student, returning to graduate at the top of his (veterans are usually "he") college class. Paradoxically, women who have been out of school are not viewed in the same way. A study by the Center for Continuing Education at Sarah Lawrence College documented that women who return to college to earn undergraduate degrees demonstrate notably higher achievement and motivation than young undergraduates who complete their degrees in four years. This study found that older women earned *higher academic ratings*, were both *less likely to drop out* and *more likely to continue into graduate school* than their younger classmates.

"Continuing education" programs, however excellent they may be, are not enough. Too often these programs are isolated from the mainstream of the university community, with small budgets which are the first to be cut in a financial squeez, with a staff which has little stature in the university hierarchy, with untenured faculty, and with courses which are not transferrable to regular degree programs. Where continuing education programs have survived, they have indeed helped a number of individual women, and have often made significant contributions to innovation in higher education.

These women and others too, need good child care facilities. Child care centers are going to become a part of the campus. The need for them should have been obvious long ago, especially to those who held that women were poor risks because of motherhood. These centers should be available to the children of both male and female faculty, staff and students. For those who wonder where the money will come from for these centers, women are quick to point out the lovely golf course, and the expensive athletic facilities that many institutions are able to finance.

All of these factors—the presence of female role models, the services provided for women, the attitudes of faculty and counselors, and so forth—all of these factors tell a woman a great deal more about an institution than any college catalogue. They tell women if they're considered as sex kittens and cuddly bunnies or serious members of the academic community. Women now often find the climate of education very very cold. However, women have always been known for their warmth. Maybe that's why now they're putting the heat on.

Dr. **Sandler.** I want to thank the members of this committee for holding hearings. It has given a great many women a good deal of hope and faith. I notice that H.R. 208 was the number on the Equal Rights Amendment bill and I hope it will be passed with the same majority that Equal Rights was.

Discrimination against women and girls in our educational institutions is real and not a myth. Until the last few years it has gone unnoticed, unchallenged, and unchecked. Indeed in 1970, when the first charges of a pattern and practice of discrimination were filed against colleges and universities, there were no laws whatsoever forbidding sex discrimination in our schools and colleges.

I think one of the least noted achievements of the 92d Congress, however, was the legislative "explosion" concerning sex discrimination in education. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act—which covers employment—previously excluded educational institutions; in March 1972 that exemption was removed with the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. All institutions, public or private, and regardless of whether or not they receive Federal assistance, are now covered by title VII.

Similarly, title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 contains provisions protecting students and employees from discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs.

Title IX also removed the exemption for professional executive, and administrative employees contained in the Equal Pay Act of 1963, so that women faculty are now covered.

Moreover, in Octber 1972, the Congress extended the jurisdiction of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to include sex discrimination. The Congress has clearly mandated a national policy to end sex discrimination in education.

With the passage of title IX, many of the overt forms of discrimination are now prohibited by law—discriminatory admissions is forbidden; all courses in coeducational schools and colleges must be open to all students on the basis of their abilities and not on the basis of their reproductive organs; differential regulations, policies and practices are forbidden; equal access to all programs and facilities is now a matter of national policy and law. But much of the discrimination that young girls and women face goes beyond the matter of official policies and practices.

Our young women, even when allowed equal access will still face a pervasive pattern of sex discrimination. Our schools, like the rest of society, are caught in a web of outdated attitudes, stereotypes, and assumptions about women. Despite the fact that women are now more than 40 percent of the work force, our schools still operate as though all women marry and quit work. Our young girls are not encouraged to think of work as part of their future lives, although most of them will work for 25 years or more, regardless of whether they marry, have children, or take time off for childrearing.

From the time a young girl enters school she learns more than just reading, writing, and arithmetic. She will read about boys who do interesting, exciting things: they build rafts and tree houses; they have challenging adventures and solve problems, and they rescue girls who are "so stupid" that they get into trouble.

When girls appear in books, they are passive, they watch, they read, they dream, and are incapable of solving the most elementary problems. About the most exciting thing that girls do in books is help mother with the dishes or take a trip to the supermarket.

Although half the mothers of school-age children now work—and one-third of the mothers of preschoolers also work—mothers in children's books all stay home and usually wear aprons. Women are simple characters in children's books; they have no interests beyond children and home; they rarely ever drive cars; and they too are incapable of solving even the simplest of problems; all problems are deferred until Daddy comes home.

Even arithmetic books—a seemingly neutral field—are riddled with sexual stereotypes that cripple our young girls. A sensitive 9th grade girls, Ann MacArthur, in a Maryland junior high, analyzed her algebra textbook and noted many examples in math problems, such as: boys and men weal with large sums of money, make large purchases, and invest their earnings. Girls and women deal with smaller sums, such as the amount necessary to buy butter or eggs. Although with the recent prices we may be dealing with larger sums here.

Men and boys do interesting things: They build a road, paint a barn, ride bicycles, and paddle canoes. The problems that females deal with are almost always in the home: They measure materials for a blouse, and are concerned about improbable and impractical age problems, such as: Janet being four-fifths as old as Phil. Women have no occupational role other than housewife or club member.

I could go on and tell you more about half of our population, our girls and women, and how they have their lives and talents and aspirations crippled by a society which sees them as second-class citizens. I could tell you of well-meaning teachers and counselors who tell our young women that most fields are too hard for a female, or who tell young women not to worry about a career because a pretty girl like you will get married.

I can tell you of a second-grade teacher who told a parent not to worry about a bright girl who was bored in school, because after all, she will only be a housewife. And I can tell you of teachers who tell their students that boys are better in math, which becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, even though there is no difference in math achievement in the early years of grade school.

I can tell you, too, of professors, one of whom was mine, who tell their women students that women shouldn't be professionals; who discourage women students from considering graduate work, and I can even tell you of professors who ignore women students in their class, or make jokes about how the girls wouldn't understand what we men are talking about.

I could tell you about the under achievement of women, which is a national scandal. For too many women, education produces a sense of inferiority.

At least half of the brightest people in our country are women, yet the average women with a bachelor's degree who works full time earns about the same median income as a man who is a high school dropout. I always think of that when I make out my daughter's tuition check for collection.

No nation can long afford to waste half of its resources; yet that is precisely what is happening throughout our society now. If we are to begin to remedy the inequities that women face we will need a massive program to counteract the biases that women face in our society.

H.R. 208 would help develop new programs for women and girls at all levels, programs which would help women overcome the disadvantages of being raised in a society where they are not given the same opportunities that are the birthright of their brothers.

Sex discrimination is the last socially acceptable discrimination.

Much of what happens to women and girls is unconscious and not deliberate, but that does not make it hurt any the less. H.R. 208 would allow for the development of materials, training programs, and inservice programs to help our educational personnel fulfill their obligations and new responsibilities toward our young women and men. The bill would encourage the development of all sorts of programs—programs designed to encourage young women to enter study areas and jobs from which they have traditionally been excluded and discouraged; model programs in providing physical education, evaluation and development of textbooks and curriculum; reach-out programs for poor women, unemployed women, older women.

Specific attention also needs to be given to minority females. Too often many of our minority programs have been aimed at minority males, and too often our programs aimed at women have focused on white women. For example, textbook publishers have made a special effort to show pictures of blacks and other minorities as doctors, judges, and engineers; minorities now appear in books as doctors, judges, and engineers. But these pictures and stories are almost exclusively limited to minority males. It is a disservice to hold out encouragement for higher aspirations to male children only.

I was delighted to see that H.R. 208 specifically allows for programs to be developed for minority females of all cultural and ethnic groups.

Title IX forbids discrimination on the basis of sex in all federally assisted education programs, but it will not create new programs for direct assistance to women. For example, title IX prohibits a school from denying girls admission to an auto mechanics course.

Incidentally, 2 years ago, my daughter could not take a course in auto mechanics because there was no bathroom. However, title IX would not provide for a new program to be designed to directly encourage girls to take the course, or to train counselors to advocate the entry of girls into such a course, nor would it train the instructor to deal fairly with the new female students.

To merely end discrimination is not enough; new programs are vitally needed to deal with the new issues arising as discrimination ends.

Do we really need a separate bill? Can't the same things be done by already existing programs?

In HEW and in the U.S. Office of Education are numerous programs within which funding for specific activities concerning women might well be funded. The likelihood of any substantial effort for developing women's programs by OE is very small, considering OE's past history.

In November 1972, the Commissioner's task force on the impact of Office of Education programs on women issued its report "A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW." The report is damning, particularly when one notes that it was prepared by OE personnel who are thoroughly familiar with the problems of OE programs.

I would ask that if it is possible, the OE report be inserted in these hearings.

Let me give you some quotes from the report:

> Throughout the agencies (OE and NIE) the Task Force found little understanding of educational awareness * * * Unless equal opportunity for women is made a priority, neither agency is likely to sustain major changes. [p. 66]
>
> * * * it is abundantly clear that education contributes its share to the exploitation of women. Through its system of formal education, society should seek

> to nurture young minds and to open doors to lifelong opportunities. On both counts, education is failing the female sex. [p. 21]
>
> OE funds help to support the many discriminatory practices that make it particularly difficult for women to gain access to the education they want. [p. 32]

I think it is clear that without a specific mandate from the Congress, very little will be done on the OE initiative.

Moreover, the categorical programs supported by HEW have their own priorities: the aim of the vocational education program, for example, is not to help women but to support vocational education. With the substantial budget cuts being implemented throughout HEW, the most favored programs of administrators are those most likely to be funded, with women's programs given a low priority.

It is also important to note that many programs are funded because of personal contacts. This is not to imply that the programs do not have merits, but only that being part of the "old boy" network—the informal relationships of old friends and acquaintances—is sometimes useful in getting Government funding.

Women are largely excluded from this network: they are not the administrators, they rarely serve on review panels, or advisory committees, and are not often used as consultants to programs. Education may be known as a woman's field but women are not part of the network that is involved in determining policy and practices.

With a specific bill for women's programs, more women would enter the informal network, and have the opportunity to affect other policies and practices.

What is needed is a cross-cutting approach, a program that would override narrow categorical aims, a program that would indicate commitment at a national public policy level. And this is what H.R. 208 would do.

Would H.R. 208 conflict with the equal rights amendment when ratified?

Incidentally, I am sure it will be ratified, the last few States were difficult in the sufferage amendment, but we eventually got them.

The equal rights amendment would forbid discriminatory practices and policies by Federal, State and local governments. It would make sex a suspect classification in the same way that race is a suspect classification under the 14th amendment. The question may then be raised as to whether activities funded by H.R. 208 would be preferential treatment and violate either the equal rights amendment of the 14th amendment.

The courts have held that when shaping a remedy for race discrimination "present correction of past discrimination is not preferential."

Case after case has upheld affirmative action measures as a proper and equitable means of relief. In numerous school desegregation cases, affirmative correction programs of a far stronger nature than those contained in H.R. 208 have been implemented by the courts. Mere nondiscrimination is not enough; concerted effort is necessary to remedy the effects of past discrimination.

Under the strict scrutiny utilized to determine discrimination concerning a suspect classification, it might well be argued that there is a compelling national interest to remedy the effects of past discrimination. This argument would justify having sex-based remedial programs for women under the equal rights amendment.

H.R. 208 (section 2(c)) contains a provision that men could not be excluded from any of the programs funded by the bill, and we welcome this.

Moreover, there is congressional precedent to justify the programs that would be undertaken by H.R. 208. Under title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Commissioner of Education is empowered to render technical assistance to public institutions preparing, adopting, and implementing desegregation plans.

The Commissioner also authorized through grants or contracts with institutions of higher learning, to operate short term or regular session institutes for special training to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation.

The Commissioner is also authorized to make grants to pay in whole or in part for the cost of teacher and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incidental to desegregation and empolying specialists to advise in problems incidental to desegregation.

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 amended title IV to include sex, so that statutory authority for some of the programs covered by H.R. 208 already exists, although no funds were appropriated for these purposes.

However, H.R. 208 recognizes that the problems of women are not identical to those of racial minorities. The latter have been excluded by separate school systems. The problems of women occur within an integrated setting; females have been involved in coeducational institutions but have not had equal treatment, encouragement, or opportunities within those institutions.

Title IV deals with desegregating institutions and would apply only to those single sex schools that are in the process of admitting the other sex. It does not apply to coeducational institutions.

This is where the problem is mainly for women. H.R. 208 would allow for the development of programs in a variety of settings both in and out of school. The Congress has passed legislation for programs dealing with other disadvantaged groups; H.R. 208 would similarly provide for programs for women.

Our educational and community institutions will need a substantial amount of assistance if they are to help women gain their place as equal participants and beneficiaries of our society. They are caught in the traditions and policies of the past, traditions which are outmoded by the new realities of women working, of nondiscrimination laws, and the new recognition of the rights of women.

The way to solve the problems emerging as women's role changes is far from clear; we do not know the answer or the best way to handle the new ideas and issues. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to discover these answers unless there is a concerted substantial effort at a national policy level, with finding and commitment. Unless our institutions receive help of this sort, they will be vulnerable to continued charges of discrimination, as well as being unable to adequately fulfill their responsibilities to women.

Although the women's movement is growing at a tremendous pace, women's groups are not well financed nor able to mount a comprehensive program to do what needs to be done; the Government must lead the way to help our Nation utilize the human resources of this Nation. And half of those resources are women.

H.R. 208 asks for a pathetically small amount of money: $15 million for the first year with slightly larger amounts in the 2 years following. The cost of one F–14 jet plane is $15 million. Surely our Nation can well afford that amount to help half of its citizens overcome the disadvantage of having been born female in a society where being born female is too often a handicap.

Thank you very much.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Dr. Sandler.

On page 9 of your prepared statement, Dr. Sandler, you dealt with the question of affirmative action programs. Are you suggesting that in the same way that these programs contain goals and timetables for the treatment of minorities who have suffered from past discrimination, that the same procedure be followed in connection with sex discrimination? Would you spell out specific goals and time periods within which certain accomplishments should be mandated.

Dr. SANDLER. Not under H.R. 208. I should point out that under title VII and the Executive order women are covered in the same way minorities of all kinds are covered and goals and timetables, when appropriate, can be utilized by the courts and Federal agencies.

However, H.R. 208 is not dealing with direct supervision in employment, but would deal with helping women get training for employement, it might help employers in their dealing with women, but it would not obviously require any kind of goals and timetables as such.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you think that it would require stronger regulations than now exist? I think you detailed throughout this statement existing laws which certainly affect these problems, but that they are not now being administered. Yet this particular proposal would enact still another law which may likewise not be administered.

Are we to believe that the same persons who failed to properly administer existing laws would do any better if H.R. 208 were to be enacted? In what way does H.R. 208 provide more effective machinery for doing what should already be done if the law were to be observed?

Dr. SANDLER. What H.R. 208 would do is to help some of the institutions who deal with women and to develop programs more adequate to women. It is not civil rights legislation and does not cover court penalties. It says if you have a good idea for a program that would be useful in counteracting the biases of past discrimination, then there may be Government funding available to help you with that program.

Let me go back to the example of my daughter who could not take the auto mechanics course. The counselor she spoke to ridiculed her and said girls don't want to take courses with boys, you would not want to be the only girl in the class, et cetera.

Now title IX allows her now to take that course, but I suspect she will get very little encouragement from a counselor to take that course and I suspect the man who teaches that course will not give fair treatment to any girls who come into that course.

These people need help in learning how to deal with these new issues. How does a teacher feel who has only taught boys and a girl comes in. Some teachers were threatened by this. These are the kinds of things H.R. 208 would do.

The legislation prohibiting discrimination would help the children to get into these programs, but it would not help the people teaching the courses one bit to change their biases and behaviors.

Mr. **Hawkins**. I direct your attention to the section of the bill which establishes a Council on Women's Education Programs within the Office of Education. I notice that the proposal does provide that 12 of those members, at least 12, will be women and they would be broadly representative of the public and private sections, knowledgeable about the role and status of women in the American society.

I don't know whether or not any witness has made any reference to that, at least so far. Would you say that this would provide, in a sense, a watchdog type of council to see that existing laws, as well as those that may hereafter be enacted, will be sufficiently enforced along the lines that you suggest?

Dr. **Sandler**. Yes; the Council really has two functions. One, it advises and makes recommendations to the Secretary about the bill itself, about the programs that would be funded under the bill itself. It also has the authority to make recommendations to the Secretary of HEW concerning all programs dealing with the education of women.

There would be a very specific spinoff from the Council in being able to examine other existing HEW programs. You would have a mandate from the Congress. You would have people appointed by the President. This would be a group that would have some stature and would be able to, I think, perform a real watchdog monitoring function.

Mr. **Hawkins**. Thank you.

Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. **Chisholm**. Just one question to Dr. Sandler.

I know you have appeared in several panels and I have traveled with you; so it is a special pleasure to see you here today. There is only one question I would like to ask you, Bernice. My question concerns page 3 and section (b) where it says the President shall appoint one member of the Council to serve as his chairman. I was wondering about your reaction to that, not in terms of the President—I am not trying to get political—but in terms of the fact that when you have the Chief Executive appoint this person, unless this is a person who has had a special understanding or commitment to the problems of women, this can be a kind of token appointment. The person might be supervising this group, therefore could be someone who really doesn't understand completely what it is all about.

This doesn't necessarily mean that we can judge from a person's academic background whether that person will have a commitment to what this Commission is going to be about. I was wondering if perhaps it might be a better thing to have these members, within a period of a month or two, make the appointment as to who shall be chairman.

After all, they have to work together and have to have confidence and faith and belief in the person running this Commission. I merely throw that out to you.

Dr. **Sandler**. Yes, I think that is a possibility. Certainly there have been some instances of someone having been appointed to areas where they were involved in women's issues in the Government who had very little experience. Although they learned very rapidly, it did mean there was a long timelag until they learned what the issues were.

I am not sure what the general precedents are in Councils of this sort, but I myself would have no objection to the Council appointing its own chairman.

**Mr. HAWKINS.** If the gentlewoman would yield at that point, is it the intent of the author of the bill to have the person serving as head of the Council a chairman rather than a chairperson?

**Mrs. MINK.** That is a terrible error. I am glad you pointed it out.

**Mr. HAWKINS.** It seems the members of the committee have to start rethinking a little bit.

**Dr. SANDLER.** I don't think anyone intended that the chairman be a man necessarily.

**Mr. HAWKINS.** I wonder who drafted this bill, anyway.

**Mrs. MINK.** One of the legislative counsels.

**Mr. HAWKINS.** We may assume he was a man.

**Mrs. MINK.** We may assume that.

**Mrs. CHISHOLM.** No further questions.

**Mr. HAWKINS.** Mrs. Mink.

**Mrs. MINK.** I would like to endorse your statement and in particular the detailed analysis which you presented the committee. This will be extremely helpful in understanding the need for this legislation as supplemental to all the efforts that the Congress has thus far enacted into law in the area of sex discrimination.

You made reference to the OE Task Force report. Do you know if anything has come of that in terms of action by the Secretary or the office of education to try to correct some of these things you pointed out?

**Dr. SANDLER.** I am not sure what the current status is. I know that the report was sent to various heads of various pieces of OE programs and NIE programs and they were to respond with recommendations they felt should be implemented and which ones they did not feel were realistic for one reason or another. I don't know what stage that is in.

I know about a month or so ago, a group of us met with Secretary Weinberger from various women's groups and we asked him about these recommendations. He said he would put a time frame on it, but we have not heard yet as to what that time frame may be.

I am not sure that the report incidentally has been issued. It has been disseminated informally, but I am not sure it is readily available for anyone who wants it. I would hope that the Office of Education would hurry up and make that report available because it is a remarkable report and one that should be used as a model for almost every Government agency to look at its programs and see if there is some unintentional discrimination going on.

**Mrs. MINK.** Both Mrs. Fraser and yourself have used the words "affirmative action." Would it be correct to characterize this legislation as an attempt to establish a national affirmative action with respect to discrimatory practices in education?

**Dr. SANDLER.** Yes, I think it is clear from the testimony you have heard and will be hearing in these hearings and from the testimony that Mrs. Green had in her hearings in 1970 that women are very much a class in need of remedial help. There is no question that without help many of the women will not really have a chance to benefit and participate in our society.

So, H.R. 208 really is a remedial or affirmative action program which would help women directly, but it would also help people who are dealing with women to help them begin to move forward into more realistic ways and more fair ways of dealing with women students and coworkers.

Mrs. Mink. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Hawkins. Mrs. Mink, would you desire that the OE report be entered into the record of these hearings?

Mrs. Mink. Yes, I so request.

Mr. Hawkins. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Dr. Sandler. I can supply the committee with a copy. I have one in my possession.

Mr. Hawkins. Thank you. I understand the committee already has one.

So, without objection, we will have it printed in the record at this point.

[The report referred to follows:]

## A Look at Women in Education

### Issues and Answers for HEW

### REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER'S TASK FORCE

### *PREFACE*

How can education—known for decades as a "women's field"—be guilty of discrimination *against* women? This report, addressed first of all to that paradox, summarizes the evidence that our educational institutions everywhere have been denying females their right to equal opportunities as students and as employees. Second, it explains how HEW education aid has contributed to sex discrimination and recommends action to make Federal education programs part of the solution, not part of the problem.

In the wake of rising public concern about discrimination against women in education, the Commissioner of Education (then Sidney P. Marland, Jr.) established last May a task force to investigate the impact of Office of Education programs on women. Just a few months earlier, the HEW Women's Action Program had called attention to sex bias in several Office of Education programs and recommended changes; Secretary Richardson asked that they be implemented. Meanwhile, by late spring, more important events were at hand as Congress moved toward enactment of sweeping legislation banning all Federal education aid to any institution or individuals practicing sex discrimination.

Believing that these events had profound implications for all Office of Education programs and deserved a studied, comprehensive agency response, Commissioner Marland asked his 12-member task force to report back with findings and advise on the agency's response. This is that report.

Besides the Office of Education, the task force also looked at the activities of two other HEW units: the new National Institute of Education, whose research and development functions were still part of OE when the task force began its work, and the Office for Civil Rights, whose enforcement efforts will certainly affect the speed with which the education community meets women's demands for equality.

The information presented here was gleaned both from the general literature on sex bias in education and from agency staff. To find out about the relationship between specific programs and sex discrimination—sometimes by gathering responses in writing, more often by personally interviewing program administrators and staff. Questions were far-ranging: they covered program participation by sex, the role of women in administering projects in the field, past efforts to reduce sex discrimination in agency programs and special projects aimed at expanding opportunities for women.

Information on many programs was sketchy or nonexistent, either because very little information of any kind is gathered at the Federal level (as in many formula grant programs) or because programs have not yet recognized the need to collect data comparing the participation of males and females. The task force study, then, has only scratched the surface, and we hope that it will prompt program officials to look much more closely at the relationship between their own programs and sex discrimination.

The 12 task force members represented various shades of opinion about the role of women in American society; the viewpoints and recommendations presented here reflect a consensus rather than complete unanimity. Despite differing viewpoints, we did agree on several fundamental premises which underlie the report:

That every person has a basic human and constitutional right to equal opportunity;

That the education system must strive to enable each individual to explore his or her unique potential to the fullest; and

That both males and females are now prevented from doing that by society's insistence on traditional definitions of the proper roles of men and women.

With women's rights, as with other areas of civil rights, the issue is basically a human one: how do we see that all Americans—males and females, rich and poor, black, brown and white—can take their places as human beings with the same human and civil rights?

For it is clear that discrimination against women is part of a much broader problem of exploitation and exclusion in American society. Women share the experience of second-class citizenship with ethnic minorities, the handicapped and the poor. While the task force was not able to analyze the educational needs of these groups, we do believe that many of our recommendations also apply to them. We urge that agency officials consider this as they act on task force recommendations.

We have presented our report in two parts. The first, a summary of the problems women face throughout American education, reflects the task force's concern that sexism in education is still a little understood phenomenon. We hope that the report will help to inform people, both inside HEW and out, about the seriousness and magnitude of the inequalities women confront within the education system. The second part examines the relationship of HEW education programs to the problem and presents an agenda for action.

Women seeking equal opportunities in education have just begun to win public recognition for their grievances. In this media-oriented society, gaining public attention is genuine progress. The question now for Federal education officials, as for educators throughout the nation, is whether we will now move beyond that symbolic victory to substantive change. That is the challenge.

## PART I—SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW

(Part I describes the many ways in which sex discrimination in the educational system works against women, both as students and as workers.)

As the decade advances, equality for women is emerging as one of education's thorniest and most urgent issues. And little wonder.

At a time when women are demanding equality as both a human and a constitutional right, our schools are still imparting concepts of male superiority. Although women are close to half the working population, education is still primarily preparing them to be housewives. As an employer, the education system is equally guilty. Women working in education can generally expect lower pay, less responsibility and far less chance for advancement than men working at the same level.

The situation is not without its bright spots. But mounting evidence makes it clear that unequal treatment of the sexes is the rule in education, not the exception. As a girl progresses through the education system, she confronts serious biases and restrictions at each level, simply because she is female.

### EARLY EDUCATION REINFORCES IDEAS OF MALE SUPERIORITY

From the time they first start school, children learn from teachers, textbooks, games and films that males are superior to females.

Elementary school textbooks reveal startling biases. Females are continually underplayed as topics of interest. An extensive study covering 144 readers from

15 reading series, varying from primer to 6th grade level, disclosed that while boys were the focus of 881 "amusing and exciting" stories, only 344 of these stories centered around girls. Similarly, there were 282 stories featuring adult males, but only 127 stories about women. In addition, there were 131 biographies of famous men, but only 23 of famous women.[1]

Derogatory comments aimed at girls in general were common in all these readers. One reader depicts a girl getting lost in London with the caption, "Girls are always late." Another primer denigrates girls with a "Look at her, Mother, just look at her. She is just like a girl. She gives up." and again with "you cannot write and spell well enough to write a book. You are just two little girls."[2]

Other sex stereotypes are commonly threaded through grade school curriculum materials. Girls emerge as passive, dependent, and incompetent, while boys are active, self-reliant, and successful. Mothers mostly appear as housecleaners, clothesmenders, grocery shoppers and cake bakers; fathers are wage earners.

The negative influence that biased curriculum materials exert on children is reinforced by differences in the way teachers and administrators treat boys and girls. Teachers communicate their expectations of "feminine" and "masculine" behavior in subtle ways: girls are asked to do light classroom chores (watering the flowers or decorating the Valentine box), boys are assigned to the heavier and more responsible tasks (moving chairs or hall patrol). Physically active girls are labeled "tomboys"; boys who cry are "sissies."

Then too, the traditional classroom set-up, with children sitting quietly row by row, is difficult for most children, but especially hard for boys who have been encouraged from birth to be physically active. Teachers tend to reward passivity and obedience, qualities many girls have already acquired.

This dichotomy in roles is undoubtedly reinforced when children look at adult roles in their own schools, where they are likely to see that women teach and men run things: and early and potentially damaging lesson in "career education." For while 85 percent of all public school elementary teachers are women, 79 percent of the elementary school principals are men.[3]

By the time children are ready to leave grade school, they have already begun to develop distinct impressions of the limitations placed on them because of their sex.

## SEX DISCRIMINATION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Once children reach secondary school, they are likely to confront even more rigid sex stereotyping. Both girls and boys may be prevented from taking advantage of certain educational activities, although restrictions facing girls are far more serious than those boys usually face.

### *Sex-biased curriculum materials*

Sex biases in the curriculum are a problem at this level too, though the focus has shifted: women are ignored more often than maligned. In history and social studies texts, for example, women—their achievements and their concerns—are virtually invisible. The history of women's exploitation and their struggle for equality is dealt with superficially, if mentioned at all.

### *Stereotyping interests and abilities*

Early on, girls and boys discover they are expected to develop different "aptitudes"—boys in math and science, girls in English and the arts. Teachers, principals, and parents may encourage boys to pursue these "masculine" fields, but admonish girls to stick to the "feminine" fields. There is no question that these sex stereotypes have an effect. The National Assessment Study discovered, for instance, that while there was little difference between boys and girls in science writing at age 9, the gap widened increasingly at ages 13, 17, and young adulthood.[4]

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[1] National Organization for Women (N.O.W.), New York City Chapter, Education Committee. *Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools* (New York, N.Y., 1971) p. 13 citing the study done by Elizabeth Hagan and the Central New Jersey Chapter of N.O.W.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[3] National Education Association (NEA) Research Division, *Estimates of School Statistics, 1971–72* (Washington, D.C., 1971), p. 14.

National Education Association Research Division, "Professional Women in Public Schools, 1970–71," *NEA Research Bulletin*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (October 1971), p. 68.

[4] Education Commission of the States, *National Assessment of Educational Progress: Assessment Reports No. 4, No. 5, No. 7, and No. 9* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970–71).

### *Sex-segregated co[illegible]*

Children who do display unconventional interests may be blocked from pursuing them because appropriate courses are restricted to the other sex. Home economics and industrial arts classes are frequently segregated by sex, making it difficult for both sexes to acquire basic home management skills. Men don't learn to cook or mend; women can't put up a shelf or fix an electrical outlet. Young people are becoming interested in what the other half is learning: in an informal survey taken in Boston recently, girls in traditionally female vocational education said they would rather take industrial arts than home economics, if they had the chance. Students of both sexes have begun to demand that these courses be coeducational. A few pioneering school districts have combined home economics and industrial arts into courses covering a range of "survival" skills, others have devised "bachelor cooking" courses, while others have simply opened up the old courses to both sexes.

### *Segregated academic and vocational schools: Separate but not equal*

Opportunities for girls are further limited by restricted admissions in schools. Academic and vocational high schools in large school districts sometimes exclude one sex entirely or require higher admissions standards for girls than for boys. Simply because of their sex, students may find themselves ineligible for the school offering the best or only courses in their field of interest.

Until recently, New York City excluded girls from two of the city's high quality public academic high schools specializing in science, mathematics and technology. Two years after a court order opened the first school, the Board of Education was still listing these schools for "boys only" in its official catalogue.[5]

Vocational high schools in big cities are also frequently sex segregated. A 1971 telephone survey by OE's Office of Legislation found, for example, that the District of Columbia had four (two for men, two for women); Baltimore, four (also two for each); and New York City, 18(13 for males, five for females).

Separate does not mean equal. Boys' vocational high schools tend to offer training for more diverse and better paying jobs. The segregated schools in New York City prevent girls from taking courses in 17 different vocational fields: architectural drafting, dental labs processing, jewelery making, industrial chemistry and upholstery as well as areas in heavy industry. Boys are excluded from two.[6]

A comparison of Boston's two trade high schools, one for each sex, is particularly revealing.

Boys at Boston Trade High choose from courses in automobile mechanics, basic electronics, cabinetmaking, carpentry, drafting, electrical technology, machine shop, painting, plumbing, printing, sheet metal and welding. At Trade High School for Girls, on the other hand, students are only offered programs in clothing, foods, beauty culture, and commercial art. The average expected wage for trades taught at Trade High School for girls is 47 percent less than that for the trades available at Boston Trade High School for Boys.[7]

In addition, nonvocational course offerings at these schools are determined by sex. At Trade High School for Girls, students take typing and merchandising, while boys at Boston Trade learn geometry, trigonometry and physics. Girls can study biology but not chemistry. Interestingly, the Boston school system makes exceptions for boys who want to be admitted to the girl's trade school (seven were enrolled in 1970), but no exceptions have ever been made for girls who sought admission to the trade school for boys.[8]

### *Limitations in vocational education*

Justifications for this kind of rank discrimination range from the well meaning—"She won't be able to get a job"—to the absurd—"We can't let girls do metal work because they have to wear masks and work with sparks."[9] Whatever the excuse schools must stop denying students free choice in vocational training.

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[5] N.O.W., *Report on Sex Bias . . .*, p. 3.

[6] Bureau of Education and Vocational Guidance in cooperation ith the Office of High Schools, *The Public High Schools, New York City, 1971–72* (New York, N.Y.: Board of Education of the City of New York, 1972), pp. 18–23.

[7] Gail Bryan, *Discrimination on the Basis of Sex in Occupational Education in the Boston Public Schools*, Prepared as part of an investigation by the Boston Commission to Improve the Status of Women, 1972, p. 6, n. 1. (Mimeographed.)

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[9] Committee to Eliminate Sexual Discrimination in the Public Schools, *Let Them Aspire: A Plea and Proposal for Equality of Opportunity for Males and Females in the Ann Arbor Public Schools* (2nd ed. rev.; Ann Arbor, Mich.: KNOW, INC., 1971), p. 13.

The fact is that some women want training in vocations now dominated by men, and vice versa. Women have succeeded, despite tremendous resistance, in all of these fields; during World War II the popular "Rosie the Riveter" served as evidence that women were effectively replacing men in many industry jobs. Sex discrimination in employment has been illegal since 1964; now it is illegal in vocational schools, too.

Equality in job training is not a minor concern for women. Despite the persistent myth that "woman's place is in the home," women are now a permanent and growing sector of the work force. Within the past thirty years, the number of women in the work force has more than doubled, so that to day two out of every five workers are women.[10] Nearly two thirds of the new jobs created during the 1960's were held by women.[11]

Nor are women only temporarily employed or merely working for "pin money." Seventy percent of all women employed are working full time, and the average woman worker has a full-time worklife expectancy of 25 years.[12] Nearly half of the women employed in 1971 were working because of pressing economic need.[13]

So long as the schools continue to steer girls into vocational training for low-paying jobs, they will continue to contribute to the earnings gap between working women and working men. That gap is substantial and growing worse. In 1955, a woman working full-time earned only 64 percent of a man's earnings, but by 1970, she was only earning 59 percent as much.[14]

*Athletics*

Schools sponsor physical education and extramural sports because educators recognize the importance of life-long habits of phyiscal fitness. These habits are needed as much by women, as workers and mothers, as by men. However, girls get short shrift in physical education, both at the secondary and higher education level. Schools and colleges devote greater resources to boys' than to girls' athletics: in facilities, coaches, equipment and interscholastic competition. In one midwestern district, school officials spent ten times as much on boys' athletics as on girls': and there is no reason to believe that this school district was unusual.[15] Girls are often either excluded from interscholastic competition or required to play under restrictive rules specially designed for girls' games. In one case, State rules for high school athletics forced a high school to deny its best tennis player both coaching and the chance to compete. Why? The athlete was female.[16]

*Expelling pregnant students*

Discrimination is particularly severe for one group of students—those who become pregnant. Every year over 200,000 young women under 18 give birth.[17] Usually these young women are expelled from school at the first sign of pregnancy. Out of 17,000 school districts surveyed in 1970, fewer than one third offered pregnant school-age girls any education at all.[18] School districts that did allow students to study during pregnancy usually kept them at home or segregated them in special classes for various reasons—on moral grounds, for special protection or for convenience.[19]

None of these reasons justify denying a young woman the right to regular public education with her peers. There is no evidence that pregnant students are morally contagious. Class attendance poses no greater health hazard to pregnant women than performing a job, doing housework or caring for other children—all things that women commonly do up until childbirth.

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[10] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Expanding Opportunities for Girls: Their Special Counseling Needs* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 2.

[11] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings* (October 1972), Vol. 19. No. 4, pp. 33–34. Available from the U.S. Government Printing Office. From 1961 to 1971, the total civilian labor force increased by 13,654,000. Women's participation increased by 8,285,000 or 61% of the total.

[12] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings* (January 1972), Vol. 18, No. 7, p. 135. Available from the U.S. Government Printing Office. The annual averages for 1971 indicate that 71.8% of women 16 and older work fulltime.
U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *The Myth and the Reality* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 2.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[14] U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Fact Sheet on the Earnings Gap* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 1.

[15] Committee to Eliminate Sexual Discrimination in the Public Schools, *Let Them Aspire . . .*, p. 19.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[17] National School Public Relations Association (NSPRA), *Schoolgirl Pregnancy: Old Problem, New Solutions* (Washington, D.C.: NSPRA, 1972), p. 1.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 6–11.

Expulsion compounds the already serious problems of teenage pregnancy. Of every 100 pregnant teenagers who leave school, 85 never come back. Rejected, cast out with a child to support and often no salable skills, these teenagers are nine more times likely to commit suicide than their peers.[20]

Eighty-five percent will keep their babies, either to raise an illegitimate child alone or to enter an early marriage that is three or four times more likely to end in divorce than marriages in any other age groups.[21] Their children are four times more likely to have physocological problem than those with older parents. Among the teenage mothers who remain unmarried, 85 percent go on welfare.[22]

### *Guidance and Counseling*

As a girl prepares to leave secondary school to take a job or to seek further education, school guidance counseling may further dissuade her from striking off in academic or vocational directions which may be her choice but which are usually reserved for men.

Many guidance counselors advise students to do what's "practical." Unfortunately, what is considered practical may lead to a tragic under-utilization of women's talents and skills. Counselors may advise girls to go into conventional "women's fields," regardless of their interests or abilities. But, as we have stated above, many girls are interested in other fields.

Sex discrimination in another form of guidance—vocational interest tests—has begun to attract public attention. One test, the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, received widespread attention when cited for sex bias in March 1972 by the American Personnel and Guidance Association. As the association's resolution calling for the test revision explained:

> The Blanks (SVIB) provide different occupational scores for men and women: women cannot be scored on occupations like certified public accountant, purchasing agent, and public administrator, men cannot be scored on occupations such as medical technologists, recreation leader and physical education teacher.
>
> When the same person takes both tests, the profiles turn out differently: one woman scored high as a dental assistant, physical therapist, and occupational therapist on the woman's profile, and as a physician, psychiatrist, and psychologist on the man's form.[23]

## BIASES IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

Although more and more women are demanding and gaining access to postsecondary education, the record is not one of consistent progress. The proportion of women undergraduates and professional students grew from 30 percent in 1950 to 41 percent in 1970, but was still smaller than it was in 1930. And women won a higher proportion of the doctorate degrees during the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's than they did in the 1960's.[24]

According to one study, only half of the female high school graduates qualified for college work actually do go on to college, while 65 percent of the qualified men do.[25] The proportions of women shrink on each step of the educational ladder. Women earn just over half of the high school diplomas; but they earn 43 percent of the bachelor's degrees, 40 percent of the master's degrees, and only 13 percent of the doctorates.[26]

Women also have a more difficult time gaining access to top quality education. In the 35 undergraduate institutions, both single sex and coeducational, judged the "most selective in the country" by one college handbook, women represented only 29.3 percent of the admissions in 1970. They were only 32 percent of those admitted to the coeducational institutions.[27]

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[20] Edwin Kiester, Jr., "The Bitter Lessons Too Many Schools Are Teaching Pregnant Teenagers," *Today's Health* (June 1972), p. 54.

[21] Marion Howard, "Comprehensive Community Programs for the Pregnant Teenager," *Clinical Obstetrics and Gynecology*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 1971), pp. 473–474.

[22] Kiester, *The Bitter Lessons* . . ., p. 54.

[23] American Association of Colleges, "American Personnel and Guidance Association Cites Vocational Test for Sex Bias," *Newsletter* (Washington, D.C., 1972).

[24] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1971 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 77.

[25] Ruth B. Eckstrom, "Barriers to Women's Participation in Post-Secondary Education: A Review of the Literature." Draft Study supported by U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics (Summer 1972), p. 1 citing Pullen's findings.

[26] Mary Evans Hopper, *Earned Degrees Conferred: 1969–1970, Summary Data*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 2.

Yet women perform as well or better than their male peers in both the secondary and the undergraduate years. Sex discrimination—in admissions, student aid awards and counseling—contribute to these disparities.

### *Admissions*

Sex discrimination in admissions—commonplace in public and private institutions, single sex and coeducational—is one obstacle facing women seeking higher education.

Most of the approximately 300 institutions which exclude members of one sex are private, although a few public institutions close their doors to women. Of these, the U.S. military academies are the most prominent. Because of the single-sex pattern of higher education in Virginia in 1964, the State system that year rejected 21,000 women and not a single male. Since then, the State has changed its policies.[28] Sex discrimination in admissions to public institutions is particularly burdensome, since public education is in general, substantially less expensive than private education.

Most students attend coeducational institutions of higher education, and it is in admissions to these schools that discrimination against women is so damaging. Coeducational institutions, both public and private, use various strategies to limit the number of women admitted. Some use quota systems to maintain a steady ratio of male and female students, almost always with women in the minority. Cornell University, for example, maintains a male/female ratio of 3:1; Harvard/Radcliff, 4:1.[29]. The main campus at Pennsylvania State University, a public institution, this year ended a long-standing quota of 2.5 men to every woman.[30]

Other institutions simply demand higher admission standards for women than for men. Whatever the system, women usually come out on the short end. As a faculty member at one graduate school commented: "Our general admissions policy has been, if the body is warm and male, take it; if it's female, make sure it's an A-from Bryn Mawr."[31]

### *Student aid*

Sex discrimination in student aid awards is another roadblock for women seeking higher education. The Educational Testing Service (ETS) recently documented a clear pattern of sex discrimination in student aid. ETS found that women averaged $215 less in student financial aid than men, though women had equal financial need. To compound the problem, men working to defray college costs earned more than female students. This was not only true in off-campus jobs: the biggest disparities were in jobs provided by colleges and universities, where men averaged $300 per year, or 78 percent, more than women.[32]

Women are effectively excluded from certain kinds of scholarship aid. Government scholarships designed to attract men into military service, such as ROTC scholarships, have not been available to women, nor can most women qualify for veterans' benefits. Athletic scholarships, a significant portion of financial aid in some institutions are limited to men. And many private scholarships and fellowships are designated for men only. Until 1969 New York University Law School, for example, excluded women from competition for Root-Tilden scholarships, generous $10,000 scholarships for "future public leaders," a category which apparently was felt to be suitable only for men.[33]

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[27] U.S. *Congressional Record,* 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1972, Vol. 118, No. 28, p. S2749, citing Cass & Birnbaum, *Comparative Guide to American Colleges,* 1970–1971.

[28] U.S. Congress, House, Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, *Hearings, Discrimination Against Women,* 91st Congress, 2nd Session, 1970, p. 310 citing the WEAL "Fact Sheet on Sex Discrimination in Universities and Colleges." The above hearings are cited hereafter as the House Special Subcommittee on Education, *Discrimination Against Women Hearings.*

[29] U.S. *Congressional Record,* 92d Congress, 2nd Session, 1972, Vol. 118, No. 27, p. S2625.

[30] American Association of Colleges, "On Campus with Women, April 1972," *Newsletter,* No. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1972), p. 1.

[31] House Special Subcommittee on Education, *Discrimination Against Women Hearings,* p. 245. Statement of Ann Sutherland Harris.

[32] U.S. *Congressional Record,* 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1972, Vol. 118, No. 28, p. S2699, citing the study of Elizabeth W. Haven and Dwight H. Horch, *How College Students Finance Their Education* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1972).

[33] House Special Subcommittee on Education, *Discrimination Against Women Hearings,* p. 588. Statement of Women's Rights Committee of New York University School of Law.

According to ETS, the only type of student aid where women averaged larger sums than men was in loans—probably because they receive less aid from other sources and must rely on larger loans.[34] Loans are an expensive way of financing an education for anyone, but they represent a *particularly heavy burden for* women, since women have less earning power than men.

Women who are married or raising children may have particular difficulty securing the aid they need to remain in or return to school. Financial aid officers may feel that these women do not need help, since they have husbands to support them, or that they are probably not serious about obtaining an education. In addition, financial aid is difficult to obtain for part-time study which poses an additional handicap for women with children who can only attend school part-time.

*Counseling*

Counseling for women in higher education holds the same hazards it does for younger women in secondary schools. Advisors often urge women to avoid "masculine academic fields or discourage them from applying to graduate schools where common wisdom has it that it's hard for women to get in. Women are often warned against seeking further education, despite good academic records:

> "Have you ever thought about journalism? (to a student planning to get a PhD in political science). I know a lot of women journalists who do very well."
>
> "A pretty girl like you will certainly get married. Why don't you stop with an M.A.?"[35]

Biases against women in each of these areas—admissions, student aid and counseling—are typically rationalized by widely prejudices and presumptions about women and their needs. It is assumed that some man will always provide for a woman, that women won't complete their education, or that women don't really need an education. As a young widow with a five-year old child who needed a fellowship to continue her studies was told, "You're very attractive. You'll get married again. We have to give fellowships to people who really need them."[36]

In fact, none of these assumptions hold up. Millions of women will remain single, be divorced or widowed, or marry a low wagearner.[37] According to the data available, women are slightly more likely to complete high school and slightly less likely to complete postsecondary degree programs than men in the same field. The more education a woman has, the more likely she is to hold a job. A study of female Ph.D's seven years after receiving their degrees found 91 percent working—81 percent full-time.[38] Moreover, it is shortsighted to suggest that a man needs a college education if he works for pay, while a woman doesn't if she works at raising children.

Undoubtedly, many of the myths persist because many people are simply unable to accept women as equals to men. The attitude is perhaps best expressed in a comment of Nathan Pusey while president of Harvard. Upon learning of the end to graduate student deferments during the Vietnam war, Pusey said, "We shall be left with the blind, the lame, and the women."[39]

### WOMEN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS ENCOUNTER ADDITIONAL DIFFICULTIES

Because of their special life patterns, many women with family responsibilities experience special difficulties in acquiring an education. For mothers who wish to continue their studies while their children are young, finding adequate, affordable child care is a major problem. Others who interrupt their education to raise children or pay for a husband's education find returning to education limited by such problems as a dearth of part-time study opportunities and by credit transfer problems.

These problems are shared by women at all levels of the socio-economic scale whether they are looking for basic literacy education, occupational training or retraining, or a high school undergraduate or graduate degree. Women with families need special services and flexible arrangements few education institutions have been willing to offer.

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[34] U.S. *Congressional Record*, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, 1972, Vol. 118, No. 28, pp. S2699–S2700, Table 9.

[35] House Special Subcommittee on Education, *Discrimination Against Women Hearings*, p. 245.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] U.S. Department of Labor, *Expanding Opportunities . . .*, pp. 2–3.

[38] House Special Subcommittee on Education, *Discrimination Against Women Hearings*, p. 244, citing H. S. Astin *The Woman Doctorate in America: Origins, Career, and Family* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969).

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

### *Child care needs*

Students' child care needs have not been adequately met. Day care is not readily available for many people and costs are still prohibitive. While low-cost cooperative day care centers are growing in popularity, adequate child care can be expensive. A recent study of "quality" child care centers estimated average costs at $2,600 per child per year.[60]

A woman with children who is not working must add child care costs to her educational expenses, since she would no longer be at home providing these services free of charge. Without help in shouldering child care costs, large numbers of women must stay home or despite a desire to continue their education.

In postsecondary education, demands for child care assistance have exploded within the last three or four years. Child care centers subsidized partially at university expense have begun to appear on campuses. Centers often double as research laboratories for campus scholars and students. However, efforts to date are still grossly insufficient. The American Association of University Women reports that no more than 5 percent of our colleges and universities offer day care services.[61] Some are open only to faculty children; many impose extremely selective admissions criteria to deal with the surplus of applications. Waiting lists are long.[62]

The child care issue has not won much visibility in secondary and vocational schools, perhaps because these schools have traditionally refused responsibility for educating young women with children. With growing recognition that pregnancy and motherhood are not acceptable grounds for denying young people the right to public education, school systems will have to confront the child care issue. Child care services may be essential for keeping young mothers in school.

National statistics on the number of mothers seeking child care assistance in order to attend school are nonexistent. However, we do know that in 1971 over two million college students, 25 percent of the total national enrollment, were married.[63] And over 200,000 women under 18 have children each year.

Child care services have barely begun to meet the demands either for women already struggling to balance studies and child care responsibilities, or for women who might return to education or training if they had access to acceptable child care.

### *Part-time study needs*

Although not as limiting as lack of access to child care facilities, other hurdles stand in front of the women who wish to return to school, including a dearth of part-time study opportunities. For many women, part-time study is often the only way to combine childbearing with learning. More and more people of both sexes, unable or unwilling to devote full time to education, are demanding access to postsecondary education.

Although no national data are available, part-time study opportunities clearly do not come close to meeting this demand. Part-time vocational or manpower training is extremely rare. Traditional continuing education courses offered part-time usually cannot be credited toward a degree, and many undergraduate schools still close their doors to all part-time students.

### *Academic credit problems*

Because families often go where the husbands' opportunities take them, credit transfer problems in higher education are particularly acute among married women. Many institutions refuse to accept transfer credits from other institutions. Even if they accept academic credits already earned, no credit is normally given for the years of experience and learning these women have had outside the classroom.

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[60] U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, *Findings from a Study in Child Care*, coordinated by Stephen J. Fitzsimmons and Mary J. Rowe, Appendix A, Table IV, p. 20. Available as a reprint from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Educational Communication.

[61] Ruth M. Oltman, *Campus 1970: Where Do Women Stand?* December 1970, Washington, D.C.

[62] The "Student Government Day Care Survey" conducted in the summer of 1971 by the Office of Youth and Student Affairs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare pointed to the need of students for day care services.

[63] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1971*, Series P–20, No. 241 (Washington : U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 6.

### *The age handicap*

Some institutions discriminate, either openly or covertly, against applicants over a certain age. This policy falls harshly on women hoping to continue their education after raising their children.

Both women and men can benefit from adjustments in conventional institutional practices. The failure of education institutions to respond to the needs of women and men returning to education is an unjust and inexcusable waste of valuable human resources. Not only are these individuals denied fulfillment of their potential, but the institutionals themselves suffer by not using the wealth of experience these people have already acquired.

## THE EDUCATION SYSTEM AS AN EMPLOYER

Women employed in the education system face discrimination practices just as damaging as those women experience as students.

Education, tradition has it, is a woman's field. Women make up the bulk of the Nation's teaching staff in the elementary and secondary schools; yet they remain a largely untapped and underutilized source of educational leadership. Women are denied equal pay and equal opportunity for advancement and they are channeled into a small number of "approved" educational fields. Wherever you look in education, women abound in the lower ranks and there, generally, they stay.

Women returning to careers in education face many of the same obstacles women returning as students encounter. Pregnant teachers frequently receive the same summary treatment as pregnant students—policies require them to leave the jobs while pregnant, often with no guarantee of a place when they return. Day care services or subsidies are rarely available to employees in education and part-time employment opportunities are scarce.

### *Women in adminisitrative positions*

Elementary and secondary schools are mainly staffed by women, but when teachers are selected to move into the administrative ranks, men are usually chosen. In school year 1970–71, 67 percent of all public school teachers were women, but women constituted:

31 percent of the department heads,
15 percent of the principals, and
0.6 percent of the superintendents.[44]

Presently, only two Chief State School Officers are women—those in Montana and Guam. When women do get into administrative positions, it is usually at the elementary school level where responsibility, pay and status are lower. While 20 percent of the elementary school principals in 1970–71 were female, women were only 3.5 percent of the junior high school principals and 3 percent of the high school principals.[45]

In postsecondary education administration, women are even less visible, but the same pattern holds. Men dominate college and university administration, particularly at the policy-making levels. The National Education Association's 1971–72 survey of higher education institutions found that of 953 presidencies in 4-year institutions, women held only 32; the proportion is about the same in 2-year colleges.[46] Even some of the women's colleges, which historically guaranteed women opportunities for administrative leadership, have been hiring male presidents in recent years.

### *Salaries Paid and Salary-Related Practices in Higher Education.*

Female trustees are rare. A 1970 American Association of University Women survey found that 21 percent of the institutions responding to the survey had not a single female trustee and another 25 percent had only one.[47] The only deanship women were likely to hold was dean of women; only 21 percent of the deans of administration, faculty or instruction were women.[48] Perhaps the most startling statistic was the sex breakdown of head librarians in 4-year higher education institutions—in a field 83 percent female, nearly 70 percent of the head librarians were men.

A long tradition of excluding women from top administrative positions in education may discourage some women from aspiring to administrative positions. However, the fact remains that administration is "the way up" in American public education in terms of salary, responsibility and status. It is rd to conclude that many women year after year voluntarily turn their ks on these hallmarks of advancement.

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[44] NEA Research Division, "Professional Women in Public Schools," p. 68.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] Unpublished figures from NEA, based on data collected for the 1971–72 NEA report on
[47] Oltman, *Campus 1970: Where do Women Stand?,* p. 23.
[48] Unpublished figures from NEA, cited earlier.

*scrimination against women in higher education faculties*

College and universities present an array of obstacles to women who want to women who want to teach at that level. Less than one in five faculty members is a woman. A recent study of the University of California at Berkeley pointed out that 23 percent of the university's doctorates in psychology went to women, but the last time a woman had been hired in the psychology department was in 1924.[50] Discrimination in hiring at large and prestigous institutions has forced many women to take jobs in small institutions with lower pay and status and less opportunity for research.

Once women join the faculty, discrimination makes it much harder for them to move up through the ranks than for men. Almost 40 percent of the full-time instructors at 4-year institutions are women, but the proportion of women drops with each rise in rank.

21 percent of the assistant professors,
15 percent of the associate professors, and
9 percent of the full professors.[51]

Women are likely to remain on each step of the academic ladder long after their male colleagues with the same qualifications have moved on. While it has been reported that females with doctorates "have somewhat greater academic ability than their male counterparts," [52] barely half of all women with doctorates and 20 years of academic experience are full professors, but 90 percent of the men with the same qualifications have reached that rank.[53]

Taking into account all the possible factors influencing faculty rank, Astin and Bayer concluded in a recent analysis that sex discrimination is an important factor in determining faculty rank—more important than such factors as the number of years employed at the institution, the number of books published and the number of years since completion of education.[54]

In addition, it appears that the more prestigious the institution the less likely women are to penetrate the upper ranks. At Harvard University, to pick an obvious example, of 411 tenured professors in the Graduate School of Arts and Science in 1970–71, 409 were men.[55]

*Salary discrimination in education*

Institutions of higher education regularly pay women less than men of equal rank. In terms of median salaries by rank, women instructors earn $510 per year less than male instructors, and women full-time professors earn $1,762 per year less than their male counterparts.[56] And as times goes on, the gap is widening.

Astin and Bayer found that sex was a better independent predictor of salary than such factors as years of professional employment and type of advanced degree. The authors reported that by 1968–69 standards, female faculty members should receive an average of $1,000 a year more just to equalize their salaries with those of their male colleagues of equal rank and experience.[57] This is an extremely conservative estimate, since it does not take into account financial inequities attributable to other kinds of discrimination. In promotions, opportunities for research, hiring by high-paying institutions and other factors.

At present no data are collected on teacher salaries in elementary and secondary schools. However, in some States, elementary and secondary schools are pro-

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[49] Unpublished 1971 data from the Monthly Report on the Labor Force, supplied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor and the unpublished figures from NEA.

[50] Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), "Facts About Women in Education," p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

[51] National Education Association Research Division, *Salaries Paid and Salary-Related Practices in Higher Education 1971–72* (Washington, D.C., 1972), p. 11.

[52] National Research Council, Office of Scientific Personnel, Research Division, *Careers of Ph. D.'s*, Career Patterns Report No. 2, National Academy of Sciences Publication 1577 (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 69.

[53] WEAL, "Facts . . .," p. 1.

[54] Helen S. Astin and Alan E. Bayer, "Sex Discrimination in Academe," *Educational Record* (Spring 1972), pp. 101–118.

[55] WEAL, "Facts . . .," p. 2.

[56] NEA, *Salaries Paid* . . ., p. 11.

[57] Astin and Bayer, "Sex Discrimination in Academe," pp. 115–116.

hibited by statute from paying women less than men of equal rank. In vocational education the median salary in 1969 for female teachers for all levels combined was $1,158 less than for men; women earned only 87 percent as much as their male counterparts.[58]

*Sex typing by field*

Within the education professions, positions are highly sex-typed. Women tend to be clustered in certain fields; men, in others. Women overwhelmingly dominate early childhood education, elementary education, and special education. They are 92 percent of the school librarians. In vocational education, most of the teachers in the health occupations, home economics, and office occupations are women. At the lowest end of the professional scale, almost all teacher aides and other educational paraprofessionals are female.

Men, on the other hand, have always dominated teaching positions in mathematics, the sciences, law, medicine and engineering. In vocational education teaching in agriculture, distributive education, technical education and trades and industry has been predominately male.

In recent years, educators have begun to wage an energetic campaign to attract men into the fields of education customarily dominated by women. In some of these fields, the proportion of men has increased, stimulated perhaps by tight job markets elsewhere. If the same energy were devoted to bringing women into male-dominated fields, a few years could bring substantial changes.

*Nonprofessionals in education*

Women employed as nonprofessionals experience similar discrimination in hiring, advancement and pay. HEW's Office for Civil Rights has turned up numerous cases of sex discrimination against nonprofessional employees. In one institution, custodial employees were divided by sex into "maids" and "janitors." Each had the same duties, but maids were paid substantially less. In another, 4 pay levels were created for the job of clerk; white males received the highest pay, black males next highest, white females came after that and black females were last. All of them had to have the same qualifications and perform the same work.

Career ladders for nonprofessional and paraprofessionals are practically nonexistent. Despite growing popularity of teacher aides, few school systems offer these people, almost always women, the chance for training and advancement to professional responsibility and status. Like most employers, few education institutions have begun to face up to the need for career ladders to enable non-professional office workers to move into the professional office jobs.

### RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT: HELP OR HINDRANCE?

Research and development can offer valuable insights and useful tools for tackling our most perplexing problems. Despite their potential, research and development to date have contributed little to our ability to solve one of education's most serious inequities: systematic discrimination against the female sex. In general, research and development people have shown only slight interest in exploring sex biases or testing ways of overcoming them. Moreover, studies too often reflect the anti-female biases of researchers.

*Exploring sexism through research and development*

It is encouraging to note that there are increasing signs of interest in research relating to sex biases, particularly among female scholars. However, remarkably little scholarly work has been done on sex discrimination itself—either on the precise nature and extent of sex bias within the education system, its roots or its effects. An ERIC search for research materials on sex discrimination produced only 12 items, none containing any empirical results.[59] Too much of our information on sex discrimination is piecemeal, anecdotal or out of date.

Researchers have produced some information on sex differences and sex role development. They often report findings on differences and similarities between males and females—in play behavior, learning styles, interactions with teachers and in other situations. Where differences exist, causes are rarely explored. We still lack empirical evidence on the extent to which these differences are biologically or culturally determined.

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[58] Evelyn R. Kay, *Vocational Education: Characteristics of Teachers and Students, 1969*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 20, Table A–11.

[59] Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) is the computerized information retrieval system for research and reports on education.

Research on the way children develop concepts of appropriate sex role behavior has had similar limitations. There is (as we noted earlier) evidence that as children go through school, they progressively acquire clearer and more rigid ideas about what is expected of males and females. But we do not know to what extent schooling may be responsible or which aspects of the educational experience have the strongest influence on children's concepts of appropriate sex roles.

Much of the research of sex role stereotypes has another weakness: many studies reflect the researcher's assumption that accepting traditional masculine/feminine role differences is essential to a child's healthy development. In fact, learning all the "cannots" and "must nots" traditionally associated with being female in this society can be a crippling experience. Although there have been a few extremely provocative studies on this problem, many of the studies of sex role development appear to be motivated by a desire to see that boys and girls develop "proper" sex role concepts. For instance, researchers studying the effects of female teachers on boys frequently express a concern that boys may fail to develop appropriate sex role identification without male teachers as models.[60]

Unless the necessary research is put to use, it will provide little help to children in classrooms. It must be accompanied by the products of development—for instance, new curricula, teaching approaches, whole new forms and models that can be put to use in real educational settings. As matters stand, curriculum materials and teacher training techniques aimed at helping teachers avoid sexist behavior are virtually nonexistent. A few recent education experiments do have particular significance for women, e.g., a home-community based career education model and nonresident college degree programs with credit for nonacademic experience. However, serious attempts to tackle some of the most basic problems, such as techniques to counter sex role stereotyping in the early preschool and school years, are lacking.

*Biased questionnaires*

In addition to the dearth of helpful research and developemnt relating to sex stereotypes and biases, many studies contain sex biases which distort findings and produce knowledge of little or no use in solving problems of discriminating against women. Even worse, these studies may reinforce popular misconceptions about women and encourage educational decisions harmful to them. Sometimes, for example, biases are based on the outdated assumption that woman's proper role is homemaker and dependent. Others seem to reflect attitudes that women, their lives and aspirations—and barriers to those aspirations—are not important enough to be studied.

Sex biases can be found in the kinds of questions researchers ask the population being studied. Project TALENT, a major 20-year longitudinal study of high school students which began with Office of Education support in 1960, offers some examples. The original questionnaire sent out to students recognized that mothers may work and that they may be chief family wage earners. But the questions about responsibilities on the job were limited to fathers' jobs. The questionnaire also included questions relating "your (or your future husband's)" salary to amounts of life insurance, savings and investments. Male students could not include a wife's expected income; female students could not consider combined incomes of self and spouse.[61]

Another example turned up recently in a draft questionnaire prepared for another major longitudinal study now in progress with NCES support.[62] A special questionnaire for those neither in school nor employed reflected a number of highly unscientific assumptions about the role of women. The researchers assumed that everyone who was not employed and not in school was a full-time homemaker and female. The questionnaire repeatedly referred to "your husband," although there are men who by choice or necessity stay home, tending house and/or children. Respondents were also asked what vocational training they would prefer, and the choices were all occupations traditionally attracting large numbers of women: secretarial, dental assistant, food services, beautician, child care. Another question asked whether respondents had taken noncredit adult education courses—courses for credit were not included, implying that women in the home would not be interested in academic education for credit. Fortunately, NCES recognized the problems with this questionnaire, and it has never been used. It is useful example, however, of the kind of biases that creep into ostensibly "objective" and "scientific" research.

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[60] In this analysis of educational research and development, we have leaned heavily on Betty Levy, "The School's Role in the Sex Role Stereotyping of Girls: A Feminist Review of the Literature," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Summer 1972. Available from Feminist Studies, 417 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.

[61] American Institutes for Research, *The Project TALENT Data Banks: A Handbook*, supported mainly by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Palo Alto, California: American Institutes for Research, 1972), Table 14, pp. 50–61.

[62] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, "National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972" under contract with Educational Testing Service.

*Single sex studies*

Researchers sometimes pick members of one sex or the other as subjects for study. On the basis of an extensive ERIC search, the task force found that this practice tends to produce distorted information in areas of great importance to women. In the abstracts surveyed, single sex studies were more than two times as likely to use males as females. Seventy-eight dealt with males only and 34 dealt only with females. Again most of the 34 abstracts on women did not contain empirical studies, while most of the ones on males did report study results.

Researchers are also much more likely to use males rather than females as a basis for generalizing about the whole population. In our review of the ERIC files, for example, less than half the titles of male-only studies indicated that only men had been studied, while more than three fourths of the titles of female-only entries filed indicated that only females had been studied.

The tendency of researchers to draw general conclusions from a study of males is particularly disturbing and particularly prevalent in research in areas of special importance to women, or where important differences can be expected between men and women. In the abstracts reviewed, male-only studies focused most often on careers, the poor and the emotionally and physically handicapped. Slow readers, school dropouts, under achievers, the physically fit and delinquents were also the topics of male-only studies.

Few of the female-only abstracts dealt with careers. None of the other topics appeared in female-only studies except delinquency which rated a study on "clothing fabric selection" among delinquent girls. There were no studies of female dropouts, no studies of poor or ethnic minority females and no studies of handicapped or underachieving females.

Single sex studies may also reflect faulty assumptions that males have a corner on the problem or issue under study: "Women don't usually work," or "It's really black males who have the problems," or "Most dropouts are male." None of these assumptions are true. Women do usually work, black women are subject to both sex and racial discrimination and have extremely serious problems, boys are only slightly more likely to drop out. It is time researchers understood that women too have pressing needs and began affording them the same attention as men.

The tendency of educational researchers to focus on males makes designing education programs that meet women's needs much harder. A great deal of research has been undertaken on the theory that the knowledge gained can eventually be put to use in changing educational practice. Biased research put to use cannot help but lead to biased educational approaches.

From even a brief look at the status of women in education, it is abundantly clear that education contributes its share to the exploitation of women. Through its system of formal education, society should seek both to nurture young minds and to open doors to lifelong opportunities. On both counts, education is failing the female sex.

## PART II.—THE HEW MANDATE

Part II describes the relationship between the Federal education agencies and the pervasive sex discrimination we documented in Part I.

Chapter I outlines existing discrimination in HEW programs and necessary steps to carry out a legal mandate to end discrimination in Federal education programs.

Chapter II presents a plan for creative Federal leadership in fulfilling the spirit of the laws against sex discrimination.

Until very recently, sex discrimination in education was perfectly legal. In fact, sex discrimination in the schools attracted little public attention. Only with the re-emergence of women's rights as a major national issue did sex discrimination in the schools begin to attract serious public attention.

Recent Executive and Congressional action now bars the Federal government from providing aid to an agency or institution practicing sex discrimination in education—either against students or against employees. In 1968, a Presidential Order called on universities and other Federal contractors to end sex discrimination in employment. In June 1972, Congress declared that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal assistance . . . ."[1] While some institution are exempted, this law extends the sex bias ban to discrimination against both students and employees in almost all institutions receiving Federal education aid.

Both Congress and the President have spoken: *wherever Federal education funds go, sex discrimination must stop.* That mandate poses a tremendous challenge to HEW and to other government agencies with education programs.

Since the myth of female inferiority is part of the basic fabric of our education system, we can hardly expect sex discrimination to disappear with the stroke of a pen. As with any progress in civil rights, fundamental change will come only with vigorous and persistent action.

Responsive Federal agencies must take the lead with a creative mixture of information and exhortation, incentives and sanctions. The Assistant Secretary for Education and the agencies reporting to him must be heavily involved in that process. So must HEW's Office of Civil Rights and other Federal agencies engaged in education support.

## CHAPTER I: THE LEGAL IMPERATIVE

As we noted, public concern about sex biases in education and laws protecting the rights of women in education are fairly recent. It is not surprising, then, to find that the Office of Education has been distributing Federal aid with no questions asked. As a result, much of the serious and widespread discrimination described earlier is being supported, in part, with Federal education funds.

Together, the two laws banning Federal education aid to individuals and agencies discriminating against women are comprehensive:

> Executive Order 11246, as amended effective October 1968, bars sex discrimination in employment among all Federal contractors, although not among grantees. Contractors (which include almost all colleges and universities) must draw up plans both to correct current discriminatory practices and to overcome the effects of past discrimination. Plans must include specific goals and timetables for action. Violations can result in withholding or loss of all government contracts.[2]
>
> Title IX of P.L. 92–318 enacted in June 1972 prohibits any individual or institution benefiting from Federal education aid from discriminating on the basis of sex, either against students or employees. All Federal education funds can be cut off if an institution fails to comply. There are limited exceptions. Religious institutions acting on religious grounds and military academies are completely exempted and admissions discrimination is still permissible except in vocational, graduate, professional and public coeducational undergraduate schools.[3]

This chapter explores the implications of these civil rights laws for HEW. It outlines—

> major areas of sex bias directly supported by Federal education funds;
>
> action already taken by a few OE offices to counteract sex discrimination in programs they administer;
>
> steps the Assistant Secretary for Education and agency heads reporting to him must take to live up to basic legal requirements; and
>
> steps the Office for Civil Rights should take to strengthen enforcement procedures.

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[1] Section 901(a) of P.L. 92–318, the *Education Amendments of 1972*. See Appendix A for the full text.

[2] Executive Order 11246 (30 F.R. 12319) was amended by Executive Order 11375 (32 F.R. 14303) on October 13, 1967, to cover sex discrimination. The amendment did not take effect until one year later, October 14, 1968. Revised Order No. 4 (36 F.R. 17789) followed in December 1971, to spell out contractors' affirmative action responsibilities. See Appendix A for the texts.

[3] Section 901 of P.L. 92–318.

## UNCOVERING SEX BIAS IN OE AND NIE PROGRAMS

Chiefly because the agency has not been concerned about the use of its funds to deny women equal opportunity, OE and NIE funds do directly support discriminatory practices of all kinds. In some cases, these are sins of commission—unequal pay for equal work, for instance. In others, they are sins of omissions—for example, the failure to recruit women actively in predominantly male training programs.

Below, we cite examples of these biases in several important areas, from career preparations to curriculum development to research. The problems highlights here are by no means the only ones, but they are among the most important. Then, too, the task force was dependent on program information available in Washington: these are all program areas where some information on the impact on women was at hand.

### *Vocational and Manpower Training*

As we indicated in Part I, vocational and manpower training programs, wittingly or unwittingly, are helping to channel the bulk of the Nation's female workers into low-paying jobs. OE's own programs are no different. The agency's programs have reinforced, rather than counteracted, a strong tradition of sex bias in vocational training. This is true of training progams for students under the Vocational Education Act (VEA) and for unemployed and underemployed adults—primarily the poor—under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA).

OE programs tend to train women for a much narrower range of occupations than men—occupations which usually promise little pay, poor chances for advancement and minimal challenge. By and large, male trainees select from a far greater range of training opportunities, resulting in relatively high paid skilled trade and technical jobs.

Under MDTA, a recent study discovered that the Department of Labor's individual referral service, which places people in some institutional MDTA programs, assigned male trainees to training for 177 different occupations; women were only assigned to 12.[4] Over half the female students in vocational education are being trained for support staff office jobs—receptionist, typist, file clerk and so on. In MDTA institutional training in 1970, half the women were trained for similar jobs: clerical and sales. Sixty-four percent of the men, on the other hand, learned "machine trades" and "structural work"—two training categories which bring in considerably higher earnings after training.[5]

The differences in earnings these disparities will produce are tremondously costly to women throughout their working lives. In fact, the average female MDTA trainee earns less *after* training than the average male trainee does *before* training.[6]

A great deal of vocational and manpower training is completely segregated by sex. Separation of the sexes is taken for granted in our vocational and manpower training programs. So much so, that when States were asked to identify their best vocational education projects serving disadvantaged and handicapped students, 14 listed projects serving only one sex.[7] Annual reports on MDTA from 1967–70 feature a total of 103 photographs, barely 10 percent showing classes with both men and women.

Although home economics and industrial arts programs are not strictly vocational education, sex segregation is a common pattern here too. The $25.6 million Consumer and Homemaking Education program may be supporting extensive sex discrimination, since most school systems still exclude boys from home economics courses. While the program has no statitics on how many of its projects activity exclude boys, it does focus chiefly on courses designed to prepare young women for a dual role as worker and homemaker, and only 7 percent of the program's participants are male.

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[4] Olympus Research Corporation, *Evaluation of the MDTA Institutional Individual Referral Program.* Final Report 1972, Prepared for the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor (Salt Lake City: Olympus Research Corporation, 1972), p. 14.

[5] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Education and Training,* 10th Annual Report to the Congress on Institutional Training under the Manpower Development and Training Act in 1971 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972). See Appendix C, Statistical Tables C–1, D–1.

[6] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Education and Training,* 9th Annual Report to the Congress on Institutional Training under the Manpower Development and Training Act in 1970 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 72.

[7] The Pennsylvania State Advisory Council for Vocational Education, in cooperation with the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education, *A National Study to Identify Outstanding Programs in Vocational Education for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Students* (Columbia, South Carolina: National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education, 1971).

This year for the first time, vocational education funds can also be spent on industrial arts courses, which most school districts close to girls. If industrial arts courses do not open up to girls, OE may become a direct partner in still another kind of sex discrimination.

The limited career aspirations many girls acquire early in life are certainly an important factor in problems of sex typing in vocational training. But OE's vocational and manpower training programs must take their share of the blame. They have clearly failed to encourage girls to seek training for occupations promising more pay or better opportunities. In many cases, vocational and manpower programs have actively discouraged both sexes from training for careers dominated by the other sex.

### *Career Education*

Top OE leadership has generated a great deal of interest in an important new concept that could tackle sex stereotyped career expectations early: career education. Career education aims to completely revamp elementary and secondary education in order to maximize career options for every student. Since it involves teaching children about careers from the early school years on, the new initiative has tremendous potential for counteracting prejudices concerning women's work roles before they are firmly developed.

Even so, without a conscious effort to prevent sex stereotyping in children's career ideas, career education will simply be a new way of reinforcing the old prejudices. Girls will learn earlier that they can expect to be stewardesses, secretaries and nurses; boys will learn earlier that they can expect to be astronauts and doctors, politicians and carpenters, draftsmen and business executives.

The task force did find indications that these biases are already developing in the OE/NIE career education effort:

A brochure from one exemplary career education project, which has become a model for school-based career education, says that classes should "teach us early to respect the work men do." [8]

Sex stereotyping is evident in several draft curriculum units under development for school-based career education. A third grade unit on retail jobs, "The Supermarket," for instance, makes it clear that all supermarket jobs but one (cashier) are men's jobs. Another, a home economics curriculum designed for ninth grade girls, only encourages girls to investigate careers related to home economics. Sex stereotypes pervade the entire unit. For example, when girls are asked about long range goals, the author lists looking for part-time job and going to college to be a preschool teacher as expected responses.

Under another career education experiment now underway, employers themselves will provide students with career awareness, job experience and training and academic instruction. Since sex discrimination is virtually universal in the employment world, sex discrimination in the program itself is likely unless cooperating employers agree to offer both sexes the same opportunities. So far, on one has moved to guarantee participating female students equal treatment.

The career education program is working on one model that should benefit women: the home/community-based model aimed at reaching people, mainly women, in the home. Though this model has gotten off to a slow start, we are hopeful that it may help women in the home to enter or re-enter careers.

### *Educational and Public Relations Materials*

OE, and now NIE, spend substantial resources on developing educational and training materials for national distribution. Even though the task force was able to examine only a few samples, we did find a number of sex biases. In addition to learning materials, the public information materials OE produces on its own programs sometimes contain the same kind of biases:

OE has funded the development of an extremely sex biased career guidance test as part of the career education efforts now administered by NIE. "The Self-

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[8] Hackensack, New Jersey Public Schools, "Somewhere There's a Career Waiting for Them. Will They be Ready for It?"

Directed Search" tends to discourage girls from entering skilled trades and technical professions; boys are likely to be discouraged from entering office and service occupations now dominated by women. The test draws occupational preference profiles based on what students have done or like to do and on their own assessment of their competencies and talents. A girl who has never repaired a TV set, taken shop or been encouraged to believe she has scientific ability is likely to be steered away from the largest group of occupations listed—including forester, architectual draftsman, barber, air traffic controller, jeweler and optician. In the same way, boys may be dissuaded from looking into such fields as English teacher, philosopher and even foreign service officer.

A workbook designed to teach elementary school children action concepts shows boys and girls in sex-typed roles—boys are active, while girls are shown passive and domestic. Girls, not boys, are shown sitting, standing and sleeping—all "actions" without movement. Girls are the only ones pictured sewing, washing dishes, cooking, playing with dolls and sweeping. Boys, on the other hand, are shown [illegible], marching, playing with tanks and cars, fishing, mashing a car, painting a house and flying kites.[9]

OE's own public information materials have produced similar sex stereotypes. The most notable example, the "Career Education" film produced for OE-sponsored career education workshops, showed women in limited and stereotyped female occupational roles. All supervisors but one were male, and the lower paying occupations were generally held by women. The film had men in over 30 different occupations, women in fewer than 20. To his credit, former Commissioner Marland did recognize the problem with the film and recalled it for reediting. Shortly before, OE's *American Education* magazine had gone to press with and for the film, featuring a photograph of children in career education: boys posing as doctor, policeman and fireman; and a girl posing as a nurse.

*Education Personnel*

OE and NIE programs affect employment in education chiefly in two different ways: through jobs in agency-funded projects at the State and local level and through training in our many education personnel training programs (NIE has just one: Researcher Training). By and large, both jobs and training supported by the two agencies contribute to the overall inequities facing women who work in education.

*Men overwhelmingly dominate the administration of OE and NIE funded projects.*—This is clear from information on project directors gathered by the task force; unfortunately, we could not obtain information on other project staff. In almost all of the programs which could furnish data on project directors by sex (approximately 40), fewer than one-fifth of the project directors were female.

According to program staff reports, most recent data showed there were no female directors in the 27 Education Leadership projects funded under the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) Part D. Women headed only.—

one out of 18 ERIC clearinghouses,
two of the 80 MDTA skills centers, and
three of the 106 Language and Area Centers funded under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA).

No regional education laboratory or research and development center was headed by a woman, and 65 out of 67 laboratory and center program directors were men.

Women seem to be just as scarce in decision-making positions at the State level. according to the scattered information available. Here too, in most of the programs for which we did get statistics, fewer than 20 percent of the State program coordinators were female. Women represented only:

3 percent of the State adult education directors,
11 percent of the directors for Title III of the National Defense Education Act,
4 percent of the directors for Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and
1 out of 56 State vocational education dorectors.

In the traditionally "female" fields, the record was better. Over half of the Right to Read program's 35 State coordinators were woman. For two library programs—Title I of the Library Services and Construction Act and ESEA Title II—the figures were 42 percent female and 36 percent female, respectively. These statistics are still disappointing, however, since 4 out of every 5 librarians are women.

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[9] The "Action" workbook is part of the "Language and Thinking" curriculum developed by CEMREL under the educational laboratories and centers program now located in NIE.

*Opportunities in Personnel Training.*—The record in promoting equal opportunities in education for women through OE and NIE personnel training programs is mixed. As expected, OE programs are generally training women for educational roles already dominated by women. They are being trained to serve as teachers and paraprofessionals in elementary and secondary, early childhood and special education. Men are being trained for roles which they already dominate: administration and leadership in education at all levels, teaching in higher education and research and development.

A few programs do seem to be contributing to equal opportunities for women and men in education. EPDA Part E serves a higher proportion of women than currently exists in higher education: while only 1 to 5 faculty members is female, 43 percent of the fellowships went to women in FY 1971–72, and a sampling of FY 1969–71 institute participants indicated that women were slightly less than one-third. In addition, several of the EPDA programs are bringing more men into elementary and secondary education by emphasizing veterans. The Career Opportunities Program raised the proportion of male aides being trained from 18 to 39 percent in one year. And EPDA Part B–2, in attracting and qualifying new educational personnel, focuses on mature women returning to work, a group badly neglected by most training programs. This program, however, is being phased out.

Despite these gains, the proportion of women is highest in training for jobs at the bottom of the career ladder (paraprofessionals) and lowest in training for jobs at the top (administration) throughout OE and NIE education personnel training programs:

> Several programs funded under EPDA estimated that women were over 90 percent of the aides or paraprofessionals trained.
>
> The Training Teacher Trainers program (TTT) funded under EPDA reported that women were 82 percent of the aides, 69 percent of the teachers, and 19 percent of the administrators trained.
>
> Women were a scant 25 percent of the trainees in school administration under the EPDA Education Leadership program, according to program reports. Program staff reported that leadership training under the Education for the Handicapped Act also serves mostly men.

Moreover, many training programs clearly have not been serving women in the target population equitably. Since training, especially advanced training can be the key to professional advancement, these programs are contributing to a system that advances men more readily than women, even in fields heavily dominated by women.

Though the overwhelming majority of school librarians are women, Title HEA II–B doctoral fellowships go mainly to men. In the program's first four years, school years 1966–67 through 1969–70, women in the program received only 38 percent of the doctoral degrees.[10]

Women have been seriously underrepresented in vocational education personnel training under EPDA Part F. According to program staff, 13 percent of the fellowship recipients were women. In contrast, women are over two-fifths of the people teaching secondary vocational education, where most vocational education staff can be found.[11]

Since 1964–65, women have received only 5 percent of the faculty research fellowships funded under the Fulbright-Hays Act. This is a small fraction of the proportion of women on the higher education faculties.

### *Access to Education*

OE funds help to support the many discriminatory practices that make it particularly difficult for women to gain access to the education they want.

In student aid, for example, the ETS study mentioned earlier found discrimination against women in both the Equal Opportunity Grant Program and the National Defense Student Loan Program. Women were over half of the recipients in both programs, but the mean Equal Opportunity Grant for women was 20 percent less than that for men. Despite the fact that women typically receive more student financial aid through loans than men, women averaged slightly smaller loans than men under the National Defense Student Loan program.[12]

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[10] Engin I. Holmstrom and Elaine El-Khanas, "An Overview of the First Four Years of the Title II–B Fellowship Program," *College and Research Libraries*, May 1971, p. 208.

[11] Kay, *Vocational Education*, p. 15.

[12] U.S. *Congressional Record*, 92d Congress, 2nd Session, 1972, Vol. 118, No. 28, p. S2699, Table 7.

These differences could not be explained by differences in need, since the study found that male/female income levels were comparable.

In terms of admissions practices, OE funds go to a variety of institutions practicing discriminatory admissions policies, including single sex vocational schools now required in Title IX to open their doors to both sexes. In addition, thousands of school districts which regularly expel pregnant students participate in agency-funded programs.

### *Research*

Sex biases were common in research and development materials examined by the task force. In fact, two examples of sex biases in research mentioned in Part I came from studies funded by OE: Project TALENT and the draft longitudinal study questionnaire to full-time homemakers (See page 19).

OE has funded numerous studies of just one sex. OE supported, for instance, a major study on the effects of dropping out of high school; only make dropouts were studied. Another study, in the planning stages at one of NIE's research and development centers, would investigate influences on the vocational education decisions of male black adolescents. Aimed at the development of "more effective career guidance for disadvantaged black youth," this study will shed no light on the career guidance needs of young black women.[13]

## ACTION TO DATE

This task force is the Office of Education's first agency-wide attempt to confront these issues. Neither OE nor NIE has begun to act on the new legal mandate to eliminate biases in their own programs. However, a few programs have already taken first steps on their own initiative. For example:

The Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education (BAVTE) formally warned vocational educators to avoid discriminating against both students and employees on the basis of sex, as well as race, color and religion. Sent to State and regional staff in January 1972, BAVTE's memorandum on biases in vocational education represents OE's only warning to recipients of agency grants on sex discrimination.

The Researcher Training Program, now under NIE, notified FY 1972 applicants for training funds that they should work to develop the talents of women, as well as minorities, industry personnel and representatives of a wide variety of disciplines. This is an important step, although the addition of industry personnel and representatives of different disciplines dilutes the impact of the statement as an equal opportunity measure.

A few offices report that they have made some effort to review materials for sex biases: The Office of Public Affairs (public affairs materials), the National Center for Educational Communications (materials on exemplary programs and practices slated for national dissemination) and the Center for Vocational Education Curriculum Development (vocational education curriculum materials). These efforts have not always been effective, though, as the examples of sex biases in public affairs materials mentioned earlier indicate.

The Vocational Education Exemplary Programs staff has urged project directors to make use of pamphlets encouraging training for girls in traditionally male occupational fields.

The Higher Education Training Program under EPDA Part E has established as one of its priorities programs preparing women for careers in higher education. Again, this is progress, although its impact is diluted since this is one of many priorities.

The Institute for International Studies (IIS) established its own force last summer (1972) to assess the impact of IIS programs on women.

## NEXT STEPS FOR HEW'S EDUCATION AGENCIES

With the enactment of new laws banning sex discrimination, OE and NIE's first responsibility must be to use all the administrative tools at hand to eliminate sex discrimination in agency programs. The Office for Civil Rights will take the formal actions necessary to secure institution-wide compliance for recipients of Federal funds. But tackling sex discrimination in education cannot, must not, be left solely to the work of an enforcement agency.

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[13] Ohio State Center for Vocational and Technical Education, ***Basic Program Plan, Vocational Development and Adjustment I*** (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1972).

While OE and NIE have no powers to press for compliance throughout an entire institution, they do have sole authority for the conduct of their own programs. Since it is now illegal for these agencies to supply funds to any institution discriminating on the basis of sex, it is up to them to do whatever they can to prevent direct discrimination under OE and NIE programs.

OE and NIE must notify contractors and grantees about the new laws, secure assurances of compliance and monitor programs for evidence of discrimination. In addition, both agencies will need to use their discretion over project grant programs as leverage to assure compliance in areas where discrimination against women has been especially acute. The informal pressure and leadership which the Assistant Secretary and his education agencies can provide, coupled with the case-by-case legal action from the civil rights office, are both needed to meet the challenge. All of these units will need to carry out their complementary responsibilities in close cooperation.

### *Making the Legal Requirements Known*

As a beginning, NIE and OE need to provide explicit instruction to each recipient of their funds about its obligation to end sex discrimination. Notices must be placed in guidelines and other agency publications; applications must be changed to include an assurance that grantees will comply with the ban against sex discrimination. Both are already standard operating procedures for the racial discrimination ban in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Simple notification will not be enough; aid recipients will need guidelines spelling out their concrete responsibilities under the new law. Failure to provide these institutions with specific guidelines has caused difficulties in securing compliance with the Executive Order. OE has not furnished prospective contractors with the documents detailing required action: Department of Labor guidelines, Revised Order No. 4 or new HEW guidelines just developed for universities. Both OE and NIE must begin to supply these materials, along with regulations and guidelines on Title IX when available, routinely to all prospective beneficiaries of agency funds.

OE and NIE will need to act promptly. Title IX is already in effect, and FY 1973 projects should not be funded until an assurance of compliance is given. Where program documents have already appeared without additions, program offices should distribute addenda at once to make up for that oversight.

Specific written guidance must be supplemented with working sessions between administrators and HEW staff where information and concerns about Title IX compliance and enforcement can be freely exchanged. That way administrators can discuss precisely how Title IX applies to their own policies and practices. Title IX workshops should reach a range of education personnel: school superintendents and university presidents, student financial aid and budget officers, career counselors and librarians and so on. NIE should direct similar efforts to researchers and research directors, heads of regional laboratories and R&D centers. OE should place special emphasis on informing State agency officials, since State staff will be responsible for monitoring local projects funded under State formula grant programs for compliance with the new law.

### *Monitoring for Compliance*

Once the minimal legal forms and informatian needs are met, OE and NIE must include a check on Title IX compliance in their own monitoring activities. Many programs do attempt some monitoring—through site review teams, telephone checks or written reports. Whatever the method, program officers should look at the treatment of women in each program and take steps to resolve any problems they discover. Here again, OCR should help out by suggesting standards to be used in program monitoring.

### *Applying Leverage Through Discretionary Authority*

In addition, NIE and OE must use their discretionary authority to combat sex biases in program areas where discrimination is particularly damaging.

*Instructional and Informational Material.*—As we noted earlier, both agencies support the development of educational and public relations materials intended for broad national distribution: curriculum matrials, teacher training techniques, program reports, films and so on. To stop perpetuating sex biases in these materials, NIE and OE should take several steps:

> Notify developers, both inside the agency and out, of their obligation to avoid sex biases. This can be done formally—through guidelins, for instance—and informally—in the course of contract negotiations.

Produce a pamphlet on avoiding sex bias as a guide for developers. This would serve not only the agency's own needs for consistency, but also the growing number of people across the country who are becoming concerned with sex bias in the schools and in the media.

Review the products of agency-funded development efforts for sex biases before they are finalized. Most of these materials are already subject to review, either by the program unit supporting their development or, for public relations materials, by the Office of Public Affairs. To insure that materials are reviewed carefully for sex bias, specific staff people in appropriate offices should be designated to perform that job. These people should be named after consulting with women in each office about which staff members would be most sensitive to sex bias.

In most cases, sex stereotypes can be eliminated without much trouble. Changing photographs, revising a story line slightly, deleting words here on pictures there will usually suffice. For a few projects, however, sexism will be so deeply lodged in the fundamental concept of the work that the only remedy will be complete rejection. We found one such case: the "Self-Guided, Search" guidance test developed at Johns Hopkins and urge that support for it be dropped.

*Career Education.*—Both NIE and OE have already invested substantial energy in the success of Career Education. If we fail to use our influence to counteract sex bias in pioneer career education projects, these "models" and "exemplary programs" will offer new ways to reinforce outdated aspirations for both girls and boys. Eliminating sex segregation should be established as a priority under all education and training programs for careers, and model and exemplary projects should be held accountable for involving both sexes in all activities.

*Other Areas for Action.*—Other related recommendations speak for themselves; they range from promoting the advancement of women through training programs to avoiding sex bias in research.

### *Strengthening Title IX*

Finally, we propose two additional steps designed to strengthen Title IX. Title IX covers all Federal agencies supporting education: the National Science Foundation, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Department of Defense and so on. To our knowledge, these agencies have taken no action on Title IX. We suggest that the Federal Interagency Committee on Education work to get all appropriate Federal agencies moving on enforcement of Title IX.

We urge the Assistant Secretary to seek an amendment to Title IX itself, extending its coverage to admissions in elementary and secondary schools, to military academies, to single sex public undergraduate colleges and private coeducational undergraduate colleges. There is no justification for allowing institutions which receive public monies to restrict educational opportunities for either sex. Both women and men ultimately suffer from this practice. We have avoided recommending that admissions to private undergraduate institutions be covered, however, since the task force could not agree on removing the exemption for these institutions. Half of the task force felt these institutions do have merit, and that as private institutions they should continue to qualify for Federal aid they may need to survive.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Making the Legal Requirements Known*

1. We recommend that OE and NIE fully inform potential and actual recipients of Federal education aid of their obligations to eliminate sex discrimination under Title IX and Executive Order 11246. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) All OE and NIE guidelines, regulations and other appropriate documents be amended to include a statement on Title IX, P.L. 92–318, and require applicants to submit an assurance of compliance. OE and NIE should attach an addendum to this effect to all FY 1973 program documents already printed without this statement.

(*b*) All OE and NIE contracts and grants officers provide all applicants with detailed instructions on their obligations under Title IX and Executive Order 11246 before they sign assurances of compliance. Contractors should receive a copy of Revised Order No. 4, Department of Labor guidelines and HEW guidelines. All potential aid recipients should receive Title IX regulations and guidelines when published.

2. We recommend that OE and NIE provide information and technical assistance concerning Title IX and its implications directly to State education personnel, school administrators and education personnel throughout the country. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) Each Deputy Commissioner in OE and equivalent within NIE be responsible for conducting extensive workshops and conferences on Title IX for key State and local personnel in their respective areas of concern. All regular program workshops and conferences sponsored by the two agencies should include briefings on Title IX. These should be conducted on a continuing basis as long as sex discrimination remains a major problem in education. A specific person in NIE and OE should be designated to coordinate each agency's plans for these activities.

(*b*) The Commissioner of Education make Title IX a major topic of discussion in his next meeting with the Chief State School Officers. He should emphasize the leadership role the Federal government will expect the State education agencies to play in eliminating sex discrimination at the State and local levels.

### *Monitoring for Compliance*

3. We recommend that OE and NIE monitor their own programs for Title IX compliance. Specifically, we recommend that OE and NIE include compliance status checks on all regular site reviews, including State management reviews conducted under ESEA Title V. OE's Deputy Commissioners and equivalent officials in NIE should work with the Office for Civil Rights to develop reporting forms and uniform criteria for monitoring compliance status in site reviews.

### *Leverage through Discretionary Authority: Instructional and Information Materials*

4. We recommend that OE and NIE insure that all instructional and public relations materials developed with OE and NIE funds for national distribution be free of sex biases. This would include career and vocational materials in model and exemplary programs. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) Guidelines, requests for proposals and other appropriate documents stress as a condition for funding that materials be developed without sex stereotyping.

(*b*) OE's Office of Public Affairs, in cooperation with OE and NIE program staff, develop a guidebook concerned with avoiding sex biases to assist contractors, grantees and agency staff in developing materials.

(*c*) OE and NIE designate at least one staff person within each appropriate program and public affairs office to clear new materials before their completion and dissemination. These staff people should be selected after consultation with the women in these offices.

(*d*) OE and NIE review existing projects for sex biases. As part of this effort, NIE support for the "Self Directed Search" guidance system developed at Johns Hopkins should be terminated.

### *Leverage through Discretionary Authority: Career Education*

5. We recommend that OE and NIE work together to eliminate sex discrimination in career preparation. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) OE and NIE establish the elimination of sex segregation as one of career education's major goals, and emphasize that new goal in materials explaining the career education concept.

(*b*) Program guidelines and other appropriate documents be amended to emphasize that the elimination of sex segregation is a priority in education and training for careers.

(*c*) Guidelines require all model and exemplary programs in career education and training report their success in including students of both sexes in all education activities.

### *Other Areas for Action—Training*

6. We recommend that OE and NIE work to equalize the proportion of men and women at all levels and in all areas of education through training programs. Personnel training program guidelines should be modified to require applicants to include plans for increasing the numbers of male and female participants in fields where either sex is underrepresented as well as report annually on progress towards achieving that goal. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) Greater numbers of women be trained in areas where they are currently underrepresented, such as educational administration in all fields, trades and industry in vocational education, educational research and development, educational technology, the "hard" sciences and in other appropriate areas.

(*b*) Greater numbers of men be trained for employment in entry level positions in areas where they are currently underrepresented, such as early childhood education, elementary education, special education, home economics, business/office education, the health professions and in other appropriate areas. In addition, greater numbers of men should be trained as paraprofessionals in all fields.

### *Other Areas for Action—Project Administration*

7. We recommend that OE and NIE promote the involvement of women in top positions in OE and NIE funded projects. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) OE and NIE amend guidelines for discretionary programs to require that applicants for funds submit data on title, salary and responsibilities of top project staff by sex.

(*b*) OE and NIE review that information for evidence of discrimination and negotiate before funding for the correction of any inequities.

(*c*) In all program guidelines and other official program documents, OE and NIE emphasize their interest in receiving applications from women and for projects directed by women.

(*d*) OE and NIE, working with women's organizations, encourage women to apply for discretionary program funds. Women's organizations should be included on appropriate mailing lists for application notification and guideline distribution.

### *Other Areas for Action—Research*

8. We recommend that OE, NIE and the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (ASPE) review for sex biases all research instruments to be used in education studies they fund.

9. We recommend that OE, and ASPE insure, before funding education research projects, that projects studying people use samples of both sexes and report results by sex. Exceptions should be made only when the information sought is already available for one sex or when a study is explicitly designed to serve the goal of equality of the sexes and special circumstances require a one-sex study.

Specifically, we recommend that guidelines, requests for proposals and other appropriate documents state the conditions under which one-sex studies are permissible and request that anyone applying for funds for such a study provide a justification.

### *Strenghthening Title IX*

10. We recommend that the Federal Interagency Committee on Education explore the implications of Title IX for other Federal agencies providing education assistance and encourage those agencies to take the necessary action to enforce Title IX.

11. We recommend that the Assistant Secretary for Education strongly urge the amendment of Title IX to cover admissions in elementary and secondary schools, military academies, single sex public undergraduate colleges and private coeducational undergraduate colleges.

## NEXT STEPS: THE OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) already handles Executive Order enforcement in higher education institutions. Title IX expands its sex discrimination enforcement authority to institutions of all kinds receiving Federal education aid, with very few exceptions.

OCR's work is absolutely critical to the effectiveness of any civil rights law applying to HEW programs. The Office interprets these laws through regulations and guidelines, conducts on-site compliance investigations, negotiates with institutions found out of compliance and notifies HEW agencies to terminate funding if contractors or grantees refuse to comply. Clearly, the impact of anti-sex discrimination laws will depend largely on how effectively OCR carries out its job.

### *Executive Order Enforcement*

So far, the record in enforcing equal treatment for women in employment under the Executive Order has been disappointing. The Executive Order itself and enforcement efforts have proven weaker chiefly in two areas: accountability and compliance standards.

*Accountability*—Unless the government conducts a compliance investigation, a contractor is not accountable for its efforts to live up to the Executive Order. While they are required to develop an affirmative action program detailing plans to eliminate sex (and race) discrimination, contractors do not have to submit them to Federal officials; public agencies and small contractors are not even required to put them into writing. In fact, compliance investigators have found that many contractors that are required to put their plans in writing do not bother to do so, since they do not have to submit them for approval. The government neither approves affirmative action programs nor monitors progress in carrying them out as a routine matter.

Only if the enforcement unit (OCR, in HEW's case) decides to do a compliance investigation does an institution have to answer for the adequacy of its affirmative action program, or its efforts to live up to it. Investigations are costly and time consuming and only a small minority of institutions do undergo such an investigation. Trying to enforce the Order without routine review of all affirmative action plans would be like trying to achieve school desegregation by telling dual school systems they must desegregate, asking them to devise their own program (either written or unwritten) and then assuming that desegregation has occurred.

*Compliance Standards.*—In addition, OCR has been slow in developing and promulgating specific standards for compliance. It took four years after coverage of sex discrimination was added to the Executive Order for OCR to come out with guidelines dealing with sex ~~bias in higher~~ education institutions. OCR has also failed to develop uniform standards to guide its own personnel in compliance reviews. Investigations are handled by regional office staff, and procedures and compliance standards vary from region to region, from institution to institution. Not only does an absence of uniform standards frustrate effective civil rights policy, it is unfair to any institution making a genuine effort to comply with the Federal government's equal employment demands.

### *Enforcement of Title IX*

Hopefully, Title IX enforcement will be more vigorous than efforts to date under the Executive Order. Of course, it is still too early to tell. We must make clear, however, our concern that OCR move promptly and decisively on Title IX enforcement. Regulations, now under development, must be specific enough to give educators a concrete understanding of what is expected, especially in terms of sex discrimination against students which the government has never before tackled. Detailed guidelines need to follow just as promptly.

OCR will need to provide regional offices with clear and uniform procedures for investigation and enforcement. We urge a special focus on sex discrimination at the State level, since State education agencies, with administrative responsibility for much of the Federal aid funds, exert a great deal of influence over the way local school districts spend their funds. We also strongly advise that the enforcement of Title IX to be carried out in coordination with efforts under the Executive Order. Not only would that minimize duplication of efforts, it would also ensure that each investigation covers discrimination against both students and employers.

### *Discrimination in OCR Staffing*

As a law enforcement agency, the Office for Civil Rights has a special obligation to meet the standards it sets for others. OCR's record in hiring female professionals is appalling.

Women are only 11.6 percent of all OCR professionals GS–13 and over. In the mid levels, OCR employs 77 GS–13's—7 are women; 59 GS–14's—8 are women; and 31 GS-15's—4 are women.

FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL OCR STAFF, AS OF NOV. 12, 1972

| Grade | Total | Number of men | Number of women | Percentage of women |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 25 |
| 15 | 31 | 27 | 4 | 13 |
| 14 | 59 | 51 | 8 | 14 |
| 13 | 77 | 70 | 7 | 9 |
| 12 | 38 | 28 | 10 | 26 |
| 11 | 42 | 15 | 27 | 64 |
| 9 | 38 | 15 | 23 | 61 |
| 7 | 35 | 3 | 32 | 91 |

The Office for Civil Rights is charged with guarding the rights of women under billions of dollars worth of HEW grants and contracts. Minority groups have argued for a long time that full minority representation is the key to energetic civil rights enforcement. By the same token, rights of women in HEW programs can only be protected if women have an equal share in senior and decision-making positions in the Office for Civil Rights.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Executive Order Enforcement: Accountability*

12. We recommend that HEW's Office for Civil Rights strengthen its procedures for holding contractors accountable for compliance to Executive Order 11246. Specifically, we recommend that HEW guidelines require contractors to submit affirmative action plans for approval whether or not a compliance review has been made; plans should be accepted or rejected within three months after submission.

### *Title IX Enforcement: Compliance Standards*

13. We recommend that the Office for Civil Rights develop strong uniform procedures for investigating sex discrimination in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) OCR develop a standard procedure for collecting and evaluating information at defined intervals on the compliance status of institutions under Title IX and Executive Order 11246.

(*b*) Investigations initiated under Executive Order 11246 be carried out in conjunction with investigations initiated under Title IX.

### *Title IX Enforcement: State Education Agencies*

14. We recommend that the Office for Civil Rights work directly with each State to overcome present inequities experienced by women in State education agencies. Specifically, we recommend that OCR set the investigation of State education agencies as a priority under title IX enforcement.

## CHAPTER II: BEYOND THE LEGAL IMPERATIVE

Administrative action to enforce the legal ban on sex discrimination is only the first step towards achieving equality for women in education. Over time, we must work for fundamental change throughout the education system. Ultimately, the fight for change must be won in every school district, in every college and university. In that struggle, the Federal government's principal contribution must be leadership, since government can directly affect only a small share of the Nation's education resources. We look then to HEW as a catalyst for change.

This chapter outlines the most important leadership roles HEW's "House of Education" should play: public education, helping students and teachers to explore new roles for both sexes, fostering new educational approaches and knowledge building. Finally, it lists the internal management changes the education agencies ought to make if they are serious about championing women's right to equal educational opportunities over the long term.

## EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

There is remarkably little understanding, either in the education community or in the public at large, of the serious barriers to equality women face today throughout education. If education institutions all around the country are to begin removing those barriers, many more people—inside the education system and out—will have to appreciate the problem.

The Assistant Secretary for Education and the agencies reporting to him have substantial public information resources at their command. Through press releases and reports, articles and films, program and public affairs staff generate a steady flow of information on education issues of national importance. Top agency officials are constantly in demand for speeches and other public appearances; both the Commissioner and his Deputies had extensive speaking schedules last year.

All of these information resources can be put to work building public awareness of the inequalities women experience in education. In OE, a few efforts have already been made:

The Commissioner early in 1972 issued a strong statement on the educational rights of pregnant students. He said:

"Every girl in the United States has a right to and a need for the education that will help her prepare herself for a career, for family life, and for citizenship. To be married or pregnant is not sufficient cause to deprive her of an education and the opportunity to become a contributing member of society.[14]

"The U.S. Office of Education strongly urges school systems to provide continuing education for girls who become pregnant. Most pregnant girls are physically able to remain in their regular classes during most of their pregnancy. Any decision to modify a pregnant girl's school program should be made only after consulting with the girl, her parents, or her husband if she is married, and the appropriate educational, medical, and social service authorities.

"Further, local school systems have an obligation to cooperate with such other State, county, and city agencies as health and welfare departments and with private agencies and physicians to assure that pregnant girls receive proper medical, psychological, and social services during pregnancy and for as long as needed thereafter.

"The needs of pregnant girls are but one aspect of our concern. Young fathers also require assistance to enable them to meet the considerable responsibilities which they have assumed. We shall continue to emphasize in all aspects of our concept of comprehensive programs for school-age parents, the problems, the needs, the resources, the processes, and the program activities which will serve *both* young women and young men experiencing or anticipating early parenthood. In so doing, we also serve the children involved, and intend to promote a more successful "services integration model" for them—a strengthened family structure."

OE just sponsored a conference on sex role stereotypes in the schools, held Thanksgiving weekend, 1972. Conducted by the National Education Association, the conference attracted participants from various segments of the education community and the concerned public.

The agency is sponsoring a portable exhibit on school-aged parents, dramatizing the problems these young women face and the need for services to parents of both sexes.

The December 1972 issue of *American Education*, OE's own mass circulating magazine, carries a lead article on the laws banning sex discrimination in Federally-funded programs.

These are excellent initial efforts, yet the Education Division has barely begun to use the public information resources it has available. The Commissioner delivered 35 major addresses over the last school year, the Deputies among them many more. However, not top agency official has ever delivered a speech whose primary focus was a fundamental civil rights issue affecting half the population: equality for women.[15]

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[14] Statement of U.S. Commissioner of Education, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., on "Comprehensive Programs for School-Age Parents" before the Florida State Conference on Improving Services to School-Age Pregnant Girls.

[15] An aide to the Deputy Commissioner for Development did deliver a speech on his behalf last June, entitled "Barriers to Utilizing Women's Talents."

Top level leadership is needed to emphasize the seriousness of the inequities facing women in education. In addition, OE, NIE and the Assistant Secretary should se other media at their command to increase public awareness.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Educating the Public*

15. We recommend that the Assistant Secretary for Education, the Commissioner of Education, the Director of NIE and their respective Deputies should arrange to speak before key national education groups on their responsibilities for ending discriminatory practices. For example, we suggest that:

(*a*) The Assistant Secretary for Education or the Commissioner of Education address a conference of the major book publishing associations on OE's concern with sex stereotyping in educational materials and its effect on the status of women in education.

(*b*) The Director of NIE's Career Education Task Force and the Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education speak before the American Vocational Association and other key vocational groups on the need to encourage young men and women to explore the entire range of vocational opportunities.

(*c*) The Assistant Secretary for Education or the Commissioner of Education discuss the detrimental effects of inadequate counseling on lowering female career aspirations before the national meetings of secondary school counselors.

16. We recommend that the Office of Public Affairs use the range of media at its disposal to expand public consciousness of the growing struggle among women to secure equal opportunities in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) OPA work with program officials to produce a documentary film for public distribution on ways education can help women to break traditional sex barriers in various occupations at all levels.

(*b*) OPA organize an exhibit on women and sex discrimination in education for use at education conferences and at gatherings of women's rights groups. The exhibit might premiere in the Office of Education's main lobby, and focus particularly on Title IX, sexism in career training, and sex stereotyping in elementary school curricula.

(*c*) In cooperation with the Office for Civil Rights in HEW, OPA develop and disseminate a pamphlet to the general public on laws protecting women's rights to equal opportunities in education.

(*d*) *American Education* continue to publish articles to be made available in reprint form on the roles and progress of women in education.

## EXPLORING NEW ROLES FOR WOMEN AND MEN

If schools are to take the mandate to eliminate sex biases seriously, they will have to discard many outdated attitudes, practices, and educational tools. Teaching techniques, textbooks, films, and guidance tests will all need basic revisions.

Unless OE and NIE take the initiative in developing replacements for these antiquated teaching tools, educators will have nowhere to turn when they begin trying to overcome sex biases in the classroom.

Accepting the challenge will mean much more than merely producing neutral materials. It will demand new materials and learning approaches which explicitly address the problems of sexism and help teachers and students to cope with them.

The task force unearthed only one instance where OE has supported this kind of initiative—A curriculum unit designed to dispel traditional myths about women's roles in the work force. Aimed at secondary school girls, the unit provided students with information on occupations and on women's expanding role in the work force. Unfortunately, the Ohio State Center for Vocational and Technical Education produced this unit quite independently of the curriculum development for the school-based career education model. The Center has not yet adapted it or any other materials like it for inclusion in career education curriculums.

OE and NIE should continue supporting the development and dissemination of materials to help boys and girls understasd the right of women to equal vocational opportunities and the underlying causes of job discrimination. At the same time, they should see that all model career education programs include components on the role of women in the work force.

In addition, OE and NIE should focus development and dissemination resources on curriculum and guidance materials which encourage students of both sexes to explore new roles, and on teacher training materials which aim to help teachers avoid biases in their dealings with students. To assist educators, teachers and citizens concerned about sexism in the present curriculum, OE should disseminate a bibliography of unsex-biased curriculum materials.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Exploring New Roles for Women and Men*

17. We recommend that OE and NIE foster educational approaches which encourage children of both sexes to explore new roles. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) OE and NIE fund the development of educational and guidance techniques and materials designed to encourage students to explore new roles, particularly in educational areas where sex discrimination is especially strong, as in career education and guidance testing.

(*b*) OE support the development and dissemination of teacher training materials on avoiding sex biases. In addition, we recommend that OE and NIE personnel training program guidelines be amended to encourage projects to include training in overcoming sex biases.

(*c*) OE develop and disseminate a bibliography of unsex-biased materials appropriate for school use, especially at the elementary and secondary levels.

(*d*) OE and NIE insure that all model and exemplary career education projects include instruction that explicitly addresses the problems of sex-stereotyped occupations and dispels myths about women in the work force.

## SERVING WOMEN'S SPECIAL NEEDS

No one should be denied an education simply because she—or he—has chosen to raise a family.

Yet, education is out of reach for many women with family responsibilities not because of active sex discrimination—but because educational institutions do not provide the special services these women need to pursue education or training.

These problems, already summarized in Part I, are not susceptible to enforcement measures. Positive, not punitive action is called for to secure special services and new educational improvements compatible with these women's needs. With a modest redirection of resources, OE and NIE can do a great deal to expand educational opportunities for women with families.

### *Action to Date*

OE–NIE programs have supported scattered efforts to open up education to women with special needs:

The home/community-based career education model, mentioned above, will use the mass media to help unemployed adults in the home (chiefly women), take advantage of community career education resources. NIE is now funding the model's development.

The Adult Education Program offers part-time basic education. One project, "Armchair Education," reaches into the home to motivate prospective students to take advantage of educational and other community resources.

Title I of the Higher Education Act supports several projects serving women seeking continuing education and training. Eight projects funded in FY 1971 offered counseling services and skill training to women reentering the work force. However, these efforts remain limited, and projects have not been evaluated for their effectiveness in meeting women's needs.

Local school districts have opted to use funds from several programs for special projects for school-aged parents. In addition, OE is lead agency for a standing Interagency Task Force on Comprehensive Programs for School-Aged Parents, whose mission is to marshall Federal resources for teen-age parents.

### *Next Steps*

OE and NIE can do much more in using existing program resources to promote expanded educational opportunities for women—and men—for whom raising a family create special difficulties. The two agencies, along with the Fund for Improvement of Postsecondary Education, should act now on several fronts.

*Child Care.*—Currently, no OE programs specifically authorize program funds for child care, although it is possible that some program funds such as ESEA, Title I, are supporting student day care services at local option. Title I and the Follow Through program will pay for babysitting costs necessary for parental participation, but this is the closest OE has come to actively offering the child care assistance needed to enable parents to participate in an agency program.

Spending program funds for child care is not a new idea. Most of the Federal poverty-oriented training programs—including WIN, Job Corps, JOBS, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Public Service Careers, and the Concentrated Employment Program—permit grantees to pay for trainee child care.

We urge that OE permit local projects to use program funds to help needy parents shoulder child care costs on a sliding income scale, either by providing child care services or through payments for such services. Although we don't expect this option would be used widely, it would permit program staff to use funds for that purpose should the need arise.

*Serving School-Aged Parents.*—OE's efforts on behalf of these young people have had several shortcomings. First, special projects funded by OE often segregate pregnant students in special classes, whether or not they prefer regular classroom instruction. Second, in the program with the biggest stake in keeping school-aged mothers in school, Dropout Prevention, only three out of 21 projects have components serving pregnant students. Third, except for these three projects, OE has not supported interagency efforts to focus HEW resources on school-aged parents by setting aside discretionary funds for that purpose. OE should assure that its initial commitment to serving these young people is carried out by identifying specific program resources to be used.

*Part-time Study.*—Because OE and NIE programs mirror existing practices in recipient institutions and because program administrators may not appreciate the demand for part-time study, projects we assist usually conform to traditional full-time education patterns. OE- and NIE-funded vocational and graduate education programs are mainly full-time.

OE and NIE can use their service and training programs as leverage to expand part-time opportunities throughout the education system by requiring that all such projects make provision for part-time students.

Recent changes in student aid legislation may make it easier for women to secure an equal share of Federal student financial aid. P.L. 92–318 opened all student aid programs to students attending school at least half-time. If this authority is used, it could benefit women with children who seek higher education on a part-time basis. Student aid officers may be reluctant to aid part-time students, however, and OE should encourage these officers to make full use of the new authority.

*Accommodating Other Programs to the Special Needs of Women.*—OE and NIE should identify women wishing to continue education or training as a special target group in programs currently serving adults: not only in adult education, but also in personnel training, manpower training and postsecondary education programs. Women with family responsibilities have been largely excluded from these programs, and only a visible emphasis on projects serving their needs is likely to produce different results.

Two new program authorities are particularly well suited to reaching this population. P.L. 92–318 authorized the creation of Educational Opportunity Centers serving low-income areas, to provide information on student financial aid, help in applying to institutions of postsecondary education, counseling and tutorial services. For women cut off from the usual sources of information and advice on student aid opportunities, these centers could be an invaluable source of information. The same law also authorizes a ten percent discretionary set-aside of the HEA Title I Community Service and Continuing Education Program for special projects exploring solutions to problems of social change. These funds should be targeted on developing model programs for women returning to education and work.

The Office of Public Affairs program for disseminating information to the public on priority education issues could be extremely useful in reaching women in the home with relevant information on education and training. For example, OPA has been distributing "25 Technical Careers You Can Learn in 2 Years or Less" as part of a career education effort. The Office can use similar techniques to reach women—with information, for instance, about student aid and about exploring the types of occupations now opening up to women. The Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor has put out an excellent series of pamphlets designed to do just that ("Why not be an Engineer?"); such materials could be used in an OE information campaign aimed particularly at younger women.

Finally, experimentation with entirely new approaches to education responsive to life styles of women raising families is sorely needed. The home community-based career education model is one step; others are needed to meet the needs of women getting an academic education of various kinds. The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, NIE, and OE have complementary responsibilities for fostering major educational change. They should be working together to see that education begins to serve the long neglected population of women who want both a family and more education.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Child Care and Serving School-Aged Parents*

18. We recommend that OE, NIE encourage educational institutions to provide opportunities for parents raising children to pursue their education. Specificially, we recommend that:

(*a*) Day care be made an allowable cost in all programs (including construction programs) serving people of child-bearing age. OE should recommend new legislation where program guidelines cannot accomplish this.

(*b*) OE set aside at least two million dollars from discretionary monies for projects to support the work of the Interagency Task Force on Comprehensive Programs for School-Aged Parents.

### *Part-Time Study*

19. We recommend that OE and NIE promote part-time study opportunities for women returning to education. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) OE and NIE insure that part-time students are admitted to projects funded under postsecondary and other programs serving adults. OE should recommend legislation to accomplish this where it cannot be achieved through guideline changes.

(*b*) Student aid program guidelines urge institutions to make Federal financial aid available to half-time students in proportion to their enrollment in the student body.

### *Accommodating Other Programs to the Special Needs of Women*

20. We recommend that OE and NIE guidelines for programs aimed at adults state that projects serving women wishing to continue their educattion be given special consideration. In addition, the Educational Opportunity Centers established under P.L. 92–318 should identify this population as a special target group, and Title I of the Higher Education Act should use its discretionary set-aside to fund model programs serving this group.

21. We recommend that the Office of Public Affairs undertake a public service information campaign publicizing new opportunities for women in education through radio and television spots as well as through printed materials. For example, suggest that:

(*a*) OE make use of the excellent materials already developed by the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor to encourage young women to enter male-dominated professions, and cooperate with the Women's Bureau in developing new materials.

(*b*) OE direct information on student financial aid to women in the home who plan to return to education or employment training after several years' absence.

22. We recommend that OE, NIE and The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education experiment with new educational approaches with a potential for expanding opportunities for women in both academic and vocational education.

### BUILDING OUR STORE OF KNOWLEDGE ON WOMEN IN EDUCATION

At the national level, OE and NIE bear chief responsibility for building our store of knowledge about women in education in the United States. Between them, the two agencies should be gathering national statistics on the status of women as students and employees in the education system, evaluating the impact of OE and NIE programs on women and supporting research on sex role development and sex discrimination.

Collection and dissemination of educational statistics have been part of OE's basic mandate since its creation in 1867. With the enactment of the Cooperative Research Act, OE also took on responsibility for supporting research and development in education. This year OE turned responsibility for educational research and development over to the National Institute of Education.

### *Collecting Information*

With respect to collecting information on women, OE has not fulfilled its oldest mandate. Despite growing concern about sex discrimination, information comparing the status of men and women in education is still limited. Few national statistics have been collected to supplement piecemeal information on sex discrimination that has come to light in recent years. In addition, OE has gathered only scattered information on the status of women in its own programs.

Accurate information on women in educational is essential to education policy makers and interested citizens in determining the extent and degree of sex discrimination supported by our educational institutions. In turn, agency officials will find it difficult to identify and overcome sex discrimination in their own programs without accurate information on their impact on women.

*National Statistics.*—OE does collect a wealth of national statistics on education, most gathered by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). will find it difficult to identify and overcome sex discrimination in their own paring men and women, so that now 25 out of 55 of their surveys collect data by sex.

While it is encouraging that NCES is beginning to recognize the need to increase its store of data by sex, these efforts will not satisfy the need for information on women in education. Data on the salary, education and employment histories of staff in elementary and secondary schools need to be collected by sex, as well as information on the number of single sex vocational schools. These are just two examples: information on comparing the participation of males and females throughout the education system is needed to improve our ability to assess progress toward equality for women.

Adding new sex breakdowns to current surveys will cost money and demand more effort from our educational institutions. However, this is a small price for information which is essential to solving basic inequalities between the sexes.

*Program Data.*—OE and NIE do not systematically collect statistics on the impact of their programs on men and women. Many programs collect no data on the number of participants by sex, even in areas where sex biases may be expected, such as in several of our vocational educational programs.

In addition, programs which accept applications from individuals, such as fellowship and student aid programs, collect no data on the number of applicants by sex. Nor do they record the amount of award by sex, despite the ETS finding that women do receive smaller awards under student aid programs.

Information on women in the administration of project grant programs is even harder to come by; programs rarely have data on project staff below the level of project director by sex. In fact, a sex breakdown on project directors themselves can only be obtained by counting male and female names, a highly unscientific method. The situation is similar in State grant programs; usually only the State program coordinator's name is known; data on the proportion of females on the State staff are not collected.

### *Evaluation*

Besides collecting basic statistics on women in agency programs, OE and NIE should begin to use formal evaluations to assess progam impact on women. Many of OE's evaluations do collect data by sex, since evaluators expect programs to have different effects for male and female participants.

However, when evaluators find differences in a program's effect on males and females, they do not explore the reasons and can offer no advice to administrators on changing the program to balance its effect on the sexes.

This fall, the Office of Education and the Department of Labor are cooperating on an evaluation of MDTA training programs on women. The study is designed to examine the effectiveness of MDTA in preparing women for entry and re-entry jobs in the labor market. It will serve as a model of the thorough evaluations we should be funding on the effectiveness of OE programs in meeting women's needs. It will analyze sex stereotyping in the training courses, obstacles to equal opportunities for women and means of expanding opportunities for women in the program.

Similar studies on other OE programs would be extremely helpful. We would particularly encourage the Office of Planning, Budgeting and Evaluation (OPBE) to fund follow-up and longitudinal studies showing the long-range impact of programs on women and men.

### *Research Studies*

On the whole, OE has supported little research shedding new light on problems of inequality between the sexes. Studies have been funded more by accident than conscious policy. A few researchers have requested funds for small studies and have been funded, but OE has made no effort to assess the need for research in this area and to see that it gets done.

The one major study to date was funded by the Office of the Secretary but administered by OE: a study on "Barriers to Women's Participation in Post-secondary Education." Still in the pilot phase, the study has run into a number of difficulties and has been delayed a year. Unfortunately, the present study design does not provide a control group of men, so that the study cannot produce information comparing the needs of men and women.

As we noted earlier, a great deal of research must be done to lay the solid groundwork for long-term progress towards equality for women. OE should build on the work already begun in the "barriers" study. We do suggest that a male control group be added and that OE undertake a similar study on the educational problems of women who are not high school graduates.

NIE must take the lead in focusing research resources on the problem of inequality between the sexes. In authorizing the new Institute's creation, Congress spelled out its foremost concern: providing "every person an equal opportunity to receive an education of high quality regardless of his race, color, religion, sex, national origin or social class." [16] As Congress recognized, unequal opportunity for women is among education's most serious problems. We urge NIE to heed its mandate to deal with the problem by undertaking a coordinated research and development effort aimed at improving opportunities for women. As part of that effort, NIE should be sure to explore the impact of schooling on sex-stereotyped career goals and the extent of sex bias in guidance testing.

### *Reporting and Disseminating Information*

Building our information store on women in education will have limited impact unless OE and NIE begin to report and disseminate that information much more effectively than they do now. OE does not report or disseminate the information it now has on women in useful form—either national education statistics or data on how women fare under OE programs. As a result, the information we do have is inaccessible both to education policy makers at all levels of government and to the concerned public.

Both national statistics and evaluation results comparing males and females, when collected, are scattered throughout long reports and difficult to find. Were OE to collect sex breakdowns on teaching staff at all levels in education, given the way statistics are reported now, one would need to refer to three separate reports to compare women's participation at all levels. The time lag between data collection and publication is another problem: the Office for Civil Rights has to collect its own statistics on minority enrollments in institutions at all levels since NCES could not guarantee to make data available the same year it is collected.

In only one area of reporting—ERIC, the information retrieval system for research reports and other education documents—has an attempt been made to report materials on women in a useful form. Several ERIC categories (descriptors) used to call up information apply to women, including a new one on women's studies. ERIC clearinghouses have compiled several bibliographies and research reviews concerned with women. The higher education clearinghouse has put out a report on women's rights on the campus; the clearinghouse on the disadvantaged just released a bibliography on women's educational and career roles. These efforts will be most helpful and we urge ERIC staff in NIE to press clearinghouses to produce more of the same.

To improve reporting and dissemination of existing information on men and women in education, we urge several steps. NCES should begin to publish comparative statistics on the sexes as separate reports; it should also devote special sections of its larger reports to date by sex. Program and evaluation data on women in OE programs should be highlighted in separate sections of program and evaluation reports. Finally, NIE's dissemination staff should make women and sex bias a major focus of the targeted communications program, which summarizes research on a subject for wide distribution within the education community.

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[16] Section 405(a)(1) of the General Education Provisions Act, as amended by Section 301(a)(2), P.L. 92–318.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *National Statistics*

23. We recommend that NCES amend its present surveys to collect the following data by sex:

(*a*) A breakdown by sex for elementary school pupils in each grade, to be added to the ELSEGIS State Fall Report on Staff and Pupils.

(*b*) Secondary school subject area enrollments by sex, to be added to the ELSEGIS Survey of Secondary School Offerings, Enrollments and Curriculum Practices 1972–73.

(*c*) All data on elementary school principals and on the number of specialists by sex, to be collected in the Belmont Elementary School Survey. This survey's questionnaire on teacher characteristics is thorough and should be used as a model for collecting information isolating sex as a variable.

NOTE.—Data by sex in characteristics of all school staff are needed to determine whether women remain at lower positions with lower pay despite equivalent or better qualifications than the male staff.

(*d*) Secondary school staff and principal data by sex, to be collected in the Belmont Secondary School Survey. We urge that the staff and school questionnaires be expanded to collect by sex the same information as the Elementary School Survey collects on elementary school staff (e.g., salary, years of teaching experience, degree earned, etc.).

NOTE.—No data on characteristics of teaching or administrative staff in secondary schools are currently collected at all, much less by sex, so that OE has no information on the status of women in secondary schools.

(*e*) The number and salary distribution by sex of tenured higher education faculty, to be added to the HEGIS Employees in Higher Education survey. In addition, NCES should make an effort to provide HEGIS salary data to OCR in a timely fashion for use in enforcing Title IX and Executive Order 11246.

(*f*) The age distribution for men and women by field and degree conferred, to be added to the HEGIS Earned Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred survey.

NOTE.—Such data would indicate the extent to which men and women interrupt their education and at what age, and will provide an estimate of the length of interruption by level and academic field.

(*g*) Enrollment data for adult and continuing education by sex to be collected in the Adult and Continuing Education in Institutions of Higher Education survey.

(*h*) All data on adult basic education staff and participants to be collected in the Adult Basic Education survey (based on the annual reports submitted by States).

(*i*) Vocational education enrollment data by sex for each institution to be collected in the Vocational Education Directories.

NOTE.—These data would indicate what types of vocational schools (including area vocational schools) operate as single sex institutions.

(*j*) Data by sex on library staff by level to be collected in the library and museum surveys (Public Library Survey, Federal Library Survey, Museum Survey and School Library Survey).

### *Program Data*

24. We recommend that OE and NIE collect and report to the public basic data on all programs by sex. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) Programs serving a student clientele collect program participant data by sex.

(*b*) Discretionary programs collect and update information on sex and salary of top project staff quarterly.

NOTE.—All staff information could be collected by the PGIS system, on the procurement cover sheet (PCS). No commitment action should be made until all information is entered.

(*c*) All programs prepare descriptive summaries of projects designed to improve educational opportunities for women.

(*d*) Fellowship and training programs collect data on the number of applicants by sex.

(*e*) The student financial aid programs should collect data on the amount of aid and number of grants by sex. In addition, data by sex on the guaranteed loan program should include the number and amount of loans recommended by student financial aid officers.

NOTE.—Under P.L. 92–318, student financial aid officers for the first time must certify the amount of a student's financial need before a bank can make a guaranteed loan.

### *Evaluation*

25. We recommend that all OE- and NIE-sponsored evaluations include analyses of the presence, causes and impact of sex discrimination in each of the program or educational areas being studied. For many program areas, particularly fellowship and training programs, expanded follow-up studies of participants by sex will be required.

### *Research Studies*

26. We recommend that OE and NIE support a series of studies on sex role development and sex discrimination in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) NIE review existing research on the development of sex roles and self image and support a series of research and development efforts designed to fill the gaps in current knowledge of this topic.

(*b*) OE or NIE support a study on how the attitudes of counselors, teachers, administrators, parents and peers affect career plans and expectations of women and men, with a separate analysis of sexism in guidance tests.

(*c*) The full-scale study resulting from the pilot study, Barriers to Women's Participation in Postsecondary Education, be broadened to include a representative sample of males as a comparison group.

(*d*) OE support a study of the barriers female and male non-high school graduates face in acquiring additional education and training.

### *Reporting and Dissemination Information*

27. We recommend that OE and NIE expand efforts to report and disseminate information on women in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) NCES publish, at least annually, special mini-reports and projections on the relative status of women and men in education, both as students and employees. In addition, NCES' regular reports should include separate chapters comparing data on men and women.

(*b*) Program data appearing in annual reports include participant data by sex.

(*c*) OPBE and its equivalent in NIE include in their evaluation and planning studies special sections on the impact of programs on the sexes.

## PUTTING OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER

The recommendations found in the preceding pages touch upon some one hundred OE- and NIE-administered programs. These cannot be implemented effectively, nor can a long-term commitment to equal opportunity for women be sustained without some important management adjustments in OE and NIE. Lasting changes are unlikely unless—

agency heads make it clear to staff that educational equality for women has priority status and that funds will be committed to fostering it.

program staff themselves are educated about sex discrimination.

a permanent women's office staff monitors changes and explores new strategies.

women and men share equally in agency decision making.

### *Equality for Women as a Priority*

Equality for women in education should be identified as a priority at the Assistant Secretary or Commissioner/Director level, with recommended action steps carried out through the Operational Planning System or its equivalent at NIE.

Putting equal opportunities "up front" as an agency priority is the key to the Assistant Secretary's leadership. As a major civil rights issue affecting over half our population, equal opportunity for women is as pressing and important as current agency priorities.

Throughout the agencies, the task force found little understanding of the educational inequalities women face and limited awareness of the Assistant Secretary's concern. Since program officials do respond to top-level priorities, a forceful mandate from the Assistant Secretary and from the agency heads is essential. Unless equal opportunity for women is made a priority, neither agency is likely to sustain major changes. In addition, several programs that could contribute (e.g., public affairs and targeted communications) deal only with priority areas.

Through OE's Operational Planning System, the Deputy Commissioners specify and report on steps to implement goals reflecting the Commissioner's priorities. Presumably, NIE will develop its own system for tracking objectives. Given the number and extent of changes we believe OE and NIE should make, a formal system is needed to articulate and track objectives concerning equal opportunity for women.

It is unlikely that a significant amount of resources will be devoted to projects aimed at improving opportunities for women without specific commitments by the Commissioner and the Director of NIE. Specific program funds should be targeted on advancing women in educational administration; on developing unbiased curriculum and guidance materials; on breaking down occupational stereotypes; and on building opportunities for those returning to school or work. Since Title IX of P.L. 92-318 amended Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, funds should also assist sex-segregated schools in desegregating.

OE and NIE should not simply fund projects offering special services to women; they should focus program resources on projects exerting leverage for change in the way the education system itself treats women. Basically, women suffer unequal treatment in education—not through some fault of their own—but because of discrimination and inflexibilities within our system of education. Projects addressing that problem directly will be the most significant ones in the long run, and program staff should consider that when deciding how agency funds can best serve women.

We decided against recommending specific legislation such as the "Women's Education Act" (H.R. 14451), which authorizes funds for research and demonstrations, curriculum development, tests, guidance programs, teacher training and so on. All of these activities are badly needed, but could be supported under existing legislation. HEW should take the initiative on this issue, rather than wait for a specific authorization. If, in the end, HEW does not commit existing resources to promote educational equality for women, women's rights organizations will be justified in pushing for legislation to accomplish this.

### *Staff Education*

"I've spent a lot of time in universities and I know there isn't any discrimination there." If our conversations with program staff indicate prevailing attitudes, OE and NIE staff are generally unaware of sex discrimination in education. Few people knew about Title IX and few knew that Federal contractors are forbidden to discriminate in employment.

Although sex discrimination in education has only recently attracted attention, OE and NIE can no longer afford to be ignorant or unconcerned. Sex discrimination in education is virtually universal and deeply entrenched. Now it is also illegal. Agency personnel must understand both the nature and effects of sex discrimination and their responsibilities under the antidiscrimination laws. They should also understand that personal prejudices against women may influence program decisions.

### *Women's Action Office and Advisors*

The Commissioner and NIE's Director will need a continuing assesment of each agency's progress toward equal opportunities for women as well as advice on necessary next steps to follow. The OE Federal Women's Program Coordinator shoulders some responsibility for OE programs, but as the equal employment officer for women, she must devote most of her energies to internal employment problems. She has not been given the staff she needs to do that job in depth, much less take an active role in program policies affecting women.

OE and NIE should each establish an office to oversee efforts to secure opportunity for women within the agencies and in education at large. These offices must have the responsibility, the authority and sufficient staff to do the job. They must also be concerned with sex biases in agency employment, since internal discriminatory practices affect program policy decisions. These offices should also function as a clearinghouse on discrimination against women.

To supplement the work of the Women's Action Office, each deputyship in OE and equivalent unit in NIE should have its own Advisors. Since the Women's Action Office would provide a strong and active focus for women's equality, it will need continuing sources of information and assistance on employment and program developments throughout the agency. The units in OE and NIE will also need easily accessible advice and assistance to help them define and assume their specific responsibilities to women. Women's Action Advisors, representing all grades and the various minorities, would serve both functions.

### *Women and Educational Policy Making*

Our mandate has been to define the impact of our programs on women outside the agency. We have not studied the effects of OE and NIE employment practices on women, nor do we feel qualified to make specific recommendations.

However, decision making in the Division of Education is thoroughly dominated by men: with rare exceptions, line decisionmakers from Assistant Secretary to branch chief are men. While one does not have to be female to care about equality for women, an agency essentially run by men cannot be expected to demonstrate sensitivity in assuring equity for women in its programs. The agency's effectiveness in promoting opportunities for women throughout education will be undermined if it does not begin to practice what it preaches.

*Office of Education Policy Makers.*—While the average grade for women in the Office of Education is GS–7, the average grade for men is a whopping GS–14. Women in OE are:

54 percent of the employees;
18.8 percent of those in GS–13 to GS–15; and
5.7 percent of those in GS–16 to GS–18.

The following table indicates the disparities:

OFFICE OF EDUCATION FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL STAFF, GRADES 13 TO 18, OCT. 30, 1972

| Grade | Total | Number of men | Number of women | Percentage of women |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | 13 | 11 | 2 | 15 |
| 16 | 35 | 34 | 1 | 3 |
| 15 | 276 | 253 | 23 | 8 |
| 14 | 474 | 387 | 87 | 18 |
| 13 | 417 | 307 | 110 | 26 |

Nor has the situation improved over the last few years. Over a year ago, another OE task force reported on employment biases against women—tangible gains have not followed. A few women have been brought in to head small program or staff offices, yet dozens of extremely competent mid-level women continue to be passed over for supervisory and decision-making positions.

Affirmative action goals for women have been set so low that they do not even compensate for normal attrition. In the face of a goal to add 18 women to grades 13–15, the record shows a net loss of six women in these grades between July 1, 1971 and September 30, 1972.[17] Even if there were not attrition and the agency hired only women in GS 13–15, at the rate of 18 additional women a year it would still take 40 years to bring women to one-half the employees in these grades.

The affirmative action system has no teeth—supervisors are not held accountable for progress in equal employment. Most selecting officers go through the motions of the merit promotion procedures: women are frequently candidates for senior-level jobs, but rarely the final choice.

Tight budgets and hiring freezes notwithstanding, the agency has hired from the outside. Men continue to be hired at higher levels than women. For example, 11 senior-level professionals were hired in a 4-month period this year: 7 men, 4 women. All the women were hired at GS–13, lowest step; three of the men were hired at GS–14 and GS–15; a fourth at GS–13, step 8; and the other three were GS–13, step 1.

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[17] U.S. Office of Education, "Executive Status Report," Level 1 (October 1972), p. 5.

*National Institute of Education Policy Makers.*—Proportions of women in senior levels are no better at the National Institute of Education.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL STAFF, GRADES 13 TO 15, OCT. 30, 1972

| Grade | Total | Number of men | Number of women | Percentage of women |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 20 | 19 | 1 | 5 |
| 14 | 23 | 21 | 2 | 9 |
| 13 | 26 | 12 | 14 | 55 |

NOTE.—As of October 30, 1972, no supergrades were on board as regular NIE employees.

All of the five supergrade employees (GS–16 to GS–18) detailed to NIE as of October 30 were male. As this report is completed, NIE is staffing up to full operation. The Institute has its best opportunity right now to right an already serious imbalance in decision-making positions. If hiring continues to favor men at the top levels, however, a bias against women will be built into the structure for some time to come.

*Special Policy Positions.*—For special policy positions—on advisory councils, task forces and review panels—the Office of Education's record is just as poor. OE has 22 advisory committees with a total of 355 authorized positions. As of October 30, 1972, only 58 (28.4 percent) of 204 current appointees are women. For the 16 councils appointed by the Secretary, membership overall is 30.7 percent female. For councils appointed by the President, women are only 25 percent of the members. Although HEW has set council goals for women, recent appointments continue to show the same imbalances.

The record of participation by women on internal agency task forces is no better. Few are chaired by women. In the Bureau of Higher Education, for example, only 2 of the 10 new task forces created in the early summer of 1972 were chaired by women. Of 64 participants appointed in June, only 10 were women.

Field readers play a major role in program decisions, since they review and assess project proposals. Of 52 programs which reported using field readers, in only 15 were women at least 25 percent of any review panel. This is particularly inexcusable in areas of education where women are plentiful. The selection process for field readers and consultants may explain the imbalances: widespread use of personal contacts among the predominantly male staff and informal advice from male-dominated professional associations precludes an even chance for women.

Another form of discrimination among these people is in pay. While field readers receive a standard fee for their work, consultant compensation is flexible and compounds the effects of past employment discrimination for many women. Since consultant fees are often gauged to past salary and title, women who have been denied equal advancement opportunities are paid less than men whose professional lives bear no such handicap.

Women are a majority of the general population and 40 percent of the working population. Increasing numbers of women with life-long occupational aspirations are entering the work force as professionals. Yet in the education agencies, decision-making continues to be monopolized by men; women generally stop advancing at GS–12 or GS–13.

The Office of Education and the National Institute of Education have the opportunity to exert leadership in affording women an equal chance—through their influence, through their initiatives and through their programs. They must begin, however, by putting their own houses in order.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Equality for Women as a Priority*

28. We recommend that equality for the sexes in education be declared an official priority of both OE and NIE. In line with that priority, we recommend that:

(*a*) Implementation of recommendations be traced through the Operational Planning System at the Assistant Secretary or Commissioner/Director level.

(*b*) At least 10 percent of the appropriations for the following programs be spent on projects which make a special contribution to equal educational opportunity for women:

*Education Professions Development Act, Parts D, E and F Education for the Handicapped Act, Part D*

Funds could be used in projects which advance women in school administration, train teachers to avoid sex bias, train administrators on implementing Title IX and train teacher trainers to sensitize teachers to sex bias.

*Higher Education Act, Title II*

Funds could be used in projects which advance women in library administration, support workshops on unsexbiased materials and assist librarians in building collections relating to women's rights and women's issues.

*Vocational Education Act, Parts C, D and I*

Funds could be used in projects which study the obstacles to women's full participation in all areas of vocational education, demonstrate approaches to breaking down sex stereotypes in vocational education and develop curriculum materials which counteract career sex stereotypes.

*Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education*

Funds could be used for experiments with new forms of education with a potential for expanding opportunities for women returning to education and training after several years' absence.

*Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV*

Funds would be used to assist sex-segregated schools in desegregation.

### *Staff Education*

29. We recommend that OE and NIE undertake to educate their own staffs to avoid sex bias in agency operation and program management. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) Briefings for all supervisory staff be conducted on the implications of Title IX and other sex discrimination legislation for OE's and NIE's program operations.

(*b*) OE and NIE arrange for training programs to create employee awareness of sex biases and their influences on the actions of employees.

### *Women's Action Office and Advisors*

30. We recommend that both OE and NIE establish a Women's Action Office to see that steps to improve the status of women both inside and outside the agency are carried out smoothly and expeditiously. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) These offices serve as a continuing source of advice to the Commissioner and the Director on progress towards that goal and on new steps needed to help women secure equality in education and in the Federal education agencies.

(*b*) These offices report directly to the Assistant Commissioner for Special Concerns and an official of equivalent stature in NIE and absorb the functions of the Federal Women's Program Coordinator.

(*c*) The following organization for the Women's Action Office be developed:

31. We recommend that both OE and NIE convene an ad hoc committee by advertising for people interested in helping in the selection of the Director and Associate Directors of the Women's Action Offices. These ad hoc committees would be no more than 15 members, elected from among the original volunteers. These committees would draw up criteria for the selection of the Director and the Associate Directors and identify and recommend candidates to fill those positions. Upon final selection of candidates by the OE Commissioner and NIE Director, the responsibilities of the ad hoc committees would terminate.

32. We recommend that Women's Action Advisors be designated throughout the agencies to link program policies and employees with the work of the Women's Action Office. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) On a continuing basis, Advisors work with the Women's Action Office in carrying out their mission throughout the agencies by recommending priorities for action, reviewing program and employment activities affecting women and keeping communication channels open between program officials and the Women's Action Office.

(*b*) Advisors be designated by the Directors of the respective Women's Action Offices.

(*c*) Advisors be regular employees, released part-time from their regular duties.

(*d*) Each OE Deputyship and equivalent in NIE have at least two Advisors, one for internal employment and one for programs. OE should have one Advisor concerned with employment for every 200 people in a deputyship, with the Office of the Commissioner combined with the Deputyship for Development. OE should have one Advisor concerned with program policy for every 200 people in the three program Deputyships and one Advisor for the two staff Deputyships. According to OE's current staffing, that would make a total of 24; NIE Advisors would be chosen in a comparable manner.

### *Special Policy Positions*

33. We recommend that OE and NIE substantially increase the proportion of women advising on the operation of OE programs. Specifically, we recommend that:

(*a*) All NIE and OE recommendations for advisory councils and special commissions aim to bring the proportion of women on each to 50 percent.

(*b*) The same goal be set for the appointment of women to program review panels, outside evaluation teams, technical assistance personnel and consultants. Bureau chiefs should be responsible for approving these appointments to see that goals are being met. In addition, OE and NIE should adopt a standard fee for compensating consultants, regardless of salary, experience or other considerations.

(*c*) Task forces be approximately 50 percent female. OE and NIE staff should avoid defining criteria for task force membership so that a predominance of men must be chosen. Bureau chiefs and Deputies should review and approve task force membership to see that goals are being met.

(*d*) Bureau chiefs and Deputies report quarterly to the Commissioner of Education and to the Director of NIE on the male/female makeup of all review panels, outside evaluation teams, technical assistants, consultants and task forces.

## APPENDIX A

### SELECTED LAWS PERTAINING TO SEX DISCRIMINATION

[PUBLIC LAW 92-318]

## TITLE IX—PROHIBITION OF SEX DISCRIMINATION

### SEX DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED

SEC. 901. (a) No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, except that:

(1) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall apply only to institutions of vocational education, professional education, and graduate higher education, and to public institutions of undergraduate higher education;

(2) in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall not apply (A) for one year from the date of enactment of this Act, nor for six years after such date in the case of an educational institution which has begun the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Commissioner of Education or (B) for seven years from the date an educational institution begins the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of only one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for

such a change which is approved by the Commisioner of Education, whichever is the later;

(3) this section shall not apply to an educational institution which is controlled by a religious organization if the application of this subsection would not be consistent with the religious tenets of such organization;

(4) this section shall not apply to an educational institution whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States, or the merchant marine, and

(5) in regard to admissions this section shall not apply to any public insituation of undergraduate higher education which is an institution that traditionally and continually from its establishment has had a policy of admitting only students of one sex.

(b) Nothing contained in subsection (a) of this section shall be interpreted to require any educational institution to grant preferential or disparate treatment to the members of one sex on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of that sex participating in or receiving the benefits of any federally supported program or activity in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of that sex in any community, State, section, or other area: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not be construed to prevent the consideration in any hearing or proceeding under this title of statistical evidence tending to show that such an imbalance exists with respect to the participation in, or receipt of the benefits of, any such program or activity by the members of one sex.

(c) For purposes of this title an educational institution means any public or private preschool, elementary, or secondary school, or any institution of vocational, professional, or higher education, except that in the case of an educational institution composed of more than one school, college, or department which are administratively separate units, such term means each such school, college, or department.

### FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 902. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any education program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 901 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made, and shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: *Provided, however*, That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the Federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report.

### JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 903. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 1002 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 902, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of section 701 of that title.

SEC. 904. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of blindness or severely impaired vision, be denied admission in any course of study by a recipient of Federal financial assistance for any education program or activity, but nothing herein shall be construed to require any such institution to provide any special services to such person because of his blindness or visual impairment.

### EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

SEC. 905. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.

### AMENDMENTS TO OTHER LAWS

SEC. 906. (a) Sections 401(b), 407(a)(2), 410, and 902 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000c(b), 2000c-6(a)(2), 2000c-9, and 2000h-2) are each amended by inserting the word "sex" after the word "religion."

(b)(1) Section 13(a) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (29 U.S.C. 213(a)) is amended by inserting after the words "the provisions of section 6" the following: "(except section 6(d) in the case of paragraph (1) of this subsection)."

(2) Paragraph (1) of subsection 3(r) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203(r)(1)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school."

(3) Section 3(s)(4) of such Act (29 U.S.C. 203(s)(4)) is amended by deleting "an elementary or secondary school" and inserting in lieu thereof "a preschool, elementary or secondary school."

### INTERPRETATION WITH RESPECT TO LIVING FACILITIES

SEC. 907. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this title, nothing contained herein shall be construed to prohibit any educational institution receiving funds under this Act, from maintaining separate living facilities for the different sexes.

## EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT BY FEDERAL CONTRACTORS

### EXECUTIVE ORDER 11375, OCTOBER 13, 1967, AMENDING EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11246, RELATING TO EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

It is the policy of the United States Government to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment and in employment by Federal contractors on the basis of merit and without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

The Congress, by enacting Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, enunciated a national policy of equal employment opportunity in private employment, without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, carried forward a program of equal employment opportunity in Government employment, employment by Federal contractors and subcontractors and employment under Federally assisted construction contracts regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

It is desirable that the equal employment opportunity programs provided for in Executive Order No. 11246 expressly embrace discrimination on account of sex.

Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered that Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, be amended as follows:

(1) Section 101 of Part 1, concerning nondiscrimination in Government employment, is revised to read as follows:

"SECTION 101. It is the policy of the Government of the United States to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment for all qualified persons, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin, and to promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a positive, continuing program in each executive department and agency. The policy of equal opportunity applies to every aspect of Federal employment policy and practice."

(2) Section 104 of Part I is revised to read as follows:

"SECTION 104. The Civil Service Commission shall provide for the prompt, fair, and impartial consideration of all complaints of discrimination in Federal employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. Procedures for the consideration of complaints shall include at least one impartial review within the executive department or agency and shall provide for appeal to the Civil Service Commission."

(3) Paragraphs (1) and (2) of the quoted required contract provisions in section 202 of Part II, concerning nondiscrimination in employment by Government contractors and subcontractors, are revised to read as follows:

"(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

"(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, color, religion, sex or national origin."

(4) Section 203(d) of Part II is revised to read as follows:

"(d) The contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may direct that any bidder or prospective contractor or subcontractor shall submit, as part of his Compliance Report, a statement in writing, signed by an authorized officer or agent on behalf of any labor union or any agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or other training, with which the bidder or prospective contractor deals, with supporting information, to the effect that the signer's practices and policies do not discriminate on the grounds of race, color, religion, sex or national origin, and that the signer either will affirmatively cooperate in the implementation of the policy and provisions of this order or that it consents and agrees that recruitment, employment, and the terms and conditions of employment under the proposed contract shall be in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the order. In the event that the union, or the agency shall refuse to execute such a statement, the Compliance Report shall so certify and set forth what efforts have been made to secure such a statement and such additional factual material as the contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may require."

The amendments to Part I shall be effective 30 days after the date of this order. The amendments to Part II shall be effective one year after the date of this order.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *October 13, 1967.*

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 5:10 p.m., October 13, 1967]

## [EXECUTIVE ORDER 11246]

## EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Under and by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

### PART I—NONDISCRIMINATION IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

SECTION 101. It is the policy of the Government of the United States to provide equal opportunity in Federal employment for all qualified persons, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and to promote the full realization of equal employment opportunity through a position, continuing program in each executive department and agency. The policy of equal opportunity applies to every aspect of Federal employment policy and practice.

SEC. 102. The head of each executive department and agency shall establish and maintain a positive program of equal employment opportunity for all civilian employees and applicants for employment within his jurisdiction in accordance with the policy set forth in Section 101.

SEC. 103. The Civil Service Commission shall supervise and provide leadership and guidance in the conduct of equal employment opportunity programs for the civilian employees of and applications for employment within the executive departments and agencies and shall review agency program accomplishments periodically. In order to facilitate the achievement of a model program for equal employment opportunity in the Federal service, the Commission may consult from time to time with such individuals, groups, or organizations as may be of assistance in improving the Federal program and realizing the objectives of this Part.

SEC. 104. The Civil Service Commission shall provide for the prompt, fair, and impartial consideration of all complaints of discrimination in Federal employment on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin. Procedures for the consideration of complaints shall include at least one impartial review within the executive department or agency and shall provide for appeal to the Civil Service Commission.

SEC. 105. The Civil Service Commission shall issue such regulations, orders, and instructions as it deems necessary and appropriate to carry out its responsibilities under this Part, and the head of each executive department and agency shall comply with the regulations, orders, and instructions issued by the Commission under this Part.

## PART II—NONDISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS AND SUBCONTRACTORS

### SUBPART A—DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

SEC. 201. The Secretary of Labor shall be responsible for the administration of Parts II and III of this Order and shall adopt such rules and regulations and issue such orders as he deems necessary and appropriate to achieve the purposes thereof.

### SUBPART B—CONTRACTORS' AGREEMENT

SEC. 202. Except in contracts exempted in accordance with Section 204 of this Order, all Government contracting agencies shall include in every Government contract hereafter entered into the following provisions:

"During the performance of this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

"(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

"(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

"(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice, to be provided by the agency contracting officer, advising the labor union or workers' representative of the contractor's commitments under Section [illegible] of Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

"(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order No. 11246 of Sep. 24, 1965, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary of Labor.

"(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, and by the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor, or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the contracting agency and the Secretary of Labor for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

"(6) In the event of the contractor's noncompliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of such rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be cancelled, terminated or suspended in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further Government contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24, 1965, and such other sanctions may be imposed and remedies involved as provided in Executive Order No. 11246 of September 24, 1965, or by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary of Labor, or as otherwise provided by law.

"(7) The contractor will include the provisions of Paragraph (1) through (7) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to Section 204 of Executive Order No. 11246 of Sept. 24, 1965, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the contracting agency may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions including sanctions for noncompliance: *Provided, however*, That in the event the contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the contracting agency, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interests of the United States."

SEC. 203. (a) Each contractor having a contract containing the provisions prescribed in Section 202 shall file, and shall cause each of his subcontractors to file, Compliance Reports with the contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor as may be directed. Compliance Reports shall be filed within such times and shall contain such information as to the practices, policies, programs, and employment policies, programs, and employment statistics of the contractor and each subcontractor, and shall be in such form, as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe.

(b) Bidders or prospective contractors or subcontractors may be required to state whether they have participated in any previous contract subject to the provisions of this Order, or any preceding similar Executive order, and in that event to submit, on behalf of themselves and their proposed subcontractors, Compliance Reports prior to or as an initial part of their bid or negotiation of a contract.

(c) Whenever the contractor or subcontractor has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding with a labor union or an agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training for such worker, the Compliance Report shall include such information as to such other union's or agency's practices and policies affecting compliance as the Secretary of Labor may prescribe: *Provided*, That to the extent such information is within the exclusive possession of a labor union or an agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training and such labor union or agency shall refuse to furnish such information to the contractor, the contractor shall so certify to the contracting agency as part of its Compliance Report and shall set forth what efforts he has made to obtain such information.

(d) The contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may direct that any bidder or prospective contractor or subcontractor shall submit, as part of his Compliance Report, a statement in writing, signed by an authorized officer or agent on behalf of any labor union or any agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or other training, with which the bidder or prospective contractor deals, with supporting information, to the effect that the signer's practices and policies do not discriminate in the grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin, and that the signer either will affirmatively cooperate in the implementation of the policy and provisions of this Order or that it consents and agrees that recruitment, employment, and the terms and conditions of employment under the proposed contract shall be in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the Order. In the event that the union, or the agency shall refuse to execute such a statement, the Compliance Report shall so certify and set forth what efforts have been made to secure such a statement and such additional factual material as the contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor may require.

SEC. 204. The Secretary of Labor may, when he deems that special circumstances in the national interest so require, exempt a contracting agency from the requirement of including any or all of the provisions of Section 202 of this Order in any specific contract, subcontract, or purchase order. The Secretary of Labor may, by rule or regulation, also exempt certain classes of contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders (1) whenever work is to be or has been performed outside the United States and no recruitment of workers within the limits of the United States is involved; (2) for standard commercial supplies or raw materials; (3) involving less than specified amounts of money or specified numbers of workers; or (4) to the extent that they involve subcontracts below a specified tier. The Secretary of Labor may also provide, by rule, regulation, or order, for the exemption of facilities of a contractor which are in all respects separate and distinct from activities of the contractor related to the performance of the contract: *Provided*, That such an exemption will not interfere with or impede the effectuation of the purposes of this Order: *And provided further*, That in the absence of such an exemption all facilities shall be covered by the provisions of this Order.

### SUBPART C—POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR AND THE CONTRACTING AGENCIES

SEC. 205. Each contracting agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor with respect to contracts entered into by such agency or its contractors. All contracting agencies shall comply with the rules of the Secretary of Labor in discharging their primary responsibility for securing compliance with the provisions of contracts and otherwise with the terms of this Order and of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor issued pursuant to this Order. They are directed to cooperate with the Secretary of Labor and to furnish the Secretary of Labor such information and assistance as he may require in the performance of his functions under this Order. They are further directed to appoint or designate, from among the agency's personnel, compliance officers. It shall be the duty of such officers to seek compliance with the objectives of this Order by conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion.

SEC. 206. (a) The Secretary of Labor may investigate the employment practices of any Government contractor or subcontractor, or initiate such investigation by the appropriate contracting agency, to determine whether or not the contractual provisions specified in Section 202 of this Order have been violated. Such investigation shall be conducted in accordance with the procedures established by the Secretary of Labor and the investigating agency shall report to the Secretary of Labor any action taken or recommended.

(b) The Secretary of Labor may receive and investigate or cause to be investigated complaints by employees or prospective employees of a Government contractor or subcontractor which allege discrimination contrary to the contractual provisions specified in Section 202 of this Order. If this investigation is conducted for the Secretary of Labor by a contracting agency, that agency shall report to the Secretary what action has been taken or is recommended with regard to such complaints.

SEC. 207. The Secretary of Labor shall use his best efforts, directly and through contracting agencies, other interested Federal, State, and local agencies, contractors, and all other available instrumentalities to cause any labor union engaged in work under Government contracts or any agency referring workers or providing or supervising apprenticeship or training for or in the course of such work to cooperate in the implementation of the purposes of this Order. The Secretary of Labor shall, in appropriate cases, notify the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Department of Justice, or other appropriate Federal agencies whenever it has reason to believe that the practices of any such labor organization or agency violate Title VI or Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or other provision of Federal law.

SEC. 208. (a) The Secretary of Labor, or any agency, officer, or employee in the executive branch of the Government designated by rule, regulation, or order of the Secretary, may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Secretary may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

(b) The Secretary of Labor may hold, or cause to be held, hearings in accordance with Subsection (a) of this Section prior to imposing, ordering, or recommending the imposition of penalties and sanctions under this Order. No order for debarment of any contractor from further Government contracts under Section 209(a)(6) shall be made without affording the contractor an opportunity for a hearing.

### SUBPART D—SANCTIONS AND PENALTIES

SEC. 209. (a) In accordance with such rules, regulations, or orders as the Secretary of Labor may issue or adopt, the Secretary or the appropriate contracting agency may:

(1) Publish, or cause to be published, the names of contractors or unions which it has concluded have complied or have failed to comply with the provisions of this Order or of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Secretary of Labor.

(2) Recommend to the Department of Justice that, in cases in which there is substantial or material violation or the threat of substantial or material violation of the contractual provisions set forth in Section 202 of this Order, appropriate proceedings be brought to enforce those provisions, including the enjoining, within the limitations of applicable law, of organizations, individuals, or groups who prevent directly or indirectly, or seek to prevent directly or indirectly compliance with the provisions of this Order.

(3) Recommend to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or the Department of Justice that appropriate proceedings be instituted under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

(4) Recommend to the Department of Justice that criminal proceedings be brought for the furnishing of false information to any contracting agency or to the Secretary of Labor as the case may be.

(5) Cancel, terminate, suspend, or cause to be cancelled, terminated, or suspended, any contract, or any portion or portions thereof, for failure of the contractor or subcontractor to comply with the non-discrimination provisions of the contract. Contracts may be cancelled, terminated, or suspended absolutely or continuance of contracts may be conditioned upon a program for future compliance approved by the contracting agency.

(6) Provide that any contracting agency shall refrain from entering into further contracts, or extensions or other modifications of existing contracts, with any noncomplying contractor, until such contractor has satisfied the Secretary of Labor that such contractor has established and will carry out personnel and employment policies in compliance with the provisions of this Order.

(b) Under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of Labor, each contracting agency shall make reasonable efforts within a reasonable time limitation to secure compliance with the contract provisions of this Order by methods of conference, conciliation, mediation, and persuasion before proceedings shall be instituted under Subsection (a)(2) of this Section, or before a contract shall be cancelled or terminated in whole or in part under Subsection (a)(5) of this Section for failure of a contractor or subcontractor to comply with the contract provisions of this Order.

SEC. 210. Any contracting agency taking any action authorized by this Subpart, whether on its own motion, or as directed by the Secretary of Labor, or under the rules and regulations of the Secretary, shall promptly notify the Secretary of such action. Whenever the Secretary of Labor makes a determination under this Section, he shall promptly notify the appropriate contracting agency of the action recommended. The agency shall take such action and shall report the results thereof to the Secretary of Labor within such time as the Secretary shall specify.

SEC. 211. If the Secretary shall so direct, contracting agencies shall not enter into contracts with any bidder or prospective contractor unless the bidder or prospective contractor has satisfactorily complied with the provisions of this Order or submits a program for compliance acceptable to the Secretary of Labor or, if the Secretary so authorizes, to the contracting agency.

SEC. 212. Whenever a contracting agency cancels or terminates a contract, or whenever a contractor has been debarred from further Government contracts, under Section 209(a)(6) because of noncompliance with the contract provisions with regard to nondiscrimination, the Secretary of Labor, or the contracting agency involved, shall promptly notify the Comptroller General of the United States. Any such debarment may be rescinded by the Secretary of Labor or by the contracting agency which imposed the sanction.

### SUBPART E—CERTIFICATES OF MERIT

SEC. 213. The Secretary of Labor may provide for issuance of a United States Government Certificate of Merit to employers or labor unions, or other agencies which are or may hereafter be engaged in work under Government contracts, if the Secretary is satisfied that the personnel and employment practices of the employer, or that the personnel, training, apprenticeship, membership, grievance and representation, upgrading, and other practices and policies of the labor union or other agency conform to the purposes and provisions of this Order.

SEC. 214. Any Certificate of Merit may at any time be suspended or revoked by the Secretary of Labor if the holder thereof, in the judgment of the Secretary, has failed to comply with the provisions of this Order.

SEC. 215. The Secretary of Labor may provide for the exemption of any employer, labor union, or other agency from any reporting requirements imposed under or pursuant to this Order if such employer, labor union, or other agency has been awarded a Certificate of Merit which has not been suspended or revoked.

## PART III—NONDISCRIMINATION PROVISIONS IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

SEC. 301. Each executive department and agency which administers a program involving Federal financial assistance shall require as a condition for the approval of any grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee thereunder, which may involve a construction contract, that the applicant for Federal assistance undertake and agree to incorporate, or cause to be incorporated, into all construction contracts paid for in whole or in part with funds obtained from the Federal Government or borrowed on the credit of the Federal Government pursuant to such grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee, or undertaken pursuant to any Federal program involving such grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee, the provisions prescribed for Government contracts by Section 203 of this Order or such modification thereof, preserving in substance the contractor's obligations thereunder, as may be approved by the Secretary of Labor, together with such additional provisions as the Secretary deems appropriate to establish and protect the interest of the United States in the enforcement of those obligations. Each such applicant shall also undertake and agree (1) to assist and cooperate actively with the administering department or agency and the Secretary of Labor in obtaining the compliance of contractors and subcontractors with those contract provisions and with the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Secretary, (2) to obtain and to furnish to the administering department or agency and to the Secretary of Labor such information as they may require for the supervision of such compliance, (3) to carry out sanctions and penalties for violation of such obligations imposed upon contractors and subcontractors by the Secretary of Labor or the administering department or agency pursuant to Part II, Subpart D, of this Order, and (4) to refrain from entering into any contract subject to this Order or extension or other modification of such a contract with a contractor debarred from Government contracts under Part II, Subpart D, of this Order.

SEC. 302 (a) "Construction contract" as used in this Order means any contract for the construction, rehabilitation, alteration, conversion, extension, or repair of buildings, highways, or other improvements to real property.

(b) The provisions of Part II of this Order shall apply to such construction contracts, and for purposes of such application the administering department or agency shall be considered the contracting agency referred to therein.

(c) The term "applicant" as used in this Order means an applicant for Federal assistance or, as determined by agency regulation, other program participant, with respect to whom an application for any grant, contract, loan, insurance, or guarantee is not finally acted upon prior to the effective date of this Part, and it includes such an applicant after he becomes a recipient of such Federal assistance.

SEC. 303. (a) Each administering department and agency shall be responsible for obtaining the compliance of such applicants with their undertakings under this Order. Each administering department and agency is directed to cooperate with the Secretary of Labor, and to furnish the Secretary such information and assistance as he may require in the performance of his functions under this Order.

(b) In the event an applicant fails and refuses to comply with his undertakings, the administering department or agency may take any or all of the following actions: (1) cancel, terminate, or suspend in whole or in part the agreement, contract, or other arrangement with such applicant with respect to which the failure and refusal occurred; (2) refrain from extending any further assistance to the applicant under the program with respect to which the failure or refusal occurred until satisfactory assurance of future compliance has been received from such applicant; and (3) refer the case to the Department of Justice for appropriate legal proceedings.

(c) Any action with respect to an applicant pursuant to Subsection (b) shall be taken in conformity with Section 602 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (and the regulations of the administering department or agency issued thereunder), to the extent applicable. In no case shall action be taken with respect to an applicant pursuant to Clause (1) or (2) of Subsection (b) without notice and opportunity for hearing before the administering department or agency.

SEC. 304. Any executive department or agency which imposes by rule, regulation, or order requirements of nondiscrimination in employment, other than requirements imposed pursuant to this Order, may delegate to the Secretary of Labor by agreement such responsibilities with respect to compliance standards, reports, and procedures as would tend to bring the administration of such requirements into conformity with the administration of requirements imposed under this Order: *Provided*, That actions to effect compliance by recipients of Federal financial assistance with requirements imposed pursuant to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 shall be taken in conformity with the procedures and limitations prescribed in Section 602 thereof and the regulations of the administering department or agency issued thereunder.

## PART IV—MISCELLANEOUS

SEC. 401. The Secretary of Labor may designate to any officer, agency, or employee in the Executive branch of the Government, any function or duty of the Secretary under Parts II and III of this Order, except authority to promulgate rules and regulations of a general nature.

SEC. 402. The Secretary of Labor shall provide administrative support for the execution of the program known as the "Plans for Progress."

SEC. 403. (a) Executive Orders Nos. 10590 (January 19, 1955), 10722 (August 5, 1957), 10925 (March 6, 1961), 11114 (June 22, 1963), and 11162 (July 28, 1964), are hereby superseded and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity established by Executive Order No. 10925 is hereby abolished. All records and property in the custody of the Committee shall be transferred to the Civil Service Commission an dthe Secretary of Labor, as appropriate.

(b) Nothing in this Order shall be deemed to relieve any person of any obligation assumed or imposed under or pursuant to any Executive Order superseded by this Order. All rules, regulations, orders, instructions, designations, and other directives issued by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and those issued by the heads of various departments or agencies under or pursuant to any of the Executive orders superseded by this Order, shall, to the extent that they are not inconsistent with this Order, remain in full force and effect unless and until revoked or superseded by appropriate authority. References in such directives to provisions of the superseded orders shall be deemed to the references to the comparable provisions of this Order.

SEC. 404. The General Services Administration shall take appropriate action to revise the standard Government contract forms to accord with the provisions of this Order and of the rules and regulations of the Secretary of Labor.

SEC. 405. This Order shall become effective thirty days after the date of this Order.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *September 24, 1965.*

[F.R. Doc. 65-10340; Filed, Sept. 24, 1965; 4:18 p.m.]

## APPENDIX B

### RECOMMENDATIONS

This appendix lists the task force's recommendations. Programs or organizational units affected by each recommendation are also listed.

### MAKING THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS KNOWN

1. We recommend that OE and NIE fully inform potential and actual recipients of Federal education aid of their obligations to eliminate sex discrimination under Title IX and Executive Order 11246. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. All OE and NIE guidelines, regulations and other appropriate documents be amended to include a statement on Title IX, Public Law 92-318, and require applicants to submit an assurance of compliance. OE and NIE should attach an addendum to this effect to all FY 1973 program documents already printed without this statement.

ESEA I, III, V, VII.
Follow Through.
Impact Aid.
EHA.
ESA.
VEA; AEA; MDTA.
Career Education Model Installation.
Occupational Education.
HEA I, III, IV, VII, IX.
EPDA, Part E.
LSCA; NDEA III.
ESEA II; HEA II.
NDEA VI.
Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts B–2, C, D, F.
Dropout Prevention.
Technology Demonstrations.
Drug Education.
Environmental Education.
Health and Nutrition.
OE-Contracts and Grants Division.
Teacher Corps.
Right to Read.
Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FUND).
Community Colleges.
Indian Education.
Consumer Education.
Ethnic Heritage.
NIE, all programs.

b. All OE and NIE contracts and grants officers provide all applicants with detailed instructions on their obligations under Title IX and Executive Order 11246 before they sign assurances of compliance. Contractors should receive a copy of Revised Order No. 4, Department of Labor guidelines and HEW guidelines. All potential aid recipients should receive Title IX regulations and guidelines when published.

OE-contracts and grants division.
NIE-contracts and grants officers.

2. We recommend that OE and NIE provide information and technical assistance concerning Title IX and its implications directly to State education personnel, school administrators and education personnel throughout the country. Specifying, we recommend that:

a. Each Deputy Commissioner in OE and equivalent within NIE be responsible for conducting extensive workshops and conferences on Title IX for key State and local personnel in their respective areas of concern. All regular program workshops and conferences sponsored by the two agencies should include briefings on Title IX. These should be conducted on a continuing basis as long as sex discrimination remains a major problem in education. A specific person in NIE and OE should be designated to coordinate each agency's plans for these activities.

OE Deputies.
OPBE.
OPA.
ESEA I, III, V, VI.
Follow Through.
Impact Aid.
EHA.
ESA.
VEA; AEA; MDTA.
Career Education Model Installation.
Occupational Education.
HEA I, III, IV, VII, IX.
EPDA, Part E.
LSCA; NDEA III.
ESEA II, HEA II.
NDEA VI; Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA Sec. 504, Parts B–2; C, D, F.
Dropout Prevention.
Technology Demonstrations.
NCES.
Drug Education.
Environmental Education.
Health & Nutrition.
Teacher Corps.
Right to Read.
Community Colleges.
Indian Education.
Consumer Education.
Ethnic Heritage.
NIE Deputies.
NIE Planning & Evaluation Staff.
NIE, all programs.
FUND.

b. The Commissioner of Education make Title IX a major topic of discussion in his next meeting with the Chief State School Officers. He should emphasize the leadership role the Federal government will expect the State education agencies to play in eliminating sex discrimination at the State and local levels.

Commissioner of Education.

### MONITORING FOR COMPLIANCE

3. We recommend that OE and NIE monitor their own programs for Title IX compliance. Specifically, we recommend that OE and NIE include compliance status checks on all regular site reviews, including State management reviews conducted under ESEA Title V. OE's Deputy Commissioners and equivalent officials in NIE should work with the Office for Civil Rights to develop reporting forms and uniform criteria for monitoring compliance status in site reviews.

OE Deputies.
ESEA I, III, V, VII.
Follow Through.
Impact Aid.
EHA.
ESA.
VEA; AEA, MDTA.
Career Education Model Installation.
Occupational Education.
HEA I, III, IV, VII, IX.
EPDA, Part E.
LSCA; NDEA III.
ESEA II, HEA II.
NDEA VI; Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA Sec. 504, Parts B-2; C, D, F.
Dropout Prevention.
Technology Demonstrations.
Drug Education.
Environmental Education.
Office for Civil Rights.
Health & Nutrition.
Teacher Corps.
Right to Read.
Community Colleges.
Indian Education.
Consumer Education.
Ethnic Heritage.
NIE Deputies.
FUND.

### LEVERAGE THROUGH DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY: INSTRUCTIONAL AND INFORMATION MATERIALS

4. We recommend that OE and NIE insure that all instructional and public relations materials developed with OE and NIE funds for national distribution be free of sex biases. This would include career and vocational materials used in model and exemplary programs. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. Guidelines, requests for proposals and other appropriate documents stress as a condition for funding that materials be developed without sex stereotyping.

b. OE's Office of Public Affairs, in cooperation with OE and NIE program staff, develop a guidebook concerned with avoiding sex biases to assist contractors, grantees and agency staff in developing materials.

c. OE and NIE designate at least one staff person within each appropriate program and public affairs office to clear new materials before their completion and dissemination. These staff people should be selected after consultation with the women in these offices.

d. OE and NIE review existing projects for sex biases. As part of this effort, NIE support for the "Self Directed Search" guidance system developed at Johns Hopkins should be terminated.

OPA.
VEA, Parts C, D, I.
EHA. Part F.
Career Education Model Installation.
Occupational Education.
NIE—Applied Studies.
NIE—New Initiatives.
NIE—Career Education.
NIE—Dissemination.
NIE—Field Initiated Studies.

### LEVERAGE THROUGH DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY: CAREER EDUCATION

5. We recommend that OE and NIE work together to eliminate sex discrimination in career preparation. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. OE and NIE establish the elimination of sex segregation as one of career education's major goals, and emphasize that new goal in materials explaining the career education concept.

Commissioner of Education.
Director of NIE.
VEA, Parts A, B, C, D, F, G, H.
Career Education Model Installation.
EPDA, Part F.
Occupational Education.
NIE—Career Education.

b. Program guidelines and other appropriate documents be amended to emphasize that the elimination of sex segregation is a priority in education and training for careers.

VEA, Parts A, B, C, D, F, G, H.
Career Education Model Installation.
MDTA.
EPDA, Part F.
Occupational Education.
Community Colleges.
NIE—Career Education.

c. Guidelines require all model and exemplary programs in career education and training report their success in including students of both sexes in all education activities.

VEA, Parts C, D.
Career Education Model Installation.
MDTA.
Occupational Education.
NIE—Career Education.

### OTHER AREAS FOR ACTION—TRAINING

6. We recommend that OE and NIE work to equalize the proportion of men and women at all levels and in all areas of education through training programs. Personnel training programs guidelines should be modified to require applicants to include plans for increasing the numbers of male and female participants in fields where either sex is underrepresented as well as report annually on progress towards achieving that goal. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. Greater numbers of women be trained in areas where they are currently underrepresented, such as educational administration in all fields, trades and industry in vocational education, educational research and development, educational technology, the "hard" sciences and in other appropriate areas.

EHA, Part D.
AEA, Teacher Training.
EPDA, Part E.
HEA IX.
HEA II (Librarian Training).
NDEA VI ; Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA, Parts C, D, F.
NIE—Researcher Training.

b. Greater numbers of men be trained for employment in entry level positions in areas where they are currently underrepresented, such as early childhood education, elementary education, special education, home economics, business/office education, the health professions and in other appropriate areas. In addition, greater numbers of men should be trained as paraprofessionals in all fields.

EHA, Part D.
AEA, Teacher Training.
HEA II (Librarian Training).
EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts C, D, F.
Teacher Corps

7. We recommend that OE and NIE promote the involvement of women in top positions in OE and NIE funded projects. Specifically, we recommend that:

### PROHIBITION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE BLIND
### OTHER AREAS FOR ACTION—PROJECT ADMINISTRATION

a. OE and NIE amend guidelines for discretionary programs to require that applicants for funds submit data on title, salary and responsibilities of top project staff by sex.

b. OE and NIE review that information for evidence of discrimination and negotiate before funding for the correction of any inequities.

OPBE.
OPA.
ESEA III, VII.
Follow Through
EHA, Parts C, D, E, F, G.
ESA.
VEA, Parts C, D, I.
Career Education Model Installation.
AEA—Teacher Training Special Projects.
MDTA.
Occupational Education.
HEA I, II, IV (Cooperative Education, Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds).
HEA IX ; EPDA, Part E.
HEA II.
NDEA VI ; Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts C, D, F.
Dropout Prevention.
Technology Demonstrations.
NCES.
Drug Education.
Environmental Education.
Health & Nutrition.
Teacher Corps.
Right to Read.
Community Colleges.
Indian Education.
Consumer Education.
Ethnic Heritage Fund.
NIE—all programs.
FUND.

c. In all program guidelines and other official program documents. OE and NIE emphasize their interest in receiving applications from women and for projects directed by women. See 1 (a).

d. OE and NIE, working with women's organizations, encourage women to apply for discretionary program funds. Women's organizations should be included on appropriate mailing lists for application notification and guideline distribution. See 7 (a) & 7 (b).

### OTHER AREAS FOR ACTION—RESEARCH

8. We recommend that OE, NIE and the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (ASPE) review for sex biases all research instruments to be used in education studies they fund.

ASPE.
OPBE.
NCES.
NIE—Planning and Evaluation Staff.
NIE—Applied Studies.
NIE—New Initiatives.
NIE—Field Initiated Studies.

9. We recommend that OE, NIE and ASPE insure, before funding education research projects, that projects studying people use samples of both sexes and report results by sex. Exceptions should be made only when the information sought is already available for one sex or when a study is explicitly designed to serve the goal of equality of the sexes and special circumstances require a one-sex study.

Specifically, we recommend that guidelines, requests for proposals and other appropriate documents state the conditions under which one-sex studies are permissible and request that anyone applying for funds for such a study provide a justification.

### STRENGTHENING TITLE IX

10. We recommend that the Federal Interagency Committee on Education explore the implications of Title IX for other Federal agencies providing education assistance and encourage those agencies to take the necessary action to enforce Title IX.

ASE (FICE).

11. We recommend that the Assistant Secretary for Education strongly urge the amendment of Title IX to cover admissions in elementary and secondary schools, military academies, single sex public undergraduate colleges and private coeducational undergraduate colleges.

ASE.

### TITLE IX ENFORCEMENT: ACCOUNTABILITY

12. We recommend that HEW's Office for Civil Rights strengthen its procedures for holding contractors accountable for compliance to Executive Order 11246. Specifically, we recommend that HEW guidelines require contractors to submit affirmative action plans for approval whether or not a compliance review has been made; plans should be accepted or rejected within three months after submission.

Office for Civil Rights.

### TITLE IX ENFORCEMENT: COMPLIANCE STANDARDS

13. We recommend that the Office for Civil Rights develop strong uniform procedures for investigating sex discrimination in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. OCR develop a standard procedure for collecting and evaluating information at defined intervals on the compliance status of institutions under Title IX and Executive Order 11246.

b. Investigations initiated under Executive Order 11246 be carried out in conjunction with investigations initiated under Title IX.

Office for Civil Rights.

### TITLE IX ENFORCEMENT: STATE EDUCATION AGENCIES

14. We recommend that the Office for Civil Rights work directly with each State to overcome present inequities experienced by women in State education agencies. Specifically, we recommend that OCR set the investigation of State education agencies as a priority under Title IX enforcement.

Office for Civil Rights.

### EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

15. We recommend that the Assistant Secretary for Education, the Commissioner of Education, the Director of NIE and their respective Deputies should arrange to speak before key national education groups on their responsibilities for ending discriminatory practices. For example, we suggest that:

a. The Assistant Secretary for Education or the Commissioner of Education address a conference of the major book publishing associations on OE's concern with sex stereotyping in educational materials and its effect on the status of women in education.

b. The Director of NIE's Career Education Task Force and the Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education speak before the American Vocational Association and other key vocational groups on the need to encourage young men and women to explore the entire range of vocational opportunities.

c. The Assistant Secretary for Education or the Commissioner of Education discuss the detrimental effects of inadequate counseling on lowering female career aspirations before the national meetings of secondary school counselors.

ASE.
Commissioner of Education.
OE Deputies.

Director of NIE.
NIE Deputies.
NIE Career Education Director.

16. We recommend that the Office of Public Affairs use the range of media at its disposal to expand public consciousness of the growing struggle among women to secure equal opportunities in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. OPA work with program officials to produce a documentary film for public distribution on ways education can help women to break traditional sex barriers in various occupations at all levels.

b. OPA organize an exhibit on women and sex discrimination in education for use at education conferences and at gatherings of women's rights groups. The exhibit might premiere in the Office of Education's main lobby, and focus particularly on Title IX, sexism in career training, and sex stereotyping in elementary school curricula.

c. In cooperating with the Office for Civil Rights in HEW, OPA develop and disseminate a pamphlet to the general public on laws protecting women's rights to equal opportunities in education.

d. American Education continue to publish articles to be made available in reprint form on the roles and progress of women in education.

OPA.
Office for Civil Rights.

### EXPLORING NEW ROLES FOR WOMEN AND MEN

17. We recommend that OE and NIE foster educational approaches which encourage children of both sexes to explore new roles. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. OE and NIE fund the development of educational and guidance techniques and materials designed to encourage students to explore new roles, particularly in educational areas where sex discrimination is especially strong, as in career education and guidance testing.

ESEA III.
EHA, Part E.
VEA, Parts C, D, I; MDTA.
Career Education Model Installation.

Occupational Education.
NIE—Applied Studies.
NIE—New Initiatives.
NIE—Career Education.

b. OE support the development and dissemination of teacher training materials on avoiding sex biases. In addition, we recommend that OE and NI personnel training program guidelines be amended to encourage projects to include training in overcoming sex biases.

EHA, Part D.
EPDA, Part E.
HEA II.

EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts B-2, C, D, F.
Teacher Corps.
NIE—Researcher Training.

c. OE develop and disseminate a bibliography of unsex-biased materials appropriate for school use, especially at the elementary and secondary levels.

OPA.

d. OE and NIE insure that all model and exemplary career education projects include instruction that explicitly addresses the problems of sex-stereotyped occupations and dispels myths about women in the work force.

VEA, Parts C, D: MDTA.
Career Education Model Installation.
Occupational Education.

NIE—New Initiatives.
NIE—Career Education.

### CHILD CARE AND SERVING SCHOOL-AGED PARENTS

18. We recommend that OE, NIE encourage educational institutions to provide opportunities for parents raising children to pursue their education. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. Day care be made an allowable cost in all programs (including construction programs) serving people of child-bearing age. OE should recommend new legislation where program guidelines cannot accomplish this.

Office of Legislation.
ESEA III.
Impact Aid (P.L. 815).
EHA, Parts B, C, D, E.
VEA, Parts A, B, D, F, G, H.
AEA; MDTA.
Career Education Model Installation.
Occupational Education.
HEA I, III, IV (Cooperative Education and Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds).
HEA VII, IX; EPDA, Part E.
LSCA I, II; HEA II.
NDEA VI; Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA Sec. 504, Parts B-2, C. D. F.
Dropout Prevention.
Technology Demonstrations.
Drug Education.
Environmental Education.
Health and Nutrition.
Teacher Corps.
Right to Read.
Community Colleges.
Indian Education.
Consumer Education.
Ethnic Heritage.
FUND.
NIE—Researcher Training.

b. OE set aside at least two million dollars from discretionary monies for projects to support the work of the Interagency Task Force on Comprehensive Programs for School-Aged Parents.

ESEA III.
EHA, Part C.
HEA, Part C, D.
AEA Special Projects; MDTA.
HEA I.
Dropout Prevention.
Nutrition and Health.

### PART-TIME STUDY

19. We recommend that OE and NIE promote part-time study opportunities for women returning to education. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. OE and NIE insure that part-time students are admitted to projects funded under postsecondary and other programs serving adults. OE should recommend legislation to accomplish this where it cannot be achieved through guideline changes.

Office of Legislation.
VEA, Part B; MDTA.
AEA Teacher Training.
Occupational Education.
HEA III, IV (Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds).
HEA IX; EPDA, Part E.
HEA II Librarian Training.
NDEA VI, Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts B-2, C, D, F.
Teacher Corps.
Community Colleges.
FUND.

b. Student aid program guidelines urge institutions to make Federal financial aid available to half-time students in proportion to their enrollment in the student body.

HEA IV (Student Aid Programs).

### ACCOMMODATING OTHER PROGRAMS TO THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF WOMEN

20. We recommend that OE and NIE guidelines for programs aimed at adults state that projects serving women wishing to continue their education be given special consideration. In addition, the Educational Opportunity Centers established under P.L. 92-318 should identify this population as a special target group, and Title I of the Higher Education Act should use its discretionary set-aside to fund model programs serving this group.

EHA, Part D.
VEA, Parts B, C, D.
Career Education Model Installation.
AEA—Teacher Training.
Occupational Education.
AEA I, IV (Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds and Educational Opportunity Centers).
EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts C, D, E, F.
HEA II Librarian Training.
NDEA VI; Fulbright-Hays.
Teacher Corps.
Community Colleges.
FUND.
Researcher Training.

21. We recommend that the Office of Public Affairs undertake a public service information campaign publicizing new opportunities for women in education through radio and television spots as well as through printed materials. For example, we suggest that:

a. OE make use of the excellent materials already developed by the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor to encourage young women to enter male-dominated professions, and cooperate with the Women's Bureau in developing new materials.

b. OE direct information on student financial aid to women in the home who plan to return to education or employment training after several years' absence.

OPA.

22. We recommend that OE, NIE and The Fund for the Improvement of Post-secondary Education experiment with new educational approaches with a potential for expanding educational opportunities for women in both academic and vocational education.

VEA, Part C.
NIE—New Initiatives.
NIE—Career Education.
NIE—Experimental Schools.
FUND.

### NATIONAL STATISTICS

23. We recommend that NCES amend its present surveys to collect the following data by sex:

a. A breakdown by sex for elementary school pupils in each grade, to be added to the ELSEGIS State Fall Report on Staff and Pupils.

b. Secondary school subject area enrollments by sex, to be added to the ELSEGIS Survey of Secondary School Offerings, Enrollments and Curriculum Practices 1972–73.

c. All data on elementary school principals and on the number of specialists by sex, to be collected in the Belmont Elementary School Survey. This survey's questionnaire on teacher characteristics is thorough and should be used as a model for collecting information isolating sex as a variable.

NOTE.—Data by sex in characteristics of all school staff are needed to determine whether women remain at lower positions with lower pay despite equivalent or better qualifications than the male staff.

d. Secondary school staff and principal data by sex, to be collected in the Belmont Secondary School Survey. We urge that the staff and school questionnaires be expanded to collect by sex the same information as the Elementary School Survey collects on elementary school staff (e.g., salary, years of teaching experience, degrees earned, etc.).

NOTE.—No data on characteristics of teaching or administrative staff in secondary schools are currently collected at all, no less by sex, so that OE has no information on the status of women in secondary schools.

e. The number and salary distribution by sex of tenured higher education faculty, to be added to the HEGIS Employees in Higher Education survey. In addition, NCES should make an effort to provide HEGIS salary data to OCR in a timely fashion for use in enforcing Title IX and Executive Order 11246.

f. The age distribution for men and women by field and degree conferred, to be added to the HEGIS Earned Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred survey.

NOTE.—Such data would indicate the extent to which men and women interrupt their education and at what age, and will provide an estimate of the length of interruption by level and academic field.

g. Enrollment data for adult and continuing education by sex to be collected in the Adult and Continuing Education in Institutions of Higher Education survey.

h. All data on adult basic education staff and participants by sex to be collected in the Adult Basic Education survey (based on the annual reports submitted by States).

i. Vocational education enrollment data by sex for each institution to be collected in the Vocational Education Directories.

NOTE.—These data would indicate what types of vocational schools (including area vocational schools) operate as single sex institutions.

j. Data by sex on library staff by level to be collected in the library and museum surveys (Public Library Survey, Federal Library Survey, Museum Survey and School Library Survey).

NCES.

### PROGRAM DATA

24. We recommend that OE and NIE collect and report to the public basic data on all programs by sex. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. Programs serving a student clientele collect program participant data by sex.

ESEA I, III, VII.
Follow Through.
EHA, Parts B, C, D, G.
VEA, Except Part I.
Career Education Model Installation.
AEA; MDTA.
Occupational Education.
HEA I, IV, IX.
EPDA, Part E.
HEA II Librarian Training.
NDEA VII; Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts B–2, C, D, F.
Dropout Prevention.
Drug Education.
Environmental Education.
Health and Nutrition.
Teacher Corps.
Right to Read.
Community Colleges.
Indian Education.
Consumer Education.
Ethnic Heritage.
NIE—Researcher Training.
NIE—Career Education.
NIE—Experimental Schools.

b. Discretionary programs collect and update information on sex and salary of top project staff quarterly.

NOTE.—All staff information could be collected by the PGIS system, on the procurement cover sheet (PCS). No commitment action should be made until all information is entered.

See 7(a).

c. All programs prepare descriptive summaries of projects designed to improve educational opportunities for women.

See 1(a).

d. Fellowship and training programs collect data on the number of applicants by sex.

EHA, Part D.
AEA, Teacher Training.
HEA IV (student aid programs).
EPDA, Part E; HEA IX.
HEA II Librarian Training.
NDEA VI.
Fulbright-Hays.
EPDA, Sec. 504, Parts B–2, C, D, F.
Teacher Corps.
NIE—Researcher Training.

e. The student financial aid programs should collect data on the amount of aid and number of grants by sex. In addition, data by sex on the guaranteed loan program should include the number and amount of loans recommended by student financial aid officers.

NOTE.—Under Public Law 92–318, student financial aid officers for the first time must certify the amount of a student's financial need before a bank can make a guaranteed loan.

VEA, Part H.
HEA IV (student aid programs).

### EVALUATION

25. We recommend that all OE and NIE sponsored evaluations include analyses of the presence, causes and impact of sex discrimination in each of the program of educational areas being studied. For many program areas, particularly fellowship and training programs, expanded follow-up studies of participants by sex will be required.

OPBE.
NIE—Planning and Evaluation Staff.

### RESEARCH STUDIES

26. We recommend that OE and NIE support a series of studies on sex role development and sex discrimination in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. NIE review existing research on the development of sex roles and self image and support a series of research and development efforts designed to fill the gaps in current knowledge of this topic.

NIE—Applied Studies.
NIE—New Initiatives.

NIE—Career Education.
NE—Field Initiated Studies.

b. OE or NIE support a study on how the attitudes of counselors, teachers, administrators, parents and peers affect career plans and expectations of women and men, with a separate analysis of sexism in guidance tests.

OPBE.
NIE—Planning & Evaluation Staff.

c. The full-scale study resulting from the pilot study, Barriers to Women's Participation in Postsecondary Education, be broadened to include a representative sample of males as a comparison group.

NCES.

d. OE support a study of the barriers female and male nonhigh school graduates face in acquiring additional education and training.

OPBE.

### REPORTING AND DISSEMINATING INFORMATION

27. We recommend that OE and NIE expand efforts to report and disseminate information on women in education. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. NCES publish, at least annually, special mini-reports and projections on the relative status of women and men in education, both as students and employees. In addition, NCES' regular reports should include separate chapters comparing data on men and women.

NCES.

b. Program data appearing in annual reports include participant data by sex. See 24(a).

c. OPBE and its equivalent in NIE include in their evaluation and planning studies special sections on the impact of program on the sexes.

OPBE.
NIE—Planning and Evaluation Staff.

### EQUALITY FOR WOMEN AS A PRIORITY

28. We recommend that equality for the sexes in education be declared an official priority of both OE and NIE. In line with that priority, we recommend that:

a. Implementation of recommendations be tracked through the Operational Planning System at the Assistant Secretary or Commissioner/Director level.

ASE.
Commissioner of Education.
Director of NIE.

b. At least 10 percent of the appropriations for the following programs be spent on projects which make a special contribution to equal educational opportunity for women:

*Education Professions Development Act, Parts D, E and F and Education for the Handicapped Act, Part D*

Funds could be used in projects which advance women in school administra- IX, train teachers to avoid sex bias, train administrators on implementing Title IX and train teacher trainers to sensitize teachers to sex bias.

*Higher Education Act, Title II*

Funds could be used in projects which advance women in library administration, support workshops on unsexbiased materials and assist librarians in building collections relating to women's rights and women's issues.

*Vocational Education Act, Parts C, D and I*

Funds could be used in projects which study the obstacles to women's full participation in all areas of vocational education, demonstrate approaches to breaking down sex stereotypes in vocational education and develop curriculum materials which counteract career sex stereotypes.

*Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education*

Funds could be used for experiments in academic and vocational education with a potential for expanding educational opportunities for women returning to school or work after several years' absence.

*Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV*

Funds would be used to assist sex segregated schools in desegregation.

### STAFF EDUCATION

29. We recommend that OE and NIE undertake to educate their own staffs to avoid sex bias in agency operation and program management. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. Briefings for all supervisory staff be conducted on the implications of Title IX and other sex discrimination legislation for OE's and NIE's program operations.

b. OE and NIE arrange for training programs to create employee awareness of sex biases and their influences on the actions of employees.

Commissioner of Education.

Director of NIE.

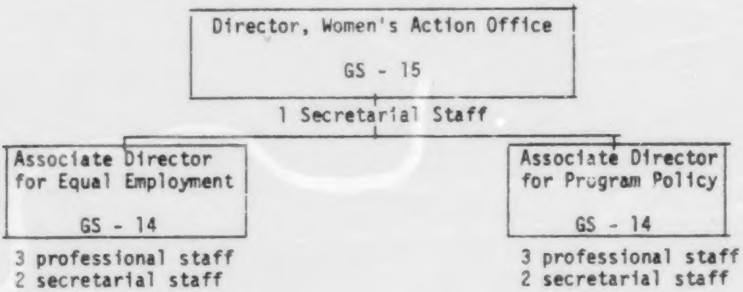
### WOMEN'S ACTION OFFICE AND ADVISORS

30. We recommend that both OE and NIE establish a Women's Action Office to see that steps to improve the status of women both inside and outside the agency are carried out smoothly and expeditiously. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. These offices serve as a continuing source of advice to the Commissioner and the Director on progress towards that goal and on new steps needed to help women secure equality in education and in the Federal education agencies.

b. These offices report directly to the Assistant Commissioner for Special Concerns and an official of equivalent stature in NIE and absorb the functions of the Federal Women's Program Coordinator.

c. The following organization for the Women's Action Office be developed:



NIE would have a smaller staff consonant with the agency's present size.

Commissioner of Education.

Director of NIE.

31. We recommend that both OE and NIE convene an ad hoc committee by advertising for people interested in helping in the selection of the Director and Associate Directors of the Women's Action Offices. These ad hoc committees would be no more than 15 members, elected from among the original volunteers. These committees would draw up criteria for the selection of the Director and the Associate Directors and identify and recommend candidates to fill those positions. Upon final selection of candidates by the OE Commissioner and NIE Director, the responsibilities of the ad hoc committees would terminate.

Commissioner of Education.

Director of NIE.

32. We recommend that Women's Action Advisors be designated throughout the agencies to link program policies and employees with the work of the Women's Action Office. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. On a continuing basis, Advisors work with the Women's Action Office in carrying out their mission throughout the agencies by recommending priorities for action, reviewing program and employment activities affecting women and keeping communication channels open between program officials and the Women's Action Office.

b. Advisors be designated by the Directors of the respective Women's Action Offices.

c. Advisors be regular employees, released part-time from their regular duties.

d. Each OE Deputyship and equivalent in NIE have at least two Advisors, one for internal employment and one for programs. OE should have one Advisor concerned with employment for every 200 people in a deputyship, with the Office of the Commissioner combined with the Deputyship for Development. OE should have one Advisor concerned with program policy for every 200 people in the three program Deputyships. According to OE's current staffing, that would make a total of 24; NIE Advisors would be chosen in a comparable manner.

Commissioner of Education.
OE Deputies.
Director of NIE.
NIE Deputies.

### SPECIAL POLICY POSITIONS

33. We recommend that OE and NIE substantially increase the proportion of women advising on the operation of OE programs. Specifically, we recommend that:

a. All NIE and OE recommendations for advisory councils and special commissions aim to bring the proportion of women on each to 50 percent.

ASE.
Commissioner of Education.
Director of NIE.

b. The same goal be set for the appointment of women to program review panels, outside evaluation teams, technical assistance personnel and consultants. Bureau chiefs should be responsible for approving these appointments to see that goals are being met. In addition, OE and NIE should adopt a standard fee for compensating consultants, regardless of salary, experience or other considerations.

c. Task forces be approximately 50 percent female. OE and NIE staff should avoid defining criteria for task force membership so that a predominance of men must be chosen. Bureau chiefs and Deputies should review and approve task force membership to see that goals are being met.

OE Deputies.
OE Bureau Chiefs.
NIE Deputies.

d. Bureau chiefs and Deputies report quarterly to the Commissioner of Education and to the Director of NIE on the male/female makeup of all review panels, outside evaluation teams, technical assistants, consultants and task forces.

Commissioner of Education.
OE Deputies.
OE Bureau Chiefs.
Director of NIE.
NIE Deputies.

### APPENDIX C.—UNITS AFFECTED BY TASK FORCE RECOMMENDATIONS

| *Unit affected* | *Recommendations* |
|---|---|
| HEW UNITS | |
| Assistant Secretary for Education | 5(a), 10, 11, 15, 28(a), 33(a). |
| Commissioner of Education | 2(b), 5(a), 15, 28(a), 29, 30, 31, 32, 33(a, d). |
| Director of NIE | 5(a), 15, 28(a), 29, 30, 31, 32, 33(a, d). |
| Office for Civil Rights | 3, 12, 13, 14, 16(c). |
| Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation | 8. |

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Deputy Commissioner for School Systems | 2(a), 3, 15, 32, 33(b, c, d). |
| Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education | 33(b, c, d). |
| Elementary and Secondary Education Act: | |
| Title I (Educationally Deprived Children) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(a), 27(b). |
| Title III (Supplementary Centers) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 17(a), 18, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Title V (Strengthening State Departments of Education) | 1(a), 2(a), 3. |
| Title VII (Bilingual Education) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Follow Through | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Impact Aid: | |
| Public Law 874 (Maintenance/Operations) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(c). |
| Public Law 815 (Construction) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 18(a), 24(c). |
| Bureau of Education for the Handicapped Education for the Handicapped Act: | 33(b, c, d). |
| Part B (State Grants) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 18(a), 24(a, c), 27(b). |
| Part C (Special Target Program) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Part D (Training) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a, b), 7, 17(b), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, b. c, d), 27(b), 28(b). |
| Part E (Research/Demonstration) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 17(a), 18(a), 24(b, c). |
| Part F (Media Services/Captioned Films) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 7, 24(b, c). |
| Part G (Special Learning Disabilities) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Bureau of Equal Opportunity | 33(b, c, d). |
| Emergency School Aid | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 24(b, c). |
| Civil Rights Act: | |
| Title IV (Desegregation of Public Education) | 28(b). |
| Deputy Commissioner for Occupational and Adult Education | 2(a), 3, 15, 32, 33(b, c, d). |
| Vocational Education Act: | |
| Part A (Special Needs) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 5(a, b), 18(a), 24(a, c), 27(b). |
| Part B (State Grant) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 5(a, b), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, c), 27(b). |
| Part C (Research) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 5, 7, 17(a, d), 18(b), 20, 22 24(a, b, c), 27(b), 28(b). |
| Part D (Exemplary Programs) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 5, 7, 17(a, d), 18, 20, 24(a, b, c), 27(b), 28(b). |
| Part F (Consumer/Homemaking) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 5(a, b), 18(a), 24(a, c), 27(b). |
| Part G (Cooperative Education) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 5(a, b), 18(a), 24(a, c, e), 27(b). |
| Part H (Work Study) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 5(a, b), 18(a), 24(a, c), 27(b). |
| Part I (Curriculum Development) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 7, 17(a), 24(b. c), 28(b). |
| Career Education Model Installation | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 5, 7, 17(a, d), 18(a), 20, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Adult Education Act: | |
| Grants to States | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 18(a), 24(a, c), 27(b). |
| Teacher Training | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a, b), 7, 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b). |
| Special Projects | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Manpower Development and Training Act | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 5, 7, 17(a, d), 18, 19(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Deputy Commissioner for Higher Education | 2(a), 3, 15, 32, 33(b, c, d). |
| Bureau of Higher Education | 33(b, c, d). |
| Higher Education Act: | |
| Title I (Community Service and Continuing Education) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18, 20, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Title III (Strengthening Developing Institutions) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 19(a), 24(b, c). |
| Title IV (Educational Opportunity Grants) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 19(b), 24, 27(b). |
| (College Work Study) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 19(b), 24, 27(b). |
| (Insured Student Loans) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 19(b), 24(a, c, d, e), 27(b). |
| (Direct Loans) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 19(b), 24(a, c, d, e), 27(b). |
| (Cooperative Education) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| (Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, c, d), 27(b). |
| Title VII (Construction of Academic Facilities) | 1(a) 2(a), 3, 18(a), 24(c). |
| Education Professions Development Act: Part E (College Personnel training program) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a), 7, 17(b), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b), 28(b). |
| Bureau of Libraries and Learning Resources | 33(b, c, d). |
| Library Services and Construction Act: | |
| Title I (Grants for Public Libraries) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 18(a), 24(c). |
| Title II (Construction) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 18(a), 24(c). |
| Title III (Interlibrary Coopereration) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(c). |
| Elementary and Secondary Education Act: Title II (School Library Resources) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(c). |
| Higher Education Act: | |
| Title II (College Library Resources) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(c), 28(b). |
| (Librarian Training) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a, b), 7, 17(b), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b), 28(b). |
| (Library Demonstration) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 24(b, c), 28(b). |
| National Defense Education Act: Title III (Equipment and Minor Remodeling | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(c). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Institute for International Studies | 33(b, c, d). |
| National Defense Education Act | |
| Title VI (Language Training and Area Studies) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a), 7, 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24, 27(b). |
| Fulbright-Hays Act | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a), 7, 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24, 27(b). |
| Deputy Commissioner for Development | 2(a), 3, 15, 32, 33(b, c, d). |
| National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems | 33(b, c, d). |
| Education Professions Development Act: | |
| Part A, Section 504 (Attracting persons into the Field of Education) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(b), 7, 17(b), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b). |
| Part B–2 (State Grants) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 17(b), 18(a), 19(a), 24(a, c, d), 27(b). |
| Part C (Fellowships) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a, b), 7, 17(b), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 22, 24(a, b, |
| Part D (Personnel Development) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a, b), 7,, 17(b). 18(a), 19(a), 20, 22, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b), 28. |
| Part F (Career Education Personnel Development) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 5, 6(a, b), 7, 17(b), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b), 28(b). |
| Elementary and Secondary Education Act: Title VIII (Dropout Prevention) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Center for Educational Technology | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(b, c). |
| National Center for Educational Statistics | 2(a), 7, 8, 9, 23, 24(b, c), 26(c), 27(a). |
| *Other Programs:* | |
| Drug Education | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Environmental Education | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Health and Nutrition | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| New Programs: | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(c). |
| Higher Education Act: | |
| Title IV (Institutional Aid) | |
| (Bail Out) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(c). |
| (Basic Opportunity Grants) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 19(b), 24(a, c, d, e), 27(b). |
| (State Student Incentive Grants) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 24(a, c, d), 27(b). |
| (Supplemental EOG) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 19(b), 24(a, c, d, e), 27(b). |
| Title IX (Graduate Programs) | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a), 7, 18(a), 19(a), 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b). |
| Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 19(a), 20, 22, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Community Colleges | 1(a), 2(a). 3, 5(b), 7, 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a), b, c), 27(b). |

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|---|---|
| Occupational Education | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 5, 7, 17(a, d), 18(a), 19(a), 20, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Indian Education | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Consumer Education | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Ethnic Heritage | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Deputy Commissioner for Management | 15, 32, 33(b, c, d). |
| Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation | 2(a), 7, 8, 9, 24(b, c), 25, 26(b, d), 27(c). |
| Contracts and Grants Division | 1. |
| Deputy Commissioner for External Relations | 10, 15, 32, 33(b, c, d). |
| Office of Public Affairs | 2(a), 4, 7, 16, 17(c), 21, 24(b). |
| Office of Committee Management | 33(a). |
| Office of Legislation | 18(a), 19(a). |
| Other Programs: | |
| Teacher Corps | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(b), 7, 17(b), 18, 19(a), 20, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b). |
| Right to Read | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 18(a), 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION | |
| Counterparts to Office of Education Staff: | |
| Deputies | 2(a), 3, 15, 32, 33(b, c, d). |
| Contracts and Grants Officers | 1. |
| Planning and Evaluation Staff | 2, 7, 8, 9, 24(b, c), 25, 26(b), 27(c). |
| Task Forces: | |
| Applied Studies | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 7, 8, 9, 17(a), 24(b, c), 26(a), 27(b). |
| Researcher Training | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 6(a), 7, 17(b), 20, 24(a, b, c, d), 27(b). |
| New Initiatives | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 7, 8, 9, 17(a, d), 22, 24(b, c), 26(a), 27(b). |
| Career Education | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 5, 7, 15, 17(a, d), 22, 24(a, b, c), 26(a), 27(b). |
| Dissemination | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 7, 24(b, c). |
| Experimental Schools | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 7, 22, 24(a, b, c), 27(b). |
| Field Initiated Studies | 1(a), 2(a), 3, 4(a, c, d), 7, 8, 9, 24(b, c), 26(a), 27(b). |

## APPENDIX D.—IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HEW WOMEN'S ACTION PROGRAM

The Women's Action Program Report, transmitted to Secretary Richardson in January 1972, contained twenty-one recommendations on improving the impact of OE programs on women. Proposing ways to implement these recommendations is one of this Task Force's mandates.

Since January, some recommendations were incorporated into new sex discrimination legislation; a few others were implemented by the Office of Education. In the course of its investigation, this Task Force found that reorganizing the remaining recommendations would facilitate their implementation—especially where responsibility for action was not clearly delegated, and where propoesd action was not explicitly detailed.

The following pages offer an agenda for implementing the WAP recommendations. Task Force comments appear in italics beneath each WAP recommendation.

In the pending legislation for graduate study support, authority should be provided to identify, periodically, specific subject areas of need for doctoral training.

Recruitment efforts in these fields should particularly emphasize the enrollment of women and minorities (see page 71 in WAP Report).

Recommendation #6 concerns equalizing the proportion of men and women in all levels and in all areas of education through training programs. See page 40.

The program guidelines for Higher Education Personnel Fellowships should continue to emphasize fellowship projects for women among the high priority areas for funding. Institutions should be encouraged to develop exemplary, replicable programs designed to meet the needs of women; e.g., part-time programs for older women. Support on a multi-year basis could be provided to interested, approved applicants to develop and implement experimental programs to attract women to "traditionally male" fields (see page 71 in WAP Report).

Recommendation #6 includes attracting members of one sex to fields traditionally dominated by the other sex.

Recommendation #18, 20, and 21 address the problems of women returning to education.

Recommendation #19 covers promoting part-time study opportunities.

Recommendation #28b covers a 10 percent set-aside in selected programs to be spent on projects making a special contribution to equal educational opportunity for women.

Program regulations should state that sex should not be a factor in admission of participants to projects. This procedure would apply not only to new projects but also to refunded projects (see page 71 WAP Report).

Title IX of P.L. 92-318 prohibits this kind of discrimination.

Recommendation #1 deals with including a statement on Title IX in program regulations.

The ethnic group and sex of applicants for and awardees of fellowships should be reported. Recruitment procedures should also be described (see page 71 in WAP Report).

Recommendation #24d requests information on the sex of applicants and awardees of fellowships.

The representation of women on the National Advisory Council on the Education Professions should be increased (see page 71 in WAP Report).

Recommendation #33 concerns increasing the membership of women on advisory councils to 50 percent of the total.

The Office of Education should consider development of an evaluation procedure for determining the impact of on-going continuing education programs for women, including course offerings, availability of course credit, transfers of previous credit provision for part-time study, counseling services, types of instruction methods and materials, financial aid opportunities, providing of child care services, relationship of continuing education program to sponsoring institution (see page 71 in WAP Report).

With initial funding from HEW's Office of Planning and Evaluation, OE is administering the pilot phase of a study intended to gather data on women's difficulties in securing access to continuing education. This study was initiated at the request of the Women's Action Program.

Recommendation #25 covers evaluation of the impact of OE programs on women.

The Office of Education should consider sponsoring an experimental adult learning situation for women to determine motivation to learn, effective means of instruction, pertinent instructional materials, and effect of previous nonacademic experience on self-concepts and approach to learning. It would incorporate features such as resource centers on available opportunities for women, child care facilities, course work credit for relevant nonacademic experiences, flexible curricula to meet specific needs of ethnic group women, procedures to alleviate or eliminate administrative encounters with institution (see page 72 in WAP Report).

Recommendation # 2 includes providing information and technical assistance on Title IX and its implication to State education personnel and others.

Recommendation # 14 instructs the Office for Civil Rights to work directly with the States to overcome present inequities.

Recommendation # 33 addresses increasing the membership of women on advisory councils to 50 percent of the total.

The Office of Education should consider requesting a legislative amendment which specifies that for a state to be eligible for federal assistance for vocational education, it must submit for approval by the Office of Education a five-year plan for equalizing vocational education programs for both sexes (see page 78 in WAP Report).

Recommendation # 1 covers submitting an assurance of compliance to Title IX of P.L. 92–318.

Recommendation # 5 includes eliminating sexism in career preparation. See page 40.

The Office of Education should study the extent and type of public school courses limited predominantly to one sex or in which one sex is given preference. Tie in with efforts just beginning in the Office of Civil Rights to collect vocational education enrollment by race, so that sex is collected simultaneously. Include programs at all levels; secondary schools, post-secondary institutions (including trade and technical schools, junior and community colleges, MDTA programs, etc.) (see page 79 in WAP Report).

Recommendation # 23 includes acquiring enrollments by sex in each subject area.

Recommendation # 23 includes a recommendation to collect enrollment data by sex for institutions offering vocational education.

The Office of Education should analyze data currently available from such sources as its Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education and the Women's Bureau, and provide for collection of information needed to pinpoint areas of sex discrimination in vocational education, including:

Region, demographic characteristics of institutions, level of instruction, ethnicity of students enrolled (full-time and part-time):

Sex-typing promoted by instruction;

Differentials in expected salary, growth potential, and job market; and

Attitudes of counselors, teachers, administrators, parents and students toward integrating courses and institutions (see pages 79–80 in WAP Report).

Recommendation # 23 includes a recommendation to collect enrollment data by sex for each type of vocational institution.

Recommendation # 23 includes acquiring information on secondary school enrollments in vocation fields by sex.

Recommendation # 25 includes analysis of the impact of sex discrimination in each program area. Differentials in expected salary and growth potential would be explored.

Recommendation # 26 is concerned with the effects of attitudes of school personnel, parents and students on career choice.

The Office of Education, in developing new curricula and instructional materials in career education, should place emphasis on "de-sexing" instruction and encouraging equal participation of both sexes in all courses and schools (see page 80 in WAP Report).

Recommendation # 5 includes involving students of both sexes in all education activities.

Recommendation # 4 includes insuring that all instructural materials be free of sex biases.

Recommendation # 17 includes fostering educational approaches which encourage children of both sexes to explore new roles.

Recommendation # 28 covers a 10 percent set-aside in selected programs to be spent on projects making a special contribution to equal opportunity for women.

Recommendations #18, 19, 20, and 22 include the support of projects for women returning to education.

Recommendation #28b covers a 10 percent set-aside in selected programs for projects making a special contribution to equal opportunity for women.

The Office of Education should consider conducting a study to:

(1) determine teacher, counselor and parent attitudes and expectations concerning males and females in elementary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions and

(2) design model teacher and counselor training programs which create an awareness of sex-role stereotyping and sensitize prospective teachers and counselors to their impact influence on girls and women and

(3) compare professional counseling with peer group counseling in changing stereotyped attitudes (see page 72 in *WAP* Report).

Recommendation #17 covers the development of materials on sex biases in personnel training programs.

Recommendations #26b and 26d include several related R&D efforts.

Recommendation #28b covers a 10 percent set-aside in selected programs for projects making a special contribution to equal opportunity for women.

**Legislation should be developed by the Office of Education specifying that all HEW-supported vocational education programs shall be conducted without sex discrimination (see page 78 in *WAP* Report).**

Title IX, P.L. 92–318 prohibits sex discrimination in vocational education.

**The Office of Education should encourage state advisory councils, within the restriction of their membership requirements, to increase the number and percentage of women members so as to better respond to the needs of women. State councils should be requested to submit to the Commissioner of Education a list of current members and their expiration dates, along with plans for recruiting minorities and women (see page 78 in *WAP* Report).**

**The Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Technical Education in the Office of Education should consider encouraging and supporting states to establish training programs to increase the skills and upgrade the status of household workers (see page 83 in *WAP* Report).**

Since the mid-1960's some $3 million went into MDTA demonstration projects for women in household work. OE developed a training and administration manual as a result of these projects. No new efforts have been initiated since the *WAP* Report was transmitted.

Success of these training programs is greatly hampered by the exclusion of household workers from the Fair Labor Standards Act; they need not be paid the minimum wage.

Recommendation #28b includes a 10 percent set-aside in selected programs which could fund projects in the area.

**The problems and needs of domestic workers should be scheduled as an issue for analysis in the Department's planning guidance system. The analysis should be conducted by the Social and Rehabilitation Service in coordination with the Office of Education, the Social Security Administration and the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (see page 83 in *WAP* Report).**

We urge OE to cooperate with the Social and Rehabilitation Service in its analysis.

**The Office of Education, through adult and continuing education programs (Bureau of Adult, Vocational, and Technical Education), should broaden opportunities for older women to participate in career education programs, expanded offerings in history, economics, literature, art, music and the crafts should be encouraged. Any special courses for this age group should be free or moderately priced, and adapted to the needs and interests of older women. The expanded use of radio and TV programming, particularly during the day, should be encouraged to reach older women in their homes or other residences (see pages 89–90 in *WAP* Report).**

Recommendations #18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 refer to women returning to education.

Recommendation #28b covers a 10 percent set-aside in selected programs to be spent on projects making a special contribution to equal opportunity for women.

Mr. HAWKINS. Dr. Sandler, again, we wish to thank you for your testimony this morning.

The next witness is Dr. Nancy K. Schlossberg, Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education.

We welcome you. Your testimony will be printed in the record at this point.

You may proceed to summarize from it or deal with it as you may desire.

[The statement referred to follows:]

### STATEMENT OF NANCY K. SCHLOSSBERG, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: I am Nancy K. Schlossberg, Director of the new Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education. Until June of this year, I was Associate Professor of Counseling and Guidance at Wayne State University, Chairperson of the Commission on the Status of Women, and the elected Chairperson of the College of Education Faculty. I am very grateful for this opportunity to appear before you on behalf of the American Council on Education—a council of 194 national and regional education associations and 1397 institutions of higher education.

From nursery school through graduate education, our educational system is guilty of fostering and perpetuating rigid sex roles for men and women which result in stereotyped self-images and career choice for both sexes. The reasons for this situation are historically complex and therefore require broad-guaged solutions. The proposed Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973 will enable university and college presidents, boards of governors, administrators, students, and faculty to mobilize their resources to change the situation. This Act will benefit men as much as women, inasmuch as it will provide funds for educational changes which will allow all students to develop as individuals with open options. The objectives of the proposed bill are fully endorsed by the American Council on Education.

### THE NEED FOR SPECIAL MONEYS FOR WOMEN IN EDUCATION

The question obviously arises: Why special moneys for women? My answer stems from research on various sub-groups on university campuses. Any group which by numbers or image is seen as different from "the majority" needs special visibility. For example, adult men, 35 and over, who were undergraduates at Wayne State University, expressed over and over the need for a special counseling and placement center for themselves. (Nancy Schlossberg, "Adult Men: Education or Re-education," *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, September, 1970.) Commuters on residential campuses express the same needs, as do blacks at white universities—and this list could go on. Special services are not necessarily forever, but are definitely needed as a vehicle to enable the group in question to emerge with self-confidence and equality. The "aloneness" that the men in my study experienced, the fear of trying out untraditional routes that women I have counseled expressed, the anger that individuals feel when fighting and often losing with the bureaucracy are testimony to the need for special attention.

The issue before us is: How could funds generated by this bill be used to improve educational opportunities for women? My remarks will be addressed to an important area of concern which is my own field of specialization, that of vocational counseling. Many women counselees report on the negative impact well-meaning counselors have had on their career development. In my recent experience, counselors have discouraged a 55-year old widow from entering dental school, an undergraduate woman from majoring in engineering, a high school girl from taking advanced classes in science and math. Counselor bias is certainly not limited to women; men wishing to enter a "feminine" profession like nursing would undoubtedly be discouraged by many counselors. Likewise, minority group members have long been counseled to be "realistic" about their place in the world of work.

### *Counselor Bias*

To test the degree of counselor bias, Professor John Pietrofesa, Associate Professor of Educational Guidance and Counseling at Wayne State University, and I arranged interviews between counselor trainees and a coached female counselee at a major urban university. The coached counselee presented herself as undecided about entering engineering, a "masculine occupation," or education, a "feminine occupation." Each interview was tape-recorded. The results of this study pointed to the high degree of counselor bias against women's entering a masculine profession, with women counselors displaying as much bias as did men. Even more bias might be expected had the woman counselee been older, married, and a mother with family responsibilities.

Federal funds could be put to highly productive use in the area of counselor training and re-training. The implications of such studies for counselor training—both new counselors-in-training and those already practicing—are several; accepting counselor bias as a fact, counselor education programs must attempt to bring it into the open, so that counselors are better able to control biased feelings and to remove them from their counseling. For example, Dr. Pietrofesa and I have implemented a four-pronged training model, the goal of which is to enable counselors and teachers to participate with their constituency in an unbiased fashion. The model includes the following components which can be adapted to specific settings:

1. Expanding the cognitive understanding of counselors regarding the role of women through lectures and readings.
2. Increasing counselors' sensitivity to sex bias through group techniques.
3. Promoting the acquisition of unbiased skills among counselors through audio-video taping and role playing.

4. Fostering skill development in program planning and implementation among counselors through tutorial projects.

This approach is based on 56 hours of training—an intensive one-week period followed by 16 hours of follow-up sessions during the year.

Federal funds could be well-used to develop other models in-service training programs. These models could be demonstrated at conferences to guide representatives in setting up similar programs when they return to their own institutions and/or communities. Money could further be used to send consultants to individual institutions to develop and implement in-service counselor training programs.

### BIASED COUNSELING MATERIALS

When discussing counselor bias, it is essential to examine materials which are commonly used and relied upon in the counseling interview. Such materials frequently reflect stereotyped roles for men and women, contain biased statements which could lead a counselee in one direction rather than another, and reflect the past rather than the future by reinforcing outmoded ideas of "women's place" and "men's place." Despite the growing awareness among leaders in the area of tests and measurements, practitioners—both men and women—are often unaware of the sexual bias inherent in the major interest inventories as presently constructed. As illustrative of the general problem, I will discuss the one interest inventory with which I have been personally involved—the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB), one of the best inventories available. Jane Goodman, a doctoral student at Wayne State, and I identified three major weaknesses of the SVIB:

First, separate forms exist for men and women. The man's form lists 33 occupations for men only, implying that women cannot become authors, journalists, or physicists, for example. Likewise, the women's form lists 37 women-only occupations, implying that men cannot become elementary teachers, art teachers, or medical technologists, among others.

Secondly, if the same person, either male or female, takes both forms of the SVIB, the profiles will be dramatically different for two reasons. The first is the different occupations listed for each sex. The second is the different scoring requirements for an occupation, even when listed on both forms. For example, a woman who scored high on the women's profile in the areas of dental assistant, physical therapist, and occupational therapist scored high as a physician, psychiatrist, and psychologist when she took the men's form.

Thirdly, guidelines in the manual and handbook suggest to counselors that many women will score high only in certain "premarital occupations."

Thus, in the alternatives provided for men and women taking the test, in the method of scoring, and in the manuals available, the SVIB consistently limits occupational choices for men and women, to the detriment of both.

Presented with the findings of our study, the American Personnel and Guidance Association accepted our resolution that the Strong test be revised, and a revision is currently underway. However, the revision is incomplete, since funds are not available to develop new norm groups for each occupation included in this inventory. Additional funds are essential to insure a satisfactory revision of this instrument, and this legislation would be an appropriate vehicle to support the endeavor. Clearly, further studies and revision of all guidance tests, materials, and occupational information is called for. Funds generated by this bill could be used to bring together test-makers and practitioners to discuss the sexual and racial bias of certain widely used standardized tests and to consider ways to remove such bias. Funding on the scale which is necessary is not currently available. As Nancy S. Cole, Director of Test Development for American College Testing, writes:

> . . . a number of questions remain about the use of present inventories with women considering vocations not traditionally associated with women. When the results of inventories center around women's occupational scales which have necessarily been limited to traditional women's occupations, the result may be to limit consideration to the occupations presented although, in fact, the options may be much broader. (Nancy S. Cole, "On Measuring the Vocational Interests of Women," *ACT Research Report*, No. 49, March, 1972.)

### WOMEN'S CENTERS

In addition to training unbiased counselors and developing unbiased counseling materials, women today need special counseling. For example, counselors need to be more aware of what psychologist Matina Horner has called a woman's "motive to avoid success." Dr. Horner points out that:

> A bright woman is caught in a double bind. In testing and other achievement-oriented situations, she worries not only about failure, but also about success. If she fails, she is not living up to her own standards of performance; if she succeeds, she is not living up to societal expectations about the female role. Men in our society do not have this kind of ambivalence, because they are not only permitted but actively encouraged to do well. (Matina S. Horner, "Women's Will to Fail," Psychology Today, March, 1969, pp. 36–38.)

This need for special counseling is documented by the phenomenon of women's centers which have mushroomed from one in 1960 to over 400 today. They are developing in an ad hoc fashion, and usually on a shoestring budget, on many campuses across the United States. These women's centers serve a wide variety of functions, including: academic counseling and advice for women planning to begin or to resume their education; coordination of information on educational opportunities in the center's geographical area; compiling data on courses relating to women and research on the status of women; explanation of career and job opportunities for women, particularly in areas traditionally closed to them; discussion groups concerned with problems of special interest to women; consciousness-raising in order to gain new concepts of self-worth and new self-expectations in the world of work. Clearly, such innovations—including attention to older women, continuing education, and new motivation to meet changing sex roles—require new kinds of counseling and counseling training. Women's centers themselves, offering the necessary atmosphere for supportive counseling and career encouragement, need to be funded and further developed and expanded.

The strength of this bill lies in its potential for promoting numerous strategies to ensure that opportunity for equality will be matched by motivation for equality among women of all ages and classes. Equality of women and the end of stereotyped sex roles will liberate men as much as women. The goal is to develop human beings who are free to act in ways that are appropriate to their interests and their values—not their sex.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before your committee. I will be happy to answer any questions.

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## A Framework for Counseling Women

Many adult women have secret dreams they have harbored but never expressed, vague feelings about wanting to do something but not knowing what, frustrations about their inability to advance in their fields, and dissatisfactions with their prescribed roles. But women have been limited in their decision-making possibilities because of social limitations on their dreaming and because of the difficulties in implementing dreams that include an achievement component.

Through strategies combining counseling, guidance, and social activism, counselors can be part of a liberating force that will enable women to expand their horizons and implement their dreams.

### THE DECISION-MAKING FRAMEWORK

All of us fantasize and explore the future. Some of our dreams turn into reality; others fade away. Tiedeman and O'Hara (1963) developed a decision-making paradigm in which decisions are viewed as having two major stages: anticipation and implementation. During the anticipation stage, one fantasizes, role palys, dreams; in short, explores. Such exploring and fantasizing are as common for the mature woman reentering the labor market as they are for the kindergarten girl playing house, hospital, or school. As the anticipatory stage unfolds, the individual begins to consider numerous alternatives, then stabilizes her thinking on one of the alternatives. At this point the decision crystallizes and a choice is made.

The second stage requires implementing the fantasized choice. It begins when one enters the new sysem; that is, enrolls in graduate school, begins a new job, sees a divorce lawyer, moves to a new town. After induction into this new system, the individual gains a sense of herself in her new role, leading to integration.

The counselor's problem becomes apparent when one looks at the decision-making process in relation to women. The anticipation stage sets the parameters of choice for women. It is no surprise to discover that women's vocational decisions are limited, as evidenced by the restricted areas in which they dream. We know that children stereotype occupations by sex (Schlossberg & Goodman, 1972b). Girls see themselves as nurses and teachers, while boys see themselves as mechanics and doctors. If young children's horizons are restricted to certain fields, if young children see mothers as cooks, cleaners, and nurses, and fathers as workers, doers, and providers, we can certainly see why vocational decisions would be limited. Thus, the counselor's first task is to expand horizons, to open up the whole world—not just part of it.

Now to implementation. One can dream of being a chemist—yet only 10 percent of all chemists are women. One can dream of being a dentist—yet only 2 percent of all dentists are women. One can dream of being a certified public accountant—yet only 2 percent of all certified public accountants are women. One can dream of being a professional of any kind—yet only a small percentage of all professionals are women. The course is clear. The counselor's second task is to help change the context in which women live, so that as dreams expand, so will the possibility of their implementation.

## SOME EXAMPLES OF INTERVENTION

The Tiedeman-O'Hara paradigm provides a framework for diagnosis as well as a framework for intervention. The counselor can immediately assess whether a person is trying to anticipate a choice or implement a choice. A woman with a vague feeling of restlessness but no goals might need help in the exploration process. A woman with two or three strong interests might need help in examining these alternatives, weighing them, specifying, and choosing. Women who know what they want but are limited in implementing their choices pose different problems.

Illustrative of the early phase of anticipation are many women who come to see counselors about graduate work. As one woman in this situation talked to a counselor, it became clear that she wanted to be home every time her elementary school children were home. She was implementing her decision to be a mother, as she defined it, and this was the salient aspect of her life. She was, however, fantasizing about different work rôles for the future. The counselor clarified this for her, thereby legitimizing the exploration process. The client left relieved and with the intention to continue exploring her own identity and goals.

The Continuum Center at Oakland University reaches literally hundreds of women in the Michigan area through its Investigation into Identity program. The underlying assumption of the program is that many adult women are confused, ambivalent, and tied up and that focus on the exploratory, anticipatory part of the decision-making process is a first step toward gaining a sense of oneself. The fact that so many women have responded to this program indicates the need women have for clarification and exploration. In fact, this first step is a prelude to the next phase: implementing one's newfound identity.

Illustrative of the implementation phase is the case of a woman who graduated at the top of her class in business administration at a major university. At the time of graduation she had three-year-old twins and a five-year-old girl. She had been a part-time student with no academic problems. After graduation she searched in vain for a part-time job. After a year of looking she became despondent. She was committed and involved as a mother, yet she had identity needs beyond her role as a mother and wife. The counselor in this case helped her aggressively open up options by selling a bank on the idea of experimenting with part-time employment. The counselor further helped her frame a case so that the school of business administration would begin to assume a placement obligation to its women students.

A final example concerns a black high school senior in the anticipation stage. Because of her academic ability, her church awarded her a scholarship to enroll in college. Although her parents and teachers urged her to accept the scholarship, she felt hesitant to take it. The counselor's job was to help the girl uncover her real feelings about college, her fantasies about what she wanted to do with her life. She needed help in crystallizing and then specifying. It turned out that her resistance to college was not based on fear but on the fact that she had her own goals in mind. As a result of clarifying her feelings, she was able to become master of her own destiny. She turned down the scholarship, applied to a business school, and was awarded an Urban League scholarship. The counselor was able to help this girl by understanding the choice process and its ramifications and by not being hell-bent on pushing her to implement something that was not her choice.

## THE COUNSELING ROLE: A DELICATE BALANCE

Since many women are limited in their explorations by social impositions, the counselor needs to go beyond the kind of counseling just described. Women, like all groups whose vocational development has been arrested, need special help in stretching, in raising their aspiration level, in raising their consciousness. Consciousness raising does not mean that every woman must aspire to enter "masculine" fields or even to achieve in a career. It means simply that women should be helped to free themselves to dream. The goal is to develop human beings who are free to act in ways that are appropriate to their interests and their values—not their sex. The fact that one is born a woman should not foreordain that she will spend hours every day in the kitchen in the laundry room, and in low level, "feminine" occupations.

Consciousness raising can help women deal with their roles and needs. Many women, for instance, are fearful of achievement. Gornick (1971, p. 51) summarizes the findings of Horner, whose research has focused on the relationship of motivation to achievement.

> In this age of lip service to equality and self-realization for all, parents encourage their daughters to fulfill their entire potential. . . . The encouragement, however, is essentially hollow. . . . The contradictory message that the girl gets, from society as well as from her parents, is that if she is too smart, too independent, and above all, too serious about her work, she is unfeminine and will therefore never get married. (Speculation that the full brunt of anxiety over femininty and academic success begins to fall upon a woman student about halfway through college is supported by special studies. For instance, one study revealed that the fear of success in woman ranged from a low 47 per cent in a seventh grade junior high school sample to a high 88 per cent in a sample of high ability undergraduate students at a promising Eastern school.)

Counselors must work with men and women to help them achieve humanity. Why should women fear success and men fear failure? Why should men and women negatively correlate achievement and femininity? Why should career and motherhood be seen as mutually exclusive? Why should men feel that it is unmasculine to arrange birthday parties, do laundry, shop, cook, and clean? A new view of men's and women's roles—of role sharing and role blurring—seems to be the wave of the future.

The counselor who shares this view, however, must be careful not to impose it on every counselee. Counselors need to work with women and men where they are, as well as provide opportunities to move them further when they are ready. This is a delicate balance, but one that must be respected.

## DEVELOPING GUIDANCE PROGRAMS

Case after case illustrates the usefulness of the decision-making paradigm in counseling. But individual counseling is not enough, and the paradigm also provides a framework for the creation of a total developmental guidance program.

Program development is probably the least articulated aspect of guidance training. It is something we all do, but mostly on an ad hoc basis. Dworkin and Walz (1971, p. 308) write:

> Traditionally decisions affecting guidance programs have not been based on sound evaluation; instead guidance personnel have tended to rely on others to make decisions about programs in guidance, or to use insight, revelation, trial and error, or some other "fly by the seat of your pants" method.

Yet program development is the building of a guidance program that will affect the lives of all those in the sphere of the counselor. Perhaps 5 percent of a class of students seek out a counselor.

The effective programmer uses this 5 percent as raw data on which to build a program to reach the 95 percent who do not seek out the counselor. To be effective, the program must reach all of the counselor's constituency, have some activities geared to the exploratory or anticipatory stage of decision making, and include other activities that will give women the skills they need for implementing decisions.

An excellent example of guidance programming can be seen in the expansion of women's counseling bureaus in colleges and universities—from none to over 450 by early 1971 (Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1971). The instant success of these bureaus attests to the need many adult women have to explore, crystallize, and specify new choices about themselves. These needs show the importance of systematic programs for reaching large groups. The programs, although similar in their focus—adult women—differ in their emphasis. Some are designed to expand women's horizons, to help women deal with their own identity; others focus on initiating women into the educational-vocational world. The most effective programs, therefore, would be those that develop activities to facilitate both aspects of the decision-making process.

In the first published systematic appraisal of a professionally developed and administered guidance center for women (Raines, 1970), activities deemed appropriate for inclusion in all adult guidance centers included (a) counseling individuals and groups, (b) appraising each client's potentials, (c) orienting adults in the community through workshops, (d) communicating with the total community through conferences, (e) communicating with other agencies, (f) placing clients in educational and/or training opportunities, (g) getting informational feedback on up-to-date resources, (h) developing outreach programs to contact all segments of the community, (i) building evaluation procedures into programs, and (j) adequately supervising staff. We can see that programs must be multifaceted in order to help people both anticipate and implement—or, to put it another way, help people make effective decisions.

## THE COUNSELOR AS CHANGE AGENT

The counselor of women cannot be content just to do career counseling. Despite the increasing number of women in the work force, the situation for women is no better today than it was a decade ago. The decreasing status of women in the labor force, the ever-widening salary gap, the continuation of women in limited female occupations—these facts have been widely documented. The situation calls for activism that goes well beyond career counseling.

The title of Westervelt's (1970) article, "From Evolution to Revolution," reflects my current stance. It becomes increasingly obvious to me how many aspects of American life discriminate against women. If one looks at textbooks that reflects boys as leaders and girls as housewives; if one looks at interest inventories like the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB), in which the manual states that women's primary interest is motherhood; if one studies annuity plans for university personnel that award women less retirement annuity than men—one is struck continually with the need to be vigilant in uncovering areas of discrimination and changing them. Social activism is hard work, but it is essential work if we are to make a world in which everyone can develop according to his or her proclivities, interests, and talents.

As counselors and counselor educators, what is our charge? If we see situations that hinder the development of large segments of our population, do we sit back and ignore them? Do we accept the proposition that intervention in the decision-making process improves the quality of decisions made? If we accept this proposition, we must go one step further. We cannot help individuals make fully human decisions in a context that prohibits implementation. We must therefore work with the system in changing the opportunities so that blacks and whites, men and women, old and young can develop in the vocational spheres of their lives. Women's vocational development has been arrested for complex reasons, some relating to women's own misconceptions and others to political and economic causes. Whatever the reason, I am suggesting that counselors have a pivotal role in changing or intervening in the way things are.

A forerunner of a very promising development is the role of women's advocate at the University of Michigan. The advocate is hired by students, is paid by students, and can be fired by students. The current advocate sees herself as a representative of students who want to change the academic system so that women are not continually discriminated against. The person assuming such a role is in an excellent position to bring about social change, whether the issue concerns insurance policies that use sex as the major variable in determining size of annuity; tenure being awarded to full-time workers only; or admission to a school or job being based on sex.

A pilot program in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare provides another example of social activism. A number of high level, part-time jobs were developed for economists, statisticians, and mathematicians. The success of this project indicated that many high level professional jobs can be performed on a part-time basis (Silverberg & Eyde, 1970). Recently France and Sweden have passed laws enabling men and women to opt for up to 10 years of part-time work without loss of status, seniority, or fringe benefits.

Another example of activism is reflected in the attempts of a small nucleus of women to change guidance materials and instruments. Many counselors have been concerned about the use of inventories like the SVIB and the Kuder Preference Record. Several people mobilized to conduct research and make public the discriminatory aspects of the current SVIB through legal arguments, resolutions to professional associations, and pressures on the publisher (Schlossberg & Goodman, 1972a).

Many counselors might agree with an activist stance but raise questions about what they can actually do to live up to this challenge. The growth of state and university commissions on the status of women, ad hoc women's liberation groups, political action groups like the National Organization for Women, the Women's Equity Action League, and the Women's National Political Caucus provide a base from which one can work as an activist.

For those counselors who are not ready to participate in such mass-based social action programs, another alternative is available. The Department of Educational Guidance and Counseling at Wayne State University is experimenting with a conference for teachers and counselors. In addition to consciousness raising, each participant must develop a new strategy, a new set of materials, or a new program in his or her school setting. The last day of the conference will take place three months after the main part. At that time each participant, in order to receive credit, must demonstrate or describe his action strategy. Thus the kinds of activism engaged in will depend on the counselors themselves. The conference will provide a springboard and a reward system for all kinds of activist programs.

## SYNTHESIS

Figure 1, based on the Tiedeman-O'Hara decision-making paradigm, juxtaposes the two major stages of decision making, anticipation and implementation, against the three major guidance role areas: counseling, programming, and activism. Each counselor or counseling staff would develop activities appropriate for the particular setting. Figure 1 is intended to stimulate counselors to think in a multifaceted way. That is, in order to help clients, counselors must (a) counsel, (b) develop programs to reach those who do not seek counseling, and (c) change society so that women can develop their potentials.

Whether we are concerned with the elementary, secondary, or college level, effective counseling and programming should take the following factors into account:

1. Any grade or age level contains some people at the anticipatory stage and some at the implementation stage.

2. The same individual can be at different stages with respect to different aspects of her life.

3. Programs must be multifaceted in order to help individuals simultaneously dream and scheme. Counselors must be flexible; they must sometimes help people clarify and sometimes help people move ahead and implement.

4. Programs must have an activist component. That is, those working with women can see that exploration takes place within a sex-split context and that implementation is often possible only when based on sex-appropriate norms. Who is in a better position than the counselor to change these norms when they do not allow for full development?

We must listen, as did Westervelt (1970, p. 13), to the cries of many women: "So far . . . a major theme has been one of regret for a potential identity which is now forever lost, of gentle mourning for a self who will never come fully to life."

FIGURE 1

COUNSELOR'S ACTIVITIES

| Stage of Decision | Counseling focus | Guidance programing | Social activism |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anticipation:<br>Exploration:<br>Fantasy.<br>Context in which choice emerges.<br>Crystallization:<br>Patterns emerge in form of alternatives.<br>Choice.<br>Specification:<br>Former doubts dissipate action. | Help client clarify, consider alternatives; help client begin to see herself in relation to the world of work. | Provide programs to reach all students in elementary, junior, senior high, college, and adult counseling center programs; utilize role models, curriculum materials, and workshops to stimulate exploration. | Dispel myths about women perpetuated through education and the media. Work to change norms so that work activities are not sex-linked. |
| Implementation:<br>Induction:<br>Face to face with reality.<br>Reformation:<br>Transition.<br>Integration:<br>Maintenance. | Help client implement her choice through placement, internship, and further counseling. | Provide programs at all levels. Build in opportunities for implementation, i.e., developing skill in applying for jobs, passing general educational development tests, obtaining training. | Change opportunity structure for women by, for example, using Eyde's HEW program, enforcing the Civil Rights Act, instituting grievance procedures, revising the SVIB, fighting actuarial base of annuities. |

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## PERSPECTIVES ON COUNSELING BIAS: IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELOR EDUCATION

We are concerned about the ease with which educators, and counselors in particular, adopt as "god-given" certain notions about appropriate behavior. For example, when counseling a fifty-five year-old widow about entering college, a black man about becoming a banker, or a single adult male about adopting a female child, the counselor's "god-given" notions about appropriate behavior can play an unconscious part in counseling. Counselors defend themselves as being conveyors of reality and not decision-makers for their clients. Yet client self-reports contain many references about the negative impact counselors have had on career development. For some counselors, dispensing discouragement rather than encouragement has been the order of the day. Many minority group members and women have been limited by inappropriate counseling and testing.

Counselor bias is here defined as an opinion, either unfavorable or favorable, which is formed without adequate reasons and is based upon what the bias holder assumes to be appropriate for the group in question. Bias is evident whenever it is assumed that someone can or cannot take a certain course of action because of her or his age, social class, sex or race. The difference between bias and prejudice is the ease with which bias can be discarded when a new reality is made evident. Bias becomes prejudice when the role ascription serves a deep-seated need of its holder. Prejudice is resistant to information which might lead to a changed belief. Some people need scapegoats, and re-education is often impossible in instances like this. Allport (1958, p. 12) states, "In most cases prejudice seems to have some 'functional significance' for the bearer." A great deal has been written about prejudice and its relationship to personality disorder; but little has been written about bias and its effects in the helping relationship.

We are assuming that counselors are like people-in-general—no better, no worse. We all share one thing: we make judgments about appropriate behaviors for different groups of people. Such prejudgments may be important in influencing the behavior of others.

Rosenthal and Jacobson's studies (1968) illustrate the degree to which attitudes about particular children's competency do, in fact, affect performance. As expectancy rises, so does performance. One person's expectations of another behavior come to act as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, if a counselor assumes that: sixty-five year-olds should not enter doctoral work; forty-five year-olds should not begin to produce and raise children; twenty-five year-olds should not be college presidents; women should not be corporate executives; men should not do laundry, bed cleaning, diaper changing, or combing of little girls' hair; lower-class blacks should not live side by side with millionaires—then this will probably be reflected in the counseling interview.

Even though a large percentage of women work, and a large percentage of workers are women, their position has startingly declined in recent years. The facts are alarming; women work at lower-level, lower-paying jobs than men. While more women are working than ever before, they are under-represented in the professional technical categories. Women also receive proportionately fewer advanced degrees than in the 1920's (Millett, 1968; Manpower Report of the President, 1967).

Complicating the picture is the fact that each sex occupies different levels on the status hierarchy and the sexes are unevenly distributed as to field of endeavor. It has been substantiated that:

> American education is blighted by a sex-split in its curriculum. At present the whole field of knowledge is divided along tacit but well understood sex lines. Those subjects given the highest status in American life are "masculine"; those given the lowest are "feminine" . . . thus math, the sciences . . . business administration . . . are men's subjects . . . and the humanities are relegated . . . "suitable to women" (Millett, 1968, p. 14).
>
> Discrimination in the world of work can be easily seen when one examines the number of women in certain high-status fields. For example, only 208 women are listed among the 6,597 members of the American Institute of Physics. One half of the women are employed as physics teachers. Of the 600,000 people classified as in engineering and related technical fields, only 6,000 are women. About 7 percent of chemists, 3 percent of all dentists, and 4 percent of the doctors are women (Cassara, 1963, p. 77).

This unbalanced occupational distribution of the sexes needs to be critically examined from the vantage point of counselors.

This paper offers no incontrovertible data, but merely tries to bring perspective to a topic which we need to acknowledge and act upon. We are educable. We can help ourselves with new perspectives. We can free ourselves from ideas which restrict our thinking and which, in turn, may restrict our client's behavior. As one counselor educator said to a class, "men may marry women who are willing to be kept barefoot, pregnant, and behind the plow; it's quite another thing for counselors to impose these views on counselees."

### COUNSELOR BIAS AND SEX ROLE ASCRIPTION

Sex bias appears to be an important component of some individual's emotional makeup. Traditionally, women have been ivewed as biologically inferior human beings. Because of this discrimination, women have maintained a position secondary to men in family life, education and work. Ginzberg (1971) stated.

> The increasing acceptance of women as workers represents a clear challenge to guidance. The field has paid inadequate attention to women at every stage of the career process: in curriculum and course selections, in career planning, and in assisting those who seek to return to the labor force after a period of homemaking and childbearing (p. 318).

Since people-in-general hold strong beliefs about sex-appropriate behavior, we can assume that counselors also hold to these notions. Since these notions are currently being challenged as biased, counselors need to be aware of the degree to which they try to push counselees into certain directions because of their own sex biases. Gardner (1971) states,

> Right now, in our excessively sexist society, it is unlikely that anyone without special training in feminism can create conditions which would encourage females to "exercise their right to select goals of the counselor." The goals of counselors trained in traditional programs can hardly be expected to do other than reflect the sexist values . . . (p. 173).

While it can be assumed that counselors "support" equality for both sexes, several works have dealt with sex stereotyping attitudes of clinicians. These works will be described in some detail to examine the generally untested notion that counselors do in fact counsel from a sterotyped framework.

In a landmark study, Broverman, *et al.*, (1970), utilizing a sex-role stereotype questionnaire, studied actively-functioning clinicians. They hypothesized that "clinical judgments about the characteristics of healthy individuals would differ as a function of sex of person judged, and furthermore, that these differences in clinical judgments would parallel stereotypic sex-role differences." They also felt that behaviors and characteristics considered to be healthy for a sex-unspecified adult will resemble behaviors judged healthy for males and differ from behaviors judged healthy for their female counterparts. The subjects were 79 clinically-trained psychologists, psychiatrists or social workers (46 males, 33 females)—all working in clinical settings. Ages ranged from 23 to 55 years, while experience covered the spectrum from internship to extensive professional work. The authors utilized the Stereotype Questionnaire composed of 122 bipolar items—each pole characterized as typically masculine or feminine. The results indicated that high agreement existed among clinicians—both male and female—about the attributes characterizing healthy adult men, healthy adult women, and healthy adults with sex unspecified.

It appears that a "double standard of health" exists among clinicians. The researchers note that:

> More likely, the double standard of health for men and women stems from clinicians' acceptance of an "adjustment" notion of health, for example, health consists of a good adjustment to one's environment. In our society, men and women are systematically trained, practically from birth on, to fulfill different social roles. An adjustment notion of health, plus the existence of differential norms of male and female behavior in our society, automatically leads to a double standard of health. Thus, for a woman to be healthy, from an adjustment viewpoint, she must adjust to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex, even though these behaviors are generally less socially desirable and considered to be less healthy for the generalized competent, mature adult (p. 6).

Clinicians are signficantly less likely to attribute traits which characterize healthy adults to a woman than they are to attribute these same traits to a healthy man. The clinicians apear to reflect stereotypes no different from the general population. This tends to support our earlier contention that counselors are no better or worse than other societal members in terms of sex bias. Obviously, clinicians need to examine critically their attitudes and position with respect to the adjustment notion of health.

Thomas and Stewart (1971) tried to "determine whether secondary school counselors respond more positively to female clients with traditionally feminine (conforming) goals than those with traditionally masculine (deviate) goals" . . . Information concerning the home, school, self-description, and personal values of high school girls were presented on audiotape to 64 practicing counselors and their responses were analyzed by sex and experience. The findings are as follows: "(a) Female counselors gave higher Acceptance scores to both deviate and conforming clients than did male counselors; (b) counselors, regardless of sex, rated conforming goals as more appropriate than deviate; (c) counselors, regardless of sex, rated female clients with deviate career goals to be more in need of counseling than those with conforming goals" (p. 352).

Hawley (1972) found that the feminine model held by 52 female counselors-in-training allowed a wider range of educational and career choices than the feminine model held by 45 female teachers-in-training. She suggested that counselors such as those represented in the study can help female clients become aware of a variety of life styles and career choices, without implying that any one choice is superior to any other.

Naffziger (1971) studied attitudes towards woman's roles among counselors, counselor educators and teachers of both sexes. He found that women described their ideal woman as one who is more extra-family oriented than the ideal projected by men. Although both men and women rejected the intra-family oriented ideal woman, women more strongly rejected her. Women were more accepting of working mothers. Women projected the ideal woman as being more responsible for the success of the marriage. Men suggested that career women are less attractive to men. On the other hand, men supported ideal women who would argue against authority. Naffziger found no significant differences by age (under 35, over 35) in the definitions of their ideal woman.

In another noteworthy study, Friedersdorf (1969) explored the relationship between male and female secondary school counselor attitudes toward the career planning of high school female students. The subjects were 106 counselors in Indiana schools. Twenty-seven male and 29 female counselors role-played a col-a non-college high school girl. The Strong Vocational Interest Blank for women a non-college-bound high school girl. The Strong Vocational Interest Blank for women was completed. The following conclusions were drawn:

1. Male and female counselors responded differently when role-playing as a college-bound high school girl versus role-playing as a non-college-bound high school girl.

2. Counselors perceived college-bound high school girls as identifying with cultural activities and skills involving verbal ability.

3. Items which reflected differences between college-bound versus non-college-bound girls were not the same for male and female counselors.

4. Both male and female counselors have at least some relatively distinctive attitudes toward which levels and types of occupations are realistic and appropriate for both college-bound and non-college-bound girls.

5. Male counselors associated college-bound girls with tradtionally feminine occupations at the semi-skilled level; female counselors perceived the college-bound girl as interested in occupations requiring a college education.

6. Male counselors tended to think of women in feminine roles characterized by feminine personality traits.

7. Female counselors tended to expand the traditional image of female work roles and protected women's roles into careers presently occupied.

8. Male counselors perceived the college-bound girl as having positive attitudes toward traditionally feminine occupations regardless of the classification level of the occupations. Occupations traditionally engaged in by men were not considered by male counselors as occupations that college-bound girls would like as careers.

The implication, obviously, is that some of the counselor attitudes reflected might have great impact on the goals of the female clients as expressed in counseling sessions.

In order to test the hypothesis that counselors were biased against women entering a "masculine" occupation, Pietrofesa and Schlossberg (1970) arranged interviews between counselor trainees and a coached female counselee in the counseling practicum at an urban university. During the counseling session the counselee informed the counselor that she was a transfer student to the university, that she was entering her junior year of college and could not decide whether to enter the field of engineering, a "masculine" occupation, or enter the field of education, a "feminine" occupation.

Each interview was tape recorded. At the end of the interview, the counselor was informed that the counselee had been coached and that the sessions and tapes were to be used for a research study. Counselors were requested not to mention their interviews to other counselors. After all counselors had conducted interviews, a brief discussion was held among the counselor group concerning their feelings about the counseling sessions. No other information was given the counselors. The subjects (counselors) in the study were students in a practicum during fall and winterquarters, 1968–69. The counselor group, then, consisted of 29, i.e., 16 males and 13 females. Tapes were reviewed and tabulated as to their bias by a male graduate student in guidance and counseling, a male counselor educator experienced in supervision of the counseling practicum, and a female college professor who was a former school psychologist with a research specialty. Frequencies and percentages were calculated and chi square was then used in a variety of configurations. The final stage of the project involved a content analysis of all biased statements.

The raters designated a counselor's statement as biased or prejudicial against the female counselee when she expressed interest in the "masculine" field and the counselor rejected this interest in favor of the "feminine" vocation Statements of rejection then included disapproval of the female counselee's desire to enter the "masculine" field—comments that implied disadvantages in entering that field, etc. A counselor's statement was considered biased for the female counselee when she expressed interest in the masculine occupation and the counselor supported or reinforced this expressed interest. Statements of positive bias toward females ranged from direct approvel to statements that subtly implied advantages in entering the masculine field.

The results of this study indicated that counselor bias exists against women entering a masculine occupation. Female counselors, interestingly enough, displayed as much bias as did their male counterparts. Percentage results strongly reinforce the conclusion that counselors are biased against women entering masculine fields. Of the total bias statements, 81.3 percent are against women, whereas only 18.7 percent are biased for women. A content analysis of the 79 biased statements made by the counselors in this study reveals that most negatively biased statements emphasized the masculinity of the field; working conditions and promotional opportunity were mentioned, but with less frequency. Trus, the pressures against women working in a field stereotyped as masculine were prevalent among this group.

In order to tabulate the statements, ten categories were devised so that negative bias (NB) and positive (PB) statements could be classified as to content.

The following examples of bias statements will give the flavor of the kinds of pressure counselors imposed.
Salary—Amount of monetary return
(NB) Money isn't everything.
(PB) You could make much more money as an engineer.
Status—Perception of self in vocation
(NB) The status of a women is higher in the field of teaching.
(PB) There is more prestige in becoming an engineer.
Marriage and Family—Family attachment
(NB) Would your husband resent your being an engineer?
(NB) You would only be gone from home during school hours if you taught school.
(PB) Being an engineer would not interfere with your becoming married.
Parents—Parental support
(NB) How do your parents feel about your entering engineering instead of education?
(PB) I am glad your parents want you to become an engineer.
Educational Time—Amount of time necessary for preparation to enter the vocational field.
(NB) Enginering would take five years and elementary education would be four years . . . These are things you might want to consider.
(PB) It may take longer to become an engineer but it is well worth it.
Educational Preparation—Classes one must take to enter the field and the kinds of classes already taken
(NB) The course work in engineering would be very difficult.
(PB) Your classwork up to now shows that you would do well as an engineer.
Promotional Opportunities—Advancement in position
(NB) There might be a holding of you back because you are a woman.
(PB) Your chances of promation would be good in engineering.
Hiring—Opportunity to enter field
(NB) They are not supposed to discriminate against women, but they still get around it.
(PB) The opportunities for a woman in engineering are good.
Working Conditions—Where, with whom, what kinds of work, and/or under what conditions work is done
(NB) Engineering . . . it is very, you know, technical, and very, I could use the term "unpeopled".
(PB) You could work at a relaxed pace as an engineer.
Masculine Occupation—Identification of occupation as masculine
(NB) You normally think of this as a man's field.
(PB) There is no such thing as a man's world anymore.

Pietrofesa and Schlossberg drew the following conclusions:

1. Counselors display more bias against females entering a so-called "masculine" occupation than for females entering a so-called "feminine" occupation.
2. Female counselors display as much bias against females as their male counterparts.
3. Content analysis of bias statements indicate that major stress is placed upon the "masculinity" of the occupation.

Several other studies have looked at in-counseling behaviors of counselors and their impact on women clients. Parker (1967) noted a relationship between directive and non-directive responses of male therapists and the sex of the counselee. Therapists made significantly more non-directive responses than directive responses to female clients than to their male counterparts. Heilbrun (1970) developed this thesis one step further when he tested the hypothesis that female clients' dependency needs were frustrated by the non-directive approach of male therapists, and as a result, they left therapy prematurely. The results of the study supported this contention. The Parker and Heilbrun research involved male counselors, and yet the sex of the counselor may be a most important ingredient. Pringle (1972), in an incomplete study, analyzing the interaction effects of (1) the sex of the high school client, (2) the sex of the high school counselor, and (3) the client behavior presented in the initial stages of the counseling interview, has preliminary findings which suggest there are significant differences occuring as a function of the match between counselor sex, client sex, and client behavior.

From the studies cited, it appears that counselors do ascribe roles to men and to women, and that counselor interview behavior reflects these biases.

### COUNSELING MATERIALS

When discussing counselor bias, it is essential to examine materials which are commonly used and relied upon in the counseling interview. Counselors need to evaluate critically every tool they use—whether it is description of fields in the Occupational Outlook Handbook, an interest inventory, a career brochure, or a college catalog. Does the information being presented or the test content reflect stereotyped roles for men and women? Do the materials contain biased statements which could lead a counselee in one direction rather than another? Do the materials reflect the past rather than the future? Are the materials reinforcing outmoded views of "women's place"?

Since interest inventories play a crucial role in career counseling, stemming partly from clients' continual insistence for specific feedback and answers, we must certainly assess the inventories to determine whether they are a freeing or restricting influence. Cole (1972), in a scientific description of present interest inventories, sees them as restricting: "The use of traditional women's occupational scales may have a severely limiting effect on the careers women consider" (p. 8). Harmon (1973), in a paper delivered at the American Personnel and Guidance Association Convention, listed and discussed the major interest inventories which contained "characteristics which may contribute to sexual bias."

Despite the growing awareness among leaders in the area of tests and measurements, practitioners—both men and women—are often unaware of the sexual bias inherent in the major inventories as presently constructed. In a recent meeting, the authors asked if the trained counselors present felt that the two most widely-used inventories. The Strong Vocational Interest Blank and the Kuder, were biased. A minority felt the inventories were biased. The counselors, generally considering the inventories as unbiased, seemed amazed by the presentation of a detailed description of the bias inherent in each test.

The extent of bias has been documented for one of the best inventories available. The Strong Vocational Interest Blank, by Schlossberg and Goodman (1972b). They point out four major limitations of The Strong Vocational Interest Blanks.

*First*, the Strong includes thirty-three occupations for men which are not listed for women—such as psychiatrist, author, journalist, physicist; it also includes thirty-seven occupations listed for women but not available for men including elementary teacher, art teacher and medical technologist. Since four hundred members of an occupation are an appropriate norm group for a SVIB scale, and census data indicate that in most instances at lest four hundred persons of the opposite sex are employed in an occupation reesrved for one sex on the SVIB, no justification exists for differential norm groups of each sex.

The *second* major limitation stems from the fact that when the same person takes both forms of the SVIB, the profiles turn out differently. For example, in a pilot study of which twenty-eight men and women took both forms of the SVIB, one woman scored high (A or B+ standard score) as a dental assistant physical therapist, occupational therapist on the women's profile, and physician, psychiatrist, psychologist on the men's form. One man scored high on personnel director, rehabilitation counselor, social worker, physical therapist, and community recreation administrator on the men's form, and guidance counselor, medical technologist, engineer, dietician, occupational therapist, physical therapist, registered nurse, licensed practical nurse, radiologic technologist, and dental assistant on the women's form.

The *third* major limitation stems from the current manual and handbook which offers guidelines to counselors which, if followed, could be harmful. For example, the current manual states, "Many young women do not appear to have strong occupational interests, and they may score high only in certain 'premarital' occupations; elementary school teacher, office worker, stenographer-secretary." "Such a finding is disappointing to many college women, since they are likely to consider themselves career-oriented. In such cases, the selection of an area of training or an occupation should probably be based upon practical considerations—fields that can be pursued part-time, are easily resumed after periods of non-employment, are readily available in different locales."

*Fourth*, the use of The Strong Vocational Interest Blanks may also be attacked on legal grounds—that the SVIB deprives women of their right to the Equal Protection of the Law and that the use of the SVIB is in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Schlossberg and Goodman, 1972b).

This detailed analysis is merely illustrative of one instrument. However, an equally biased picture becomes apparent no matter what guidance material one examines. For example, the opening paragraph in American College Testing Program's brochure describing their Career Planning Program reads:

> We all make career decisions—decisions affecting our educational and job futures. Sometimes we make these decisions by default because of what we didn't know or didn't do. Sometimes we are able to take charge, to discover our possibilities and weigh our choices. This report is designed to help YOU take charge.

However, at the bottom of the profile, there is a special note addressed to counselors:

> Counselors Notes: When a student is unlike other students entering an educational program, predictions for that program should be used with caution. For example, care should be used in interpreting predictions for a student of one sex in a program in which the other sex predominates (American College Testing, 1971).

A forthcoming revision of The Strong Vocational Interest Blank is an attempt to eliminate sexual bias. Clearly, we need further studies and revision of all guidance tests, materials, and occupational information. Analysis of these materials should be in terms of bias—not just against women but against all groups.

### IMPLICATIONS FOR TRAINING

Counselors, both male and female, have biases about female counselors. Counselor education programs must accept counselor bias as a fact and attempt to bring biased feelings into the open, so that counselors are able to control them, or better yet, remove them from their counseling and human encounters. Westervelt (1963) writes:

> . . . counselors who express the conviction that women's primary and socially essential roles are domestic and maternal and take place in the home may be reflecting a covert need to keep them there.
>
> Girls and women in the lower socio-economic brackets who particularly need counseling help to recognize and plan for paid employment will get little assistance from such counselors. Nor, of course, will these counselors help intellectually and educationally privileged girls to use their gifts and training to best advantage.
>
> . . . No formal, university-sponsored, graduate-level, degree-awarding program in counselor education requires even a one-semester course in social and psychological sex differences which affect development or provides focus on sex differences in a practicum or internship in counseling. . . .
>
> Trends toward the integration into counselor education, at basic levels, of more subject matter from social psychology, anthropology, sociology, and economics would also provide more exposure to materials on psycho-social sex differences and changing sex roles. Again, however, the effect of such exposure will depend on the student's initial sympathetic interest, since the material will be only a small part of a much larger whole (pp. 21–22).

Westervelt (1963) make references to the role, and more so, the importance of the practicum in the training of counselors:

> Counselors, guidance workers, and student personnel workers . . . should have as many opportunities as possible to counsel with females—and, ideally, with females of all ages, in order that, no matter what the age level with which they eventually work, they get an opportunity to observe first hand the patterns of continuity and discontinuity in feminine development. Counseling experience should not, however, be limited to working with females; opportunity to counsel with boys and men is most important, both because it will provide insights into psycho-social sex differences and because it will provide a chance to explore useful variations in approaches to counseling the two sexes. All counselors-in-training should be helped to identify, understand and work with sex differences in their counseling practicum or internship . . . (pp. 26–28).

Before one can implement these notions spelled out by Westervelt, the first task is to convince counselor educators that they, too, probably hold biases about age, sex, social class, and color. Each person might not hold biases in all four areas, but it is unquestionably true that each one of us holds certain beliefs about what is appropriate behavior for these groups. It is difficult to face these beliefs in ourselves; once recognized, it is difficult to control them in our counseling and programming.

The second task is for counselor educators to build this into training counselors. In which classes do we discuss these notions? How do we make explicit aspects of counselor behavior about which we know so little? While cognitive dimensions of age and sex bias can be integrated throughout a counselor education program, the practicum experience might afford the best opportunity to effectively deal with the more basic feelings of counselors. It also provides a vehicle where counselors come face-to-face with girls and women of all ages.

The third task is to begin developing materials for use in training counselors. One possibility would be the development of a self-administered instrument which might yield several bias scores. A more fruitful one, however, would be the use of situational vignettes where counselors are more likely to express what they truly feel. Paper and pencil inventories seem to allow for a more superficial, simply verbalized, egalitarian point-of-view than do situational experimental tasks.

## A TRAINING MODEL

We suggest and have implemented a four-pronged training model. The goal is simple—to enable counselors and teachers to participate with their constituency in an unbiased fashion. The following components are simply suggestive and obviously have to be adapted to specific settings in order to be operational.

1. Expanding the cognitive understanding of participants regarding the role of women through lectures and readings.
2. Raising the consciousness of participants regarding sexual bias through group techniques.
3. Promoting the acquisition of nonbiased helping skills among participants through audio-video taping and role playing.
4. Fostering skill development in program planning and implementation among participants through tutorial projects.

Each of these components will be briefly summarized so that the nature of training can be envisioned. This approach is based on fifty-six hours of training. We have found the most effective approach to be an intensive period of one week followed by sixteen hours of follow-up sessions during the year.

## EXPANSION OF COGNITIVE UNDERSTANDING

The intellectual dimension provides a convenient initial component. The approach must be interdisciplinary in nature. For example, experts in the fields of medicine, law, education, psychology, sociology, etc., have much to contribute to an understanding of women in our world. Lectures, panels, readings, and discussion provide the beginning steps of our training model.

## CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

After intellectual awakening, and before skill acquisition, counselors need to personalize their learnings. It is not enough to know intellectually that dentistry is a female occupation in Greece and could become a reality in our culture. Counselors must begin to look at their consciousness and deal with their values, attitudes, beliefs, and biases about sex roles.

A starting point might be to read "Women Which Includes Man, Of Course" (Wells, 1970), which is a description of sex-role reversal. This becomes the basis for self-exploration in group discussion. One technique we have found effective during this stage is the inner circle—outer circle or "fishbowl technique." In a recent workshop, seven members volunteered to sit in the inner circle with two co-leaders. In addition, the inner circle contained an empty chair. Each outer circle participant observed one member of the inner circle; the focus, in this case, was a discussion of Wells' book. The observer's reactions to the inner circle participant's behaviors were to be fed back to that circle member at a later time. In addition, outer circle participants could move freely into the empty chair when impelled to speak. After consciousness-raising experiences, including the "fishbowl" exercise, one male participant decided he could best attack sexual bias by applying for a job as a first-grade teacher in his school district.

### ACQUISITION OF HELPING SKILLS

Once a cognitive and affective base has been established, attention can be directed to specific skill acquisitions. Educational experiences are incomplete unless the participants can do something more effectively than when they began. Role playing and supervised practice provide the vehicle from which specific skills can emerge.

*Step one:* Participants role play situations which may elicit sex-biased behaviors. The trainers develop a paragraph which describes a specific situation involving two or more people. For example, one situation might involve a mother pressuring her daughter to become a teacher, while the daughter would like to become a doctor. The mother and daughter seek the help of a counselor to resolve the conflict. The scenario is role-played through to resolution and then discussed.

*Step two:* Participants pair-off as "helper" and "helpee." The helpees present situations in their lives in which sex role is an issue, while the helpers attempt a facilitative intervention. For example, one male helpee might discuss his relationship to his children while his wife works, or even his feeings about his wife's working. Another helpee might discuss the pressure she feels at work or a conflict with her children. The helper responds using attending, responding and initiating skills according to the Carkhuff model (1972 [a], 1972 [b]). Discussion follows each exercise, starting with the feelings of the helpee, helper, the other participants, and the supervisor. Evaluations, in terms of helper effectiveness, are made immediately using the five-point Carkhuff Scale.

*Step three:* Counselors participate in video and audio taping of actual counseling sessions. The tapes are shared and immediately critiqued in terms of implementation and acquisition of counseling skills. Special attention is paid to situations where counselor biases might affect the counseling interaction and counselee decision making.

### PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

In addition to understanding intellectually the role of women, raising one's consciousness and developing more effective human relationship skills, counselors must foster change in their own work settings, consequently, participants are asked to release their creative potentials to foster innovative programs resulting in better situations for women.

*Step One:* Supervisors work with participants in outlining systematic steps of program development.

*Step Two:* Participants work in groups with the task of zeroing in on a specific measurable, observable program which will improve conditions for women and which can be implemented in their own work settings.

*Step Three:* Participants return four months later with an outline of their goals, activities and evaluation to share with their counterparts.

In summary, participant experiences then would range from reading to actual supervised practice. Training would move from the usual cognitive vehicles—i.e., reading and listening—to learning through modeling, observation and discussion. Actual participation in role playing and supervised practice would be included in the formal program. Training would be followed with continuous evaluation of field practice and program development.

Evaluation would involve (1) participant self-evaluation, and (2) program evaluation. Participant evaluation could include paper-and-pencil tests, observation of self and others, and peer and supervisor feedback. The typical pre-post testing and participant critiques would be part of the evaluation of program development. All individual evaluation of participants would be confidential. Group data would be available for research.

### SUMMARY

Sexual bias, whether displayed knowingly or not, affects counselor performance. Several studies have supported this fact. Counselors reflect such bias through in-counseling behaviors and through some of the materials they use.

This article discusses the relevant research surrounding this problem and *proposes a model of training to help counselors reduce sex bias.*

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## Imperative for Change: Counselor Use of the Strong Vocational Interest Blanks

Women can and do sell insurance and real estate. They become doctors, lawyers, certified public accountants, police officers and ministers. Men have entered the field of nursing, life insurance underwriting, sales clerking, elementary teaching. Yet, if one fills out the Strong Vocational Interest Blank form designated solely for his or her sex, these occupational choices cannot be made. The use of the Strong as it is presently constructed is at best arbitrary and insensitive and at worst in violation of civil rights statutes, precedents and executive orders.

Many people today have become concerned about women's limited occupational opportunities. One specific cause of this limitation is the vocational guidance women receive at the high school and college level. In Nancy Cole's introduction to a scientific discussion of the major interest inventories, she writes:

"The application of civil rights to discrimination against women in hiring practices and in salary levels, the public attention gained by the women's liberation movement, and the increasing number of women who enter the work force each year seem to be combining to produce a large number of women with access to a greatly increasing variety of careers. Vocational interest inventories which have often been constructed primarily for use with men are commonly used to assist women in making career decisions. However, the investigation of such uses has necessarily been limited to concern with those occupations which women have entered in great numbers, traditional women's occupations. *Therefore, it is increasingly important that the appropriateness of present inventories for use with women with access to the whole range of occupations be carefully examined.*" [emphasis added, Cole, undated.]

The most commonly used interest inventory, the SVIB, limits choices for both sexes. First, the Strong includes 33 occupations for men which are not listed for women—such as psychiatrist, author-journalist, physicist; the Strong includes 37 occupations listed for women but not available for men including elementary teacher, art teacher, medical technologist. There are men and women in these unlisted occupations and norm groups could be devised for them.

Research on the SVIB indicates that 400 members of an occupation are an appropriate norm group for a SVIB scale. Campbell states,

". . . the following guideline, based on a variety of statistics and experience, appears reasonable: samples of 400 are preferable, samples of 300 are sufficient, and samples of 200 are adequate." [Campbell, 1971, p. 30.]

The following census data indicate that in most instances where we could obtain this information, at least 400 persons are employed of the opposite sex in an occupation reserved for one sex on the SVIB (see Tables I and II).

In addition to the limitation of not being scored on the same occupations as men, the women's occupations are, on the whole, of lower status and therefore of lower salary. For example, in the field of psychology, men and women receive scores on the occupations psychologist and social worker. They each are scored on one more psychology occupation. For women it is guidance counselor; for men, psychiatrist. Senior C.P.A. and accounting are men's occupations according to the SVIB; accountant alone is a woman's. Community recreation administrator and sales manager are on the men's form, recreation leader and saleswoman are on the women's.

Second, although many counselors point out that they give both men's and women's forms to their female clients, few we have chosen give both forms to their male clients. In addition, giving a client both forms does not solve the problem since it imposes an extra cost and doubles the testing time.

Furthermore, then the same person takes both forms of the SVIB, the profiles turn out differently. For example, in a pilot study by the authors in which 28 men and women took both forms of the SVIB, one woman scored high (A or B+ standard score) as a dental assistant, physical therapist, occupational therapist on the women's profile; and physician, psychiatrist, psychologist on the men's form. One man scored high on personnel director, rehabilitation counselor, social worker, physical therapist, and community recreation administrator on the men's form; and guidance counselor, medical technologist, engineer, dietician, occupational therapist, physical therapist, registered nurse, licensed practical nurse, radiologic technologist and dental assistant on the women's form.

*Men employed in occupations listed only on the women's form of the SVIB*

| Occupations not listed for men on the SVIB: | Number of men employed in each occupation |
|---|---|
| 1. Airline stewardess | 1, 500 |
| 2. Army, enlisted | 1, 326, 326 |
| 3. Art teacher[1] | 65, 859 |
| 4. Beautician | 47, 500 |
| 5. Buyer | (2) |
| 6. Dental assistant | (2) |
| 7. Dietician | 3, 000 |
| 8. Director—Christian Ed | (2) |
| 9. Elementary teacher | 143, 163 |
| 10. English teacher | 44, 137 |
| 11. Entertainer | 8, 559 |
| 12. Executive housekeeper | (2) |
| 13. Guidance counselor | 15, 000 |
| 14. Home economics teacher | (2) |
| 15. Instrument assembly | (2) |
| 16. Interior decorator | (2) |
| 17. Language teacher | 16, 629 |
| 18. Licensed practical nurse | 3, 859 |
| 19. Life insurance underwriter[3] | 329, 270 |
| 20. Medical technologist | 6, 000 |
| 21. Model | (2) |
| 22. Navy, enlisted | 680, 483 |
| 23. Navy officer | 86, 525 |
| 24. Newswomen[4] | 63, 279 |
| 25. Nun-teacher | (2) |
| 26. Occupational therapist | 700 |
| 27. Physical education teacher | (2) |
| 28. Public health nurse | 4, 000 |
| 29. Radiologic technologist | 25, 000 |
| 30. Recreation leader | 27, 000 |
| 31. Registered nurse | 66, 000 |
| 32. Saleswoman | 1, 12[illegible], 000 |
| 33. Secretary | 100, 000 |
| 34. Sewing machine operator | (2) |
| 35. Speech pathologist[5] | 4, 500 |
| 36. Telephone operator | 15, 119 |
| 37. Translator | (2) |

[1] Includes artists.
[2] Not available.
[3] Includes agents and brokers.
[4] Includes editors.
[5] Included audiologists.

The dramatically different profiles result from two areas of discrimination. The first is the different occupations listed for each sex. The second is the different scoring requirements for an occupation even when listed on both forms. In the pilot study referred to above, nine women scored high on the occupation physician on the men's form, and only four on the women's form. Had the women, as is usual, taken only the women's form, five of them would not have had the opportunity to consider medicine as a career through the use of the SVIB. In this same pilot study, nine women scored high on the occupation psychiatrist and ten on the occupation of advertising, neither of which is available on the women's form. Of the ten men taking the women's form, seven scored high on the occupation guidance counselor, six on recreation leader, and five on speech pathologist, none of which are available on the men's form.

Thirdly, in addition to the inequities mentioned, both the current manual and handbook offer guidelines to counselors which, if followed, could be harmful. For example, the current manual states,

"Many young women do not appear to have strong occupational interests, and they may score high only in certain 'premarital' occupations; elementary school teacher, office worker, stenographer, secretary. Such a finding is disappointing to many college women, since they are likely to consider themselves career oriented. In such cases, the selection of an area of training or an occupation should probably be based on practical considerations—fields that can be pursued part-time, are easily resumed after periods of non-employment, and are readily available in different locales."

The *Handbook*, the most recent publication on the SVIB states,

> There is nothing in these data to suggest that the relationship between women's interests and occupational characteristics is any different from that found among men. Yet, occupational planning for young women will necessarily be different from that done by young men because of their different roles. How to integrate these matters of interests into the realities of a young wife and mother's life is not well understood but, as the strategies of planning must be supplemented somehow, these scales should provide some systematic data to help direct the feminine decision. [Campbell, 1971, pp. 191, 193.]

Thus, it can be seen that in the alternatives provided for men and women taking the test, in the method of scoring and in the manuals available to counselors, the SVIB consistently limits occupational choices for men and women to the detriment of both.

***Women employed in occupations listed only on the men's form of the SVIB***

| Occupations not listed for women on the SVIB: | *Number of women employed in each occupation* |
|---|---|
| 1. Advertising man | [1] 4,682 |
| 2. Air Force officer | [2] 4,858 |
| 3. Architect | [1] 765 |
| 4. Author-journalist | [1] 44,510 |
| 5. Biologist | [1] 3,720 |
| 6. Carpenter | [1] 2,640 |
| 7. Chamber of Commerce executive | ([3]) |
| 8. Community recreation administrator | ([3]) |
| 9. CPA owner | ([3]) |
| 10. Credit manager | ([3]) |
| 11. Farmer [4] | [1] 711 |
| 12. Forest service man [5] | [1] 778 |
| 13. Funeral director [6] | [1] 2,207 |
| 14. Life insurance sales [7] | [1] 35,287 |
| 15. Minister | [1] 4,695 |
| 16. Office worker | ([3]) |
| 17. Osteopath | [1] 474 |
| 18. Personnel director | [8] 27,500 |
| 19. Pharmacist | [1] 7,129 |
| 20. Physicist | [8] 1,354 |
| 21. Policeman | [1] 6,200 |
| 22. President manufacturing | [1] 20,887 |
| 23. Printer | [1] 3,131 |
| 24. Production | ([3]) |
| 25. Psychiatrist | ([3]) |
| 26. Public administrator | [1] 28,067 |
| 27. Purchasing agent | [8] 14,000 |
| 28. Real estate sales | [8] 56,250 |
| 29. Rehabilitation counselor | [8] 2,400 |
| 30. Sales manager | ([3]) |
| 31. School superintendent | ([3]) |
| 32. Senior CPA | [8] 2,000 |
| 33. Veterinarian | [1] 306 |

[1] United States Bureau of the Census. United States Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1. Characteristics of the Population. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1964.

[2] Executive Office of the President. Bureau of the Budget: The Budget of the United States Government, cited in United States Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1970 (91st edition), Washington, D.C., 1970.

[3] Not available.

[4] Only farm managers are included to exclude those women who are listed as farmers solely because of their status as farmers' wives.

[5] Includes conservationists.

[6] Includes embalmers.

[7] Includes agents and underwriters.

[8] Occupational Outlook Handbook, 1970–71 edition, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

## WHAT CAN THE PRACTICING COUNSELOR DO?

The SVIB is being revised. But until such time as that revision is completed and eliminates the inventory's discrimination, we have four suggestions for the practicing counselor:

(1) Always give both the men's and women's forms to all clients. Although this still allows a man to compare himself only to women in 37 occupations and women to compare themselves only to men in 33 occupations, we feel this is better than ignoring the 70 occupations available if only one form is taken;

(2) Scores should be used as locators of interest areas. The counselor can use scores on the SVIB as a starting point for occupational brainstorming with a client; that is, as a basis for extrapolation to related occupations. The SVIB answer sheet provides a convenient format for doing this, since the occupational scores are arranged by a combination of statistical and logical analyses into groups of related occupations. For example, a woman receiving high scores on chemist and physician should receive a list of additional occupations which are grouped with physician or chemist on both forms, i.e., group VI on the women's form and groups I and II on the men's. The additional occupations for this particular woman would include dentist, osteopath, veterinarian, psychiatrist, psychologist, biologist, architect, mathematician, physicist, engineer, medical technologist, computer programmer, math-science teacher and engineer.

A man receiving high scores on physical therapist and engineer should receive a list of additional occupations which are grouped with physical therapist or engineer on either form, i.e., group II on the men's form and groups VI and X on the women's form. The occupational list for this man would include architect, mathematician, physicist, chemist and engineer (group II, men's form); physician, dentist, medical technologist, computer programmer and math-science teacher (group VI, women's form): physical education teacher, occupational therapist, physical therapist, public health nurse, registered nurse, licensed practical nurse, radiologic technologist and dental assistant (group X, women's form).

To summarize, the client's A and B+ scores on both the men's and women's forms provide the basis for developing a wide range of occupational possibilities for the client. The counselor can take each of the A and B+ scores and then examine the group of related occupations into which each score falls. The total list of occupations given to the client then contains all original scores and all occupations categorized with the original scores.

Those clients taking only one form of the SVIB will, of course, have fewer options to consider. However, the creative counselor can still extrapolate by examining all the related occupations on the form taken and then locating these occupations on the other form to see if new alternatives present themselves. For example, a woman taking only the women's form and receiving a high score on recreational leader should also consider the occupation community recreation administrator, found on the men's form. She should also consider all of the occupations grouped with it, as well as those grouped with recreational leader on the women's form. A man taking only the men's form and receiving a high score on rehabilitation counselor should also consider the occupation occupational therapist, found only on the women's firm, and all of the occupations grouped with it, as well as those grouped with rehabilitation counselor on the men's form.

This principle, i.e., looking at similar occupations on the two forms, should also be applied to those people taking both forms. Research have shown that people do not always receive high scores on related occupations on the two forms, probably because of the different composition of the norm groups.

(3) Write to the publishers of the SVIB, Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, California, supporting the current changes in the inventory. We urge the publishers to fund the development of new norm groups for all the occupations not listed on both forms. For example, there are 66,000 registered male nurses, yet the only norm group of registered nurses consists of women on the women's form. There are 2,000 women senior C.P.A.'s, yet the only norm group of C.P.A.'s consists of men on the men's form.

## WHERE WE STAND

The authors introduced a resolution to the American Personnel and Guidance Association Senate, calling for the formation of a Commission which would insure that the revision currently underway proceed with appropriate speed and eliminate to the inequities of the Strong. The resolution, referred to the Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance (AMEG), has been passed. We hope that this Commission will be appointed soon and will help to insure that the SVIB remain the best vocational interest instrument there is and become one which counselors can use to help all their clients formulate vocational decisions.

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## ON MEASURING THE VOCATIONAL INTERESTS OF WOMEN

(By Nancy S. Cole)

The application of civil rights laws to discrimination against women in hiring practices and in salary levels, the public attention gained by the women's liberation movement, and the increasing number of women who enter the work force each year seem to be combining to produce a large number of women with access to a greatly increasing variety of careers. Vocational interest inventories which have often been constructed primarily for use with men are commonly used to assist women in making career decisions. However, the investigation of such uses has necessarily been limited to concern with those occupations which women have entered in great numbers, traditional women's occupations. Therefore, it is increasingly important that the appropriateness of present inventories for use with women with access to the whole range of occupations be carefully examined.

Much research has suggested that present inventories yield several types of meaningful information about women's vocational interests. A number of studies have reported similar types of differences between career-oriented and home-oriented women (Astin, 1968; Gysbers, Johnston, & Gust, 1968; Harmon, 1970; Hoyt & Kennedy, 1958; Rand, 1968; Schissel, 1968; Surette, 1967; Wagman, 1966; and others). Astin (1968) and Harmon (1970) have studied the development of vocational interests in women using standard inventories, and Harmon (1969) examined the long-term stability of interest measures for women. Many occupational scales for women have been successfully validated (e.g., Campbell & Soliman, 1968; Darley & Hagenah, 1955; Harmon & Campbell, 1968; Strong, 1943). Thus, several types of useful information about women's vocational interests are provided by present inventories.

However, a number of questions remain about the use of present inventories with women considering vocations not traditionally associated with women. When the results of inventories center around women's occupational scales which have necessarily been limited to traditional women's occupations, the result may be to limit consideration to the occupations presented although, in fact, the options may be much broader. If there are similarities in the patterns and interrelationships of women's interests to those found for men, it may be possible to make inferences from data for women to the entire range of men's occupations, thus eliminating the limiting effect of using only the traditional women's vocations. It is the purpose of this paper to consider this possibility by examining the structure of women's interests, in terms of inventory scales and occupational groups, to compare this structure with that found for men, and finally to suggest what inferences, if any, can be made from women's interests to the entire career spectrum.

### STUDY 1: THE STRUCTURE OF WOMEN'S INTERESTS

In a recent paper, Cole and Hanson (1971) examined the structure of vocational interests of men in several interest inventories. Their results indicated a common structure (or pattern of interrelationships) of interests across all the inventories considered. The common structure followed the two-dimensional circular arrangement of scales proposed by Roe (1956) and Holland, Whitney, Cole, and Richards (1969). In Holland's terms the circular arrangement is from Realistic to Intellectual to Artistic to Social to Enterprising to Conventional and back to Realistic.

Cole and Hanson (1971) suggested that knowledge of such a circular arrangement could assist in the interpretation of the inventories, particularly with occupations for which no specific scales exist. In the case of women, interpretation in the absence of particular occupational scales could be especially useful in this time of vocational transition. Therefore, the purpose of Study 1 was to examine the structure of women's interests in the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the Kuder Occupational Interest Survey, Holland's Vocational Preference Inventory, and the ACT Vocational Interest Profile to discover if a common structure existed and, if so, to explore how it compared with that found for men.

### *Method*

*The Analysis of spatial configuration.* Following Cole and Hanson (1971), an analysis of spatial configuration (Cole & Cole, 1970) was used to examine the relationship of scales for women in the four inventories, the Strong, the Kuder, Holland's inventory, and the ACT instrument. The analysis gave (1) the degree to which the variation on the scales can be accounted for by a two-dimensional configuration of the scales, and (2) the particular configuration of the interest scales when plotted on a two-dimensional surface.

*Data.* Separate correlation matrices of the scales in each of the interest inventories were submitted to the analysis described. The intercorrelations of 27 Strong occupational scales for 300 women were given in Strong (1959), and those for 19 Strong basic scales for women were taken from Campbell (1971, p. 168). The *Kuder Occupational Interest Survey Manual* (Kuder, 1966, pp. 56–57) gave intercorrelations of 21 core scales for 280 women. The intercorrelations of the 6 Holland scales for 2,433 women were reported in the *ACT Guidance Profile Manual* (The American College Testing Program, 1968, p. 29), and those for the 8 scales of the ACT inventory for 655 women were given in the *Handbook for the ACT Career Planning Program* (The American College Testing Program, 1972).

The Kuder inventory posed a special problem as the 21 core scales on which data were reported for women included 14 scales constructed on men but scored for women along with 7 scales constructed on women. In addition, of the 14 men's scales, 9 were occupational groups and 5 groups of educational majors while 2 of the 7 women's scales were also educational majors. Also, the 7 women's scales were traditional women's occupational areas primarily of the social type which would be expected to give only a small segment of the Holland circle. Because of this unusual mix of scales and because comparisons across scales derived on different sex groups is not recommended on the Kuder, only the 9 male-constructed occupational scales were analyzed. This group of scales seemed most likely to show any whole circle configuration which might exist.

### *Results*

*Goodness of fit of the two dimensions.* The goodness of fit of a planar surface to the points representing scales of an inventory was measured by the percentage of the trace given by the first two dimensions in the analysis of spatial configuration. The percentage of the trace may be interpreted as the proportion of the variance of the scale points accounted for by two dimensions.

Table 1 gives the results for the fit of the plane for each of the five analyses. The results were comparable to those found with men by Cole and Hanson (1971) in each case. Four of the five analyses indicated a good fit of the scale configuration to the plane with percentages of the trace near 60%. The Strong basic scales gave much poorer fit (as occurred with men) as was expected since the scales were constructed to be as independent as possible.

TABLE 1.—GOODNESS OF FIT OF THE PLANES

| Inventory | Number of scales | Percentage trace |
|---|---|---|
| Strong occupational scales | 27 | 59.0 |
| Strong basic scales | 19 | 34.3 |
| Kuder occupational scales | 9 | 61.7 |
| Holland's VPI scales | 6 | 59.7 |
| ACT VIP scales | 8 | 59.5 |

The planar configurations. The scale points were projected onto the best-fitting planar surface for each of the inventories, and the configurations were oriented in the same general way for visual comparisons. Figure 1 gives the configuration of Holland's six scales. The configuration corresponded to that reported by Holland et al. (1969) and Edwards and Whitney (1971) and showed the circular ordering from Realistic to Intellectual to Artistic to Social to Enterprising to Conventional.

The configurations of the 27 Strong occupational scales, the 19 Strong basic scales, the 9 Kuder scales, and the 8 ACT scales are given in Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. In each case the configurations tended to follow the Holland ordering and were, in addition, similar to the comparable configurations for men reported in Cole and Hanson (1971). For example, of the Strong occupational scales in Figure 2, math-science teacher, dentist, physician, psychologist, author, life insurance salesman, and office worker were located in very similar positions to the corresponding scales for men (Cole & Hanson, 197, p. 48), and in both cases the scales conformed to the Holland circular ordering. For each inventory examined, the Realistic-Intellectual scales tended to be found in the upper left quadrant, the Artistic scales to the upper right, and the Social-Enterprising-Conventional scales from right to left in the lower half of the configuration.

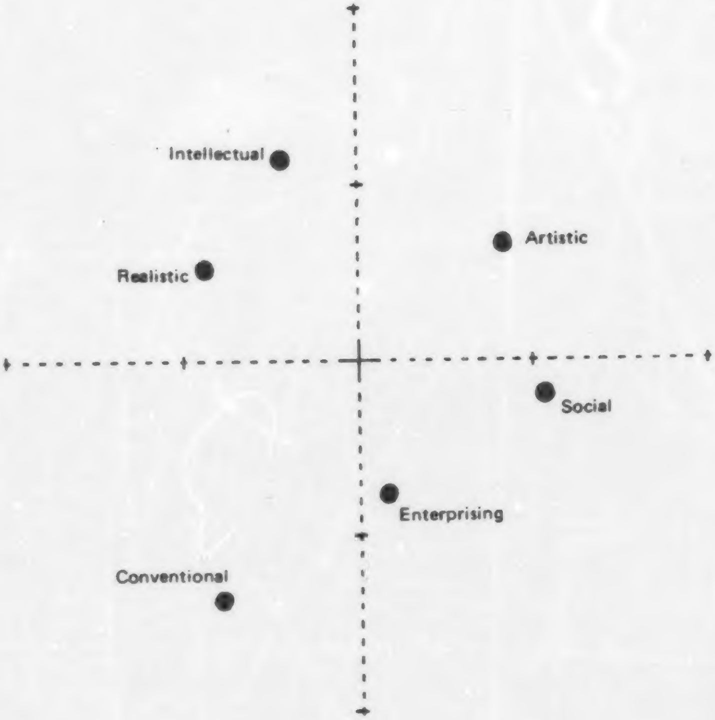

**Figure 1.—Spatial configuration for women of Holland's six Vocational Preference Inventory scales.**

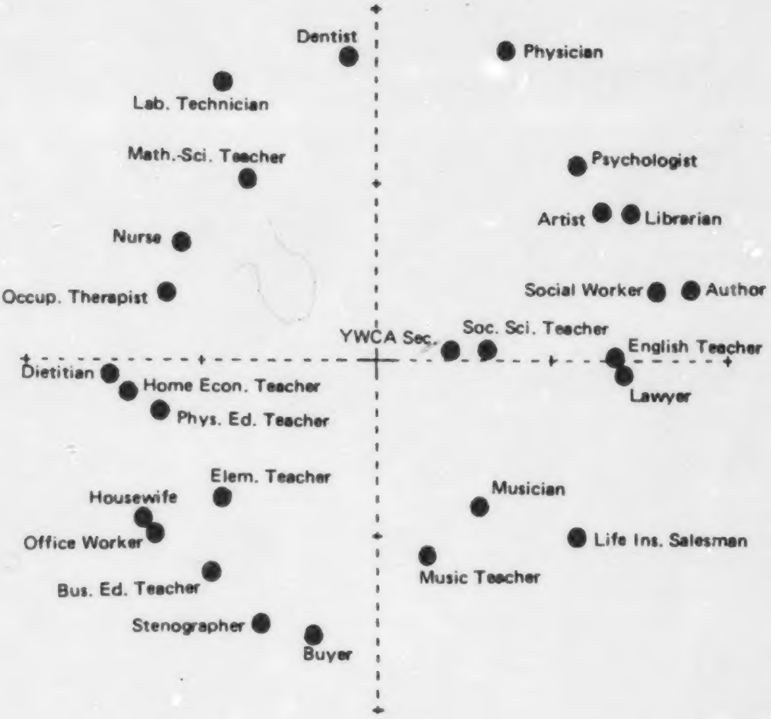

FIGURE 2.—Spatial configuration for women of 27 Strong Vocational Interest Blank occupational scales.

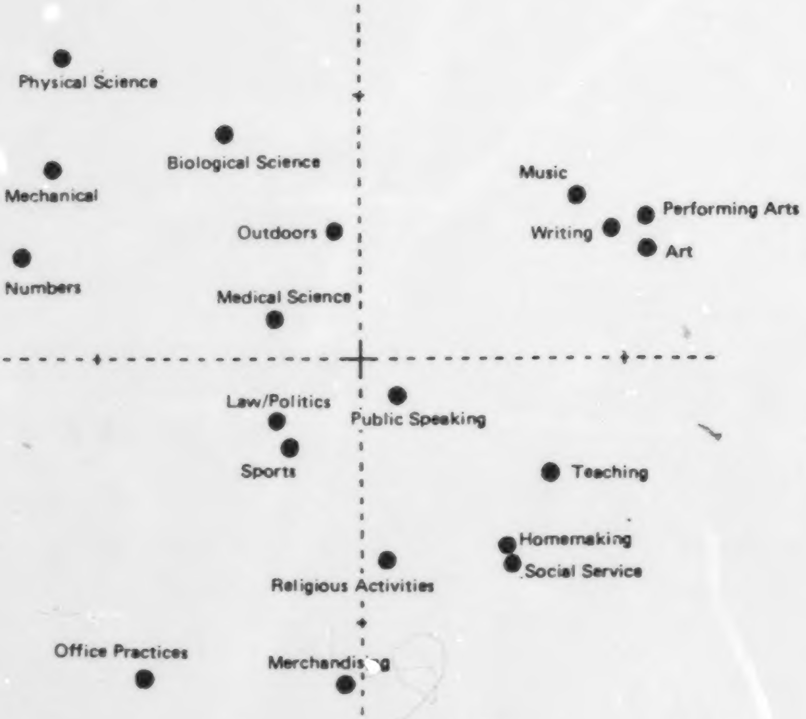

FIGURE 3.—Spatial configuration for women of 19 Strong Vocational Interest Blank Basic scales.

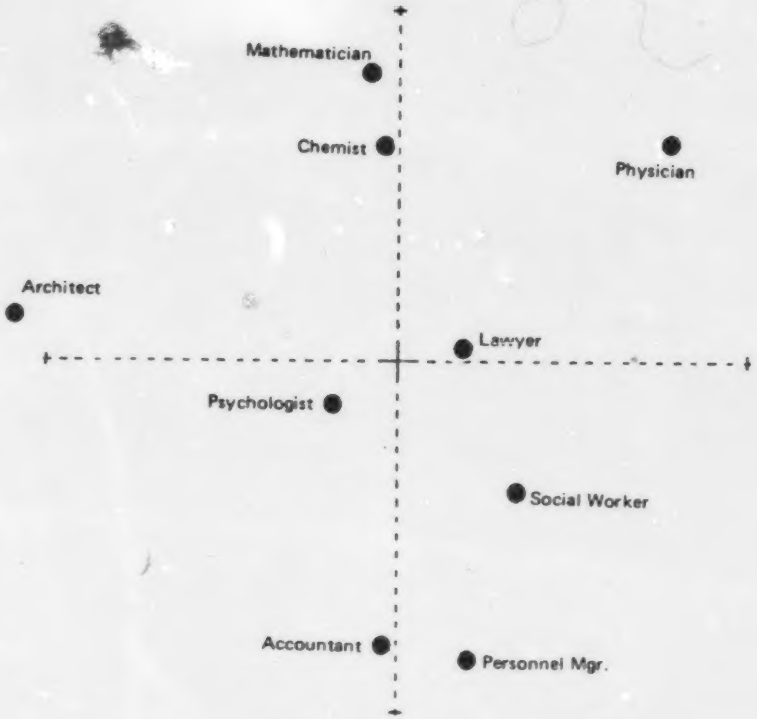

FIGURE. 4.—Spatial configuration for women of 9 Kuder Occupational Interest Survey scales.

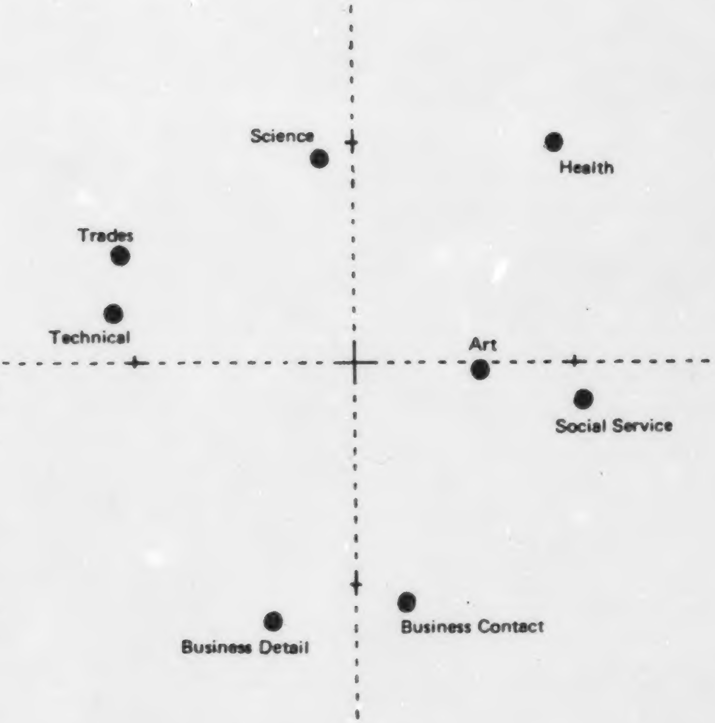

**Figure 5.**—Spatial configuration for women of 8 ACT Vocational Interest Profile scales.

### Discussion

In this study we have found that women's interests can be represented in a two-dimensional configuration and that the configurations generally conform to those reported by Cole and Hanson (1971) for men. The existence of a structure in the interests of women similar to that found for men could be valuable in interpreting women's interests, especially in cases where specific scales for women in careers dominated by men are unavailable.

In the next study we examined interest inventory scores of women selecting particular vocations to get further information about the pervasiveness of the Holland configuration in the vocational interests of women.

## STUDY 2: OCCUPATIONAL CONFIGURATIONS

Additional information about the interest patterns of women in a variety of occupations can be obtained by constructing occupational configurations. Cole, Whitney, and Holland (1971) used the analysis of spatial configuration to construct a configuration of occupations for men based on Holland's VPI. The results both confirmed and supplemented the analyses of Cole and Hanson (1971). In this study we constructed two occupational configurations for women, one based on Holland's VPI and one based on the ACT VIP, in order to compare the occupational configurations with the inventory scale configurations and to gain additional information about occupational groups for which no scales are available.

### Method

*Data.* The data for one of the occupational configurations were scores on the six scales of Holland's VPI and expressed vocational choice of 6,143 female college freshmen in a sample described by Abe, Holland, Lutz, and Richards (1965). Expressed vocational choice was obtained by asking the students to select from a list of over 70 occupations "the occupation you plan to enter." Mean VPI scores were computed for all students selecting each of 22 occupations with adequate frequency of selection and expected diversity in the configuration.

For the second occupational configuration, the data were scores on the eight scales of the ACT VIP and expressed vocational choice for women entering 2-year colleges. The students selected their vocational choices from a list of over 150 occupations. Mean ACT VIP scores were computed for students selecting each of 13 occupations.

*Analysis.* Cole and Cole (1970) described a procedure for projecting group means onto the space of the variables produced from the analysis of spatial configuration described in Study 1. The analysis yields a projection matrix with which the occupational group means can be plotted on the same surface as the scale configuration. The result is then a configuration of occupational groups. This procedure was used by Cole et al. (1971) to obtain an occupational configuration for men based on scores on Holland's VPI. In this study the analysis was applied to data for women from Holland's inventory and from the ACT VIP to obtain two occupational configurations for women.

### Results

Figure 6 gives the occupational map for 22 women's vocational choice groups based on Holland's VPI. The map in Figure 6 can be superimposed on that of the Holland scales in Figure 1 to relate the inventory scales and the occupational groups. The configuration in Figure 6 was clearly compatible with the scale configuration in Figure 1—that is, social-type occupations such as social worker, elementary school teacher, history teacher, and counselor fell in the same area as the Social scale. In addition, the configuration of occupations was quite similar to that found for men by Cole et al. (1971).

In Figure 7 the configuration is given for 13 occupational choice groups based on the ACT VIP scores of a sample of women entering 2-year colleges. No scientific occupations were available on this group and therefore the upper left quadrant is vacant. However, even on this different sample of women, the occupations again conformed to the scale configuration in Figure 4 and to the general Holland circular ordering.

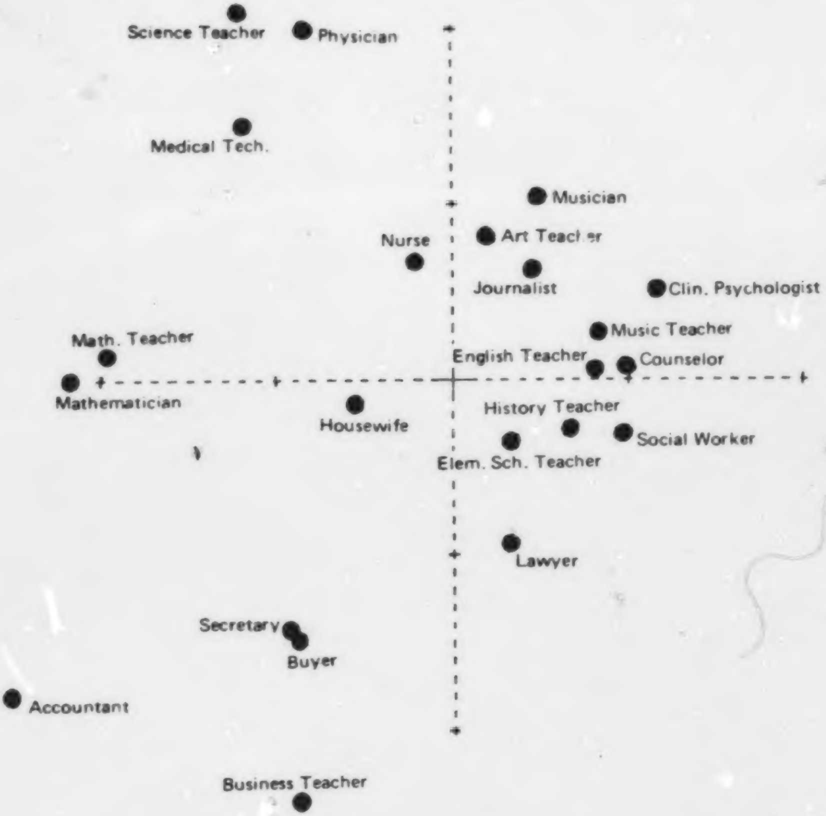

FIGURE 6.—Spatial configuration of occupations based on women's responses to Holland's Vocational Preference Inventory. The number in each occupational group is given below.

Accountant—174
Art Teacher–93
Business Teacher–89
Buyer–55
Clin. Psychologist–48
Counselor–76
Elem. Sch. Teacher–1497
English Teacher–306
History Teacher–154
Housewife–122
Journalist–57

Lawyer–32
Mathematician–54
Math. Teacher–144
Medical Tech.–111
Musician–43
Music Teacher–74
Nurse–301
Physician–79
Science Teacher–45
Secretary–267
Social Worker–140

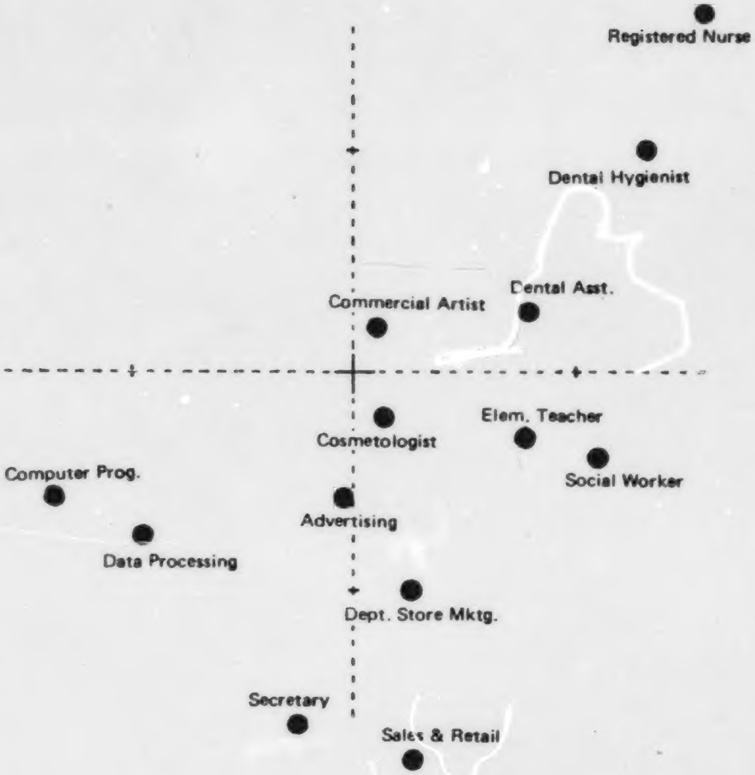

FIGURE 7.—Spatial configuration of occupations based on women's responses to the ACT Vocational Interest Profile. The number in each occupational group is given below.

Advertising–20
Commercial Artist–38
Computer Prog.–178
Cosmetologist–158
Data Processing–231
Dental Assistant–313
Dental Hygienist–129

Dept. Store Mktg.–22
Elem. Teacher–89
Registered Nurse–843
Sales & Retail–79
Secretary–988
Social Worker–58

*Discussion*

The similarities of the occupational configurations based on two samples of women (one sample of 4-year college students and another of 2-year college students) and two different inventories lend further support for the pervasiveness of the Holland circular ordering in the vocational interests of women.

## IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary concern of this paper has been how interest inventories can be used with women in order to provide useful information about the full range of careers currently being opened to them. As was noted earlier, the use of traditional women's occupational scales may have a severely limiting effect on the careers women consid[illegible] Yet at this time of transition, the only data available are those on traditiona[illegible] women's occupations. In this section we examine the implications of the studies presented here for a different kind of use of present interest inventories with women with newly increased career options.

The two studies in this paper indicated that when women's interests were compared with those of other women, the resulting structure of interests was essentially the same as that found for men. In addition, when there were occupations which both men and women pursue, these occupations tended to fit in similar positions within the structure for both men and women. These results suggested that by locating a women's interests within the observed circular structure, one could indicate similarities not only with the locations of women's occupations but also with men's occupations at a corresponding location in the structure for men.

The Holland VPI and the ACT VIP are well suited to this approach since they contain scales which refer to areas of the circular structure and are identical for men and women. Thus, on these two inventories one need only identify the scales on which a woman's scores are relatively high when compared with scores of other women and refer here to both the men's and women's occupations which relate to those scales.

The same type of information is also available in the Strong and the Kuder, although in a less direct way. For these two inventories, the present scales should be used *only* to locate a woman's interests on the circular structure or in the primary categories of the structure. Then lists of both men's and women's occupations which relate to that location should be provided. On the Strong, either the women's occupational scales, the women's basic scales, or the more ideally suited new Strong-Holland scales could be used at the initial step. The women's occupational scales on the Kuder are so limited that the male-derived scales are probably better-suited for the purpose of locating women's interests on the circular structure.

There are two additional implications which should be mentioned. First, the procedures suggested here are different from the tradition of empirical group comparison common to both the Strong and the Kuder (although not inconsistent with the more recent work on the more general Strong basic scales). We argue not necessarily against the empirical approach but just that the lack of available data should not be used to limit women's career options, especially when a viable alternative exists. A second point deserving notice is that the results of the studies presented here do not imply that women's and men's interests do not differ. In fact, evidence is abundant that there are distinct differences presently in this society. The results imply instead that the interrelationships of interests do not differ and, for example, that a woman whose interests are relatively more scientific than those of other women may look more like a scientist in her interest pattern even though she may still have the high social interests of most women.

In summary, while present interest inventories sometimes include traditional women's occupational scales which could limit women's career options, the present inventories show a common structure of women's interests which parallels that found for men. By using this structure, women may be given information about how their interests relate to the full spectrum of occupations, including those associated traditionally with either men or women.

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## STATEMENT OF DR. NANCY K. SCHLOSSBERG, OFFICE OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. SCHLOSSBERG. I am delighted to be here and because I have not met Mrs. Chisholm. Mrs. Mink or you, Mr. Hawkins, I would like to identify myself so that the questions you may, as will, relate to my field of expertise.

I have just been the director of the new office of women in higher education for 3 weeks. Before that I was a counselor educator at Wayne State University. I think that is relevant to some of the points that have come up.

In addition, at Wayne State University, where I was an associate professor, I was the Chairperson on the Commission of the Status of Women and then I was the elected Chairperson of the college of education faculty.

So, I have been very involved in the subjects of education as well as counselor training.

Rather than repeat many fine points that have been made, let me focus on some things that were not covered.

One thing that was continually discussed at Wayne State by the president and the commission was why was the commission also fighting for special money for women. I am sure this question will be raised in regard to this bill.

My answer to this stems from a lot of the research I know about and have done in various subgroups in university campuses. I hypothesize that any group which either numerically or by image is seen as different from the majority needs special visibility.

For example, I did a study of all of the adult men 35 and over who were undergraduates at Wayne University. This subgroup felt a strong need for a place of their own. They felt discriminated against. They felt downtrodden. They felt idiotic in many of the classes. I mention men because we have only been talking about women.

But this bill will help all people, men as well as women.

At Wayne State we did one of the few studies of commuter students. The residential students at Wayne State felt a need for a special place. The commuters at a residential campus need special visibility. The list could go on, blacks in white universities, whites in black universities.

I contend that special services are not necessarily forever but are definitely needed as a vehicle to enable the group in question to emerge with self-confidence and equality. The aloneness that the men in my study experienced, the fear of trying out untraditional routes that women are continually counseled to express and the anger that individuals feel in fighting and usually losing with the bureaucracy are testimony to the need for special attention.

The issue before us is: How could funds generated by this bill be used to improve educational opportunities for women? My remarks will be addressed to an important area of concern which is my own field of specialization, that of vocational counseling.

In the past month, I have had a 55-year-old widow discouraged from entering dental school calling me frankly, an undergraduate woman who called me because she was discouraged from majoring in engineering, a high school girl from taking advanced classes in science and math. Counselor bias is certainly not limited to women; men wishing to enter a feminine profession like nursing would undoubtedly be discouraged by many counselors. Likewise, minority group members have long been counseled to be realistic about their place in the world of work.

A woman who wanted to get into social work was called and told, "We can't accept you because your husband lives too far away, because if you come here it might disrupt your family life."

I hear all the time of instances of counselor bias. My dream in life is to hear somebody say to me, "Nancy, a counselor helped me," but I never heard that. Well, anyway, I still have a few years to live.

Now, I am very, very concerned about counselor bias. I am concerned that counselor bias limits opportunities for blacks, for men, for women, for members of lower social classes, in other words, counselor bias damages everyone.

Now my colleague John Pietrofesa at Wayne State University and I have engaged in a study of counsel bias. For the record, I am submitting an article that John and I wrote in which we reviewed the entire literature of counselor bias. There are very few studies. Therefore, this is something you can be an expert in in a very short time.

What we did at Wayne, we hired a young woman and we coached her and paid her and she went into our counseling laboratory where our counselors-in-training are there to counsel people in the community. Now we have a one-way vision room and tape recorders so that every interview is recorded and then those of us who are counselor-educators supervise this.

The students did not know that this woman in question was a plant, as you will say. She came in debating whether to go into engineering or education. Now we assumed that there would be some bias, but Professor Pietrofesa and I were totally appalled and shocked at the degree of bias. It was not just men counselors, women counselors were equally as biased as men counselors. In fact, nobody did any counseling.

The minute the case was presented, the counselors were very busy telling this young woman, "Do you realize this will interfere with your family life, et cetera."

John and I are in the process of trying to replicate the study in terms of a man and a woman, a man considering a feminine occupation and a woman considering a masculine occupation.

Now, we feel very strongly that the importance of the study we did—it is only important if we make use of this in our counselor training. We have experimented at Wayne State University in terms of training of counselors. At Wayne we were able to convince the board of governors and the executive staff to give all of the counselors at Wayne State University a day off a week and a group of us tried to develop or did develop an inservice training module on counseling to get over sex bias.

It was an 11-week program. Let me tell you that the president gave time off in a tight money year. We won this and guess what: The counselors didn't sign up for it.

So, it is a very complicated thing. We finally got 50 counselors to sign up, but they were the counselors who had the right attitudes to begin with. We have a systematic program for inservice training.

The thing I like about this bill is that it would provide money for many people who develop many kinds of inservice training programs. It could provide money for consultation at various institutions because each inservice training program must be developed in terms of the needs of the particular setting. It could provide money for conferences to bring people from all over the country together to see the difficulties in terms of this kind of retraining.

It is not easy to retrain counselors or teachers or supervisors. It is not easy to alert people to their own biases. People never want to admit this.

So, it is a very difficult thing and the bill gets directly at that issue.

Now counselors do more than just interact with counselees. They use tests. Arvonne Fraser mentioned the Strong vocational inventory. Jane Goodman and I took it upon ourselves 2 years ago to pick the best and the biggest to try and fight it and change it. I am one of the counselors that Mrs. Fraser mentioned.

I don't want to do away with the Strong. I think they are useful to people. However, in their performance, they are very, very limiting.

Now the Strong is being revised, but the problem is this: There is not money available to develop new norm groups and until new norm groups are developed, that is, until women veterinarians are tested and put into the test, until male secretaries, and in the testimony I have the details of the Strong, until new norm groups are developed, the test, no matter how careful a job David Campbell does, it will not be an unbiased test.

The Strong is only illustrative of so many tests, not only in terms of vocational inventories, but in terms of the LSAT. I understand that, too, is biased.

We need money to pull together people from all over the country, test makers and developers, and we need ways to encourage them to change the test. We can do it legally and get rid of the test, but I would hate to see that happen. I would hate to see money used to take those tests which have some effectiveness and make them bias-free. This is something the bill addresses itself to.

Now, one of the other things I liked so much was the money for women's centers because I think this is a very important thing that has happened in this country.

In 1960, there was one women's center. In 1973, there are over 400 women's centers throughout the country. Very often these women's centers are operating on a shoestring budget in an ad hoc manner. Yet they are helping women deal with the very essence of what Matina Horner describes: "There are many reasons women don't achieve." Matina Horner, the President of Radcliffe, has done that exciting research on women's fear of success.

Until we help women be unafraid and, as she says, let me read:

> Dr. Horner points out that a bright women is caught in a double bind. In testing and other achievement-oriented situations, she worries not only about failure, but also about success. If she fails, she is not living up to her own standards of performance; if she succeeds, she is not living up to societal expectations about the female role. Men in our society do not have this kind of ambivalance, because they are not only permitted but actively encouraged to do well.

We have to help women be unafraid to succeed and help men be unafraid to cry and to stay at home. We need to blur the sex roles. We need to free people up so that they can do what if they want to do regardless of their sex.

The goal, I think of your bill, is the goal I have felt for a long time as counselor-educator and I hope to implement in my own jobs, to develop human beings who are free to act in ways that are appropriate to their interests and their values—not their sex.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you for an excellent statement. I must apologize because I am due in another subcommittee. I don't want you to feet you have chased me away.

Dr. SCHLOSSBERG. I wouldn't. I will look forward to seeing you again.

Mrs. MINK [presiding]. Your testimony has been most illuminating and will be very helpful for further deliberations in this committee.

As the Director of the new Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education, an office which I am not personally familiar with, could you just tell us briefly what the office is? Is it newly created and what can we expect from the American Council on Education?

Dr. **Schlossberg.** It is a very good question. I wish I could answer it. It is a newly created office. They have been searching for somebody to fill this office for the past few months, I think almost a year, since it was announced that the American Council was going to establish such an office. I think very much what happens in that office will depend on those of us who are working in the office, as well as our constituency. We have member organizations.

But it is my hope that it will be an activist office taking a lead in areas such as career education, counselor education, developing inservice workshops, possibly moving in the whole area of rosters. They have been moving in that area.

But I can't be specific about the actual projects we will work on. My own feeling is, and I can say that I think the American Council agrees with this, it will not be a research-oriented office. Rather, it will be an attempt to take a look at problems women and men face in higher education and disadvantaged students and faculty and take some positions and develop some programs which can be useful on a national level.

I cannot be more specific, I have been in the office a total of 3 days. The next time we meet, I hope I can be more authoritative about it.

Mrs. **Mink.** Did the decision to create the office arise from any specific problem which the Council faced or is it just a new illumination of their responsibility?

Dr. **Schlossberg.** You probably would be better off asking Bunny Sandler that, because I think she has been involved in this from the beginning and I was at Wayne training counselors when the decision was made, so I don't know the answer.

Mrs. **Mink.** Have they given you staff?

Dr. **Schlossberg.** I am not there officially until September, but I will be hiring staff. I have a secretary, Liz Arnold, who has been an intern from Berkley. She will be working this summer. I will have assistance in the fall.

Mrs. **Mink.** If H.R. 208 should be enacted into law, do you envision that the American Council would be one of the participants in any grant program or contract?

Dr. **Schlossberg.** I would hope so certainly. You see, the act, I think, would enable the Council to do more than just talk about programs that should be, but in fact to implement some. I think with my own focus of interest in terms of inservice training at all levels and of counseling, which I find is a terribly important matter, this will enable us to do some things.

Mrs. **Mink.** I have no further questions.

Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. **Chisholm.** You made a great deal of reference to testing. I think if I heard you correctly, you indicated that although there needs to be some changes and reevaluation and reassessment of testing that you would hate to see this whole procedure eliminated.

Now I think it has been indicated clearly in our Nation today that testing in many, many areas of this country has been one of the ways that children have been trapped into certain systems. Children have not been given the opportunity to really develop the potential that they have because so much in our so-called middle class society basically depends on these tests which are usually put together by persons who have no experience or attunement or sensitivity to the needs of minority children in this country.

So, I just want to ask the question: Do you believe that in light of all of the statistical testimony that we have, that perhaps we do have to create new kinds of tests to evaluate children who have latent abilities which have not been able to develop in their particular settings?

I think this is where a great deal of difficulty in our educational system has been going on.

Dr. SCHLOSSBERG. This is an interesting thing you mention. Several years ago, the College Entrance Examination Board established a Commission on Tests. I was a member of that commission. I was the person on the commission who said throw out every test.

It was Kenneth Clark who came to testify before our commission and Ed Gordon, one of the leading counselor educators who happens to be black, who was on the commission who convinced me that I was wrong. I don't want to quote their testimony since they are not here, but the reason they convinced me that I was wrong because I took the extreme stand at that point which was really that I would rather have no tests at all and throw everything out and I can remember Kenneth Clark testifying that tests, for example, in terms of achievement tests which, at that point, we were discussing, were a way to measure the school. It was not the tests themselves that were bad. It is the way they are used.

In fact, depending on the use this could be an advantage for minority students.

At that point in time, even though I was an early feminist, we did not raise the question of testing for women. I generally do not use tests. I have never used a test in my own counseling. I don't usually encourage my students to use tests. But I do feel that there are certain kinds of inventories which are helpful to the individual.

One of the real problems with picking a career is that most individuals don't have any idea of the range of possibilities for themselves. They pick careers in terms of social class, sex, and minority status.

If tests are used appropriately, they can be a means for helping the counselor and the student think of fields which she or he would never have thought of before, if they are used as a springboard.

The Strong test, for example, is not a test which tests abilities. I think when we look at tests, some are ability, some are aptitude and some are values. The Strong is a test which takes groups of people and sees the degree to which you have similar reactions to them.

I agree with Arvonne Fraser's comments in her testimony that this might maintain the status quo, but I believe that the Nancy Cole article, which I am submitting to you, and she is a test expert and she is critical of tests, also can show with appropriate counseling and if the test had the new norm groups this could mean that an individual with a certain kind of interest pattern or response pattern instead of thinking of two or three occupations, might think of 100 occupations.

In other words, certain tests, if revised, could open up opportunities rather than closing them.

I don't believe that counselors without the help of some other materials are ever going to have the vision to know the range of opportunities, because counselors are middle classed, the tests are middle classed.

I understand and appreciate your point and I am more moderate at this point than I was a few years ago on this.

**Mrs. CHISHOLM.** Thank you.

**Mrs. MINK.** Thank you very much, Mrs. Chisholm.

Thank you again Dr. Schlossberg for your testimony and for appearing here today.

Our next witness is the Honorable Ethel Allen, member of the city council of Philadelphia.

We welcome you, Dr. Allen, to the committee. Your testimony will be placed in the record at this point. You may read it or summarize it or whatever you would like to do.

[The statement referred to follows:]

### STATEMENT OF DR. ETHEL D. ALLEN, COUNCILWOMAN, PHILADELPHIA, PA., ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL WOMENS POLITICAL CAUCUS

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: I am Dr. Ethel D. Allen of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Physician and Surgeon and Republican Member of the City Council.

I am testifying today on behalf of the National Women's Political Caucus with respect to H.R. 208 introduced by the Honorable Patsy Mink.

I commend Representative Mink for the introduction of such timely legislation and for her recognition of the need for same. It is truly said "There is nothing more powerful than an idea whose time has come."

I am considerably heartened by those provisions of the Act which handle community as well as institutional participation, as I feel the approach will be less esoteric in the former and thusly capable of reaching the grassroots people where it is sorely needed.

We must ever keep in mind the fact that education occurs in all places, and at all times—and may be as influential in shaping our lives in the unstructured areas, such as community, as in the highly complex and rigidly structured atmosphere of the institutions of learning.

The barriers to a sound educational process are many, but predominant among them is the barrier of one's sex. The role that it has played in our everyday lives has been self-evident since childhood and with only a small degree of effort one may successfully document by recall of memories the events and factors contributing to it.

Sex role stereotyping and sex discrimination continue in the American educational system despite this age of enlightenment relative to many other activities.

In most school textbooks, especially those on the elementary level, the female is still displayed as the dependent mother, capable only of solving minor problems and performing menial tasks. Her activities are basically those of combing hair, helping the children make cookies and searching for the dog. Any major decision or activity is the sole province of the father—who is strong, intelligent and dependable. He is always gretted with a tremendous outburst of enthusiasm because he is the one who can do the job.

The female is delegated to two portrayals in the texts of elementary school—housewife and teacher. In the more advanced years, a nurse might possibly be added.

H.R. 208 should serve to correct this. However, unless extensive enough to bring about changes in the practices of publishers, for they are prime offenders, little will be gained.

Publishers make few changes in their format. They depend upon the tried and true of old—modfying it solely by adding a few new words so it becomes a new edition. The texts, therefore, lack honesty and contribute greatly to the confusion in the mind of the child because of a lack of relevancy to the life of the child. In recent years, publishers have added black faces—a result of the Civil Rights Movement and a token acknowledgment of the existence of people of color. The complexion has changed, but not the role. We are continuing the "locked in" mental attitudes of the chauvinist and perpetuating his theories by these outmoded practices.

Textbooks, counseling and teacher-student activities lack the exploration of the women's role in this world. They also lack the honest portrayal of groups of people. Children question the roles they see defined in textbooks, the roles outlined by their counsellors and the roles they view in their teacher-student relationship. The impressions gathered in the formative years affect them and their thinking to a great extent in their later life.

Witness the impressions you had as youngsters laboring through the *Dick and Jane* Series. Blond hair, peaches and cream complexion, well-dressed, etc.—certainly not relevant to me, and probably not relevant to you. I asked, "Why?"—and so probably did you.

Witness furthermore, recess activity—the girls jump rope, the boys play ball, and there is no provision for interchangeable activity any more so than there is for girls on the golf, tennis or swimming teams. There is a need for change—and change will come.

As I visualize the action created in the field of education, should H.R. 208 become a fact, I see formidable changes.

These changes are not only in the areas of curriculum development and evaluation of improved curriculum, but also in the motivation and education of masses of people heretofore deprived. H.R. 208 introduced by the Honorable Patsy Mink thusly becomes a catalytic force in the molding of the structure of our educational system of the future.

As I visualize the action brought about by the passage of this Bill, I see victims of juvenile delinquency problems whose educational processes have been interrupted by their entry into the criminal justice system being provided educational benefits of a habilitative or rehabilitative nature so as to avert the rapidly escalating problems of recidivism.

As I visualize the effects created among minorities, grassroots people, economically and socially deprived individuals and slow learners, I see the improvement of one-self-concept, brought about by the tailoring of one's educational needs to the individual as defined by evaluation and study, and the eradication of bias as is currently existent.

This is an absolute necessity for success. Otherwise, those of our constituents who are poor, who suffer from a language barrier, who have been denied educational opportunities because an educational system is totally unconscious of its own deficiencies and lack of relevancy; those of our constituents who are not poor but are unconscious of the great wealth of human resources as yet untapped (present among the uneducated, the improperly educated and the educated who have failed to produce)—are the losers for it.

This Bill has merit—and its merit will be recognized only when the fruits of its labors are harvested. When it provides a means of acquiring an education for a mature woman who, because of age more frequently than marital status, is denied the continuance of her erstwhile interrupted educational process—a process interrupted because other known barriers were instrumental in contributing to her fate (race, sex and economic discrimination)—it shall have merit.

When it turns an urban educational system into a responsive organ, capable of satisfying the needs of its students and taxpayers and does not create a quagmire of ignorance based on inbred prejudice attuned to the racial or ethnic composition of its majority—it shall have merit.

But—should it serve only the needs of the graduate student seeking post graduate or post doctoral education, at the expense of the possible utilization of the Bill's provisions to develop a system that can break the vicious cycle of educational deprivation and welfare; should it serve only to provide for one group at the expense of another (youth versus age, e.g., as exhibited in the SEEK Program in New York which accepts no persons over 30); should it not furnish those benefits denied a person over 30 aspiring to a college degree, who, unable to qualify on the basis of age for subsidy, grant, scholarship or financial assistance, must then work and attend school at night—using those precious extra years to attain the requirements for admission; should it not make provision curriculum-wise for the possession of experience and knowledge attained by living—then, and only then, would it fail in its purpose and responsiveness to a well documented need.

## STATEMENT OF HON. ETHEL ALLEN, CITY COUNCIL, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Dr. ALLEN. Thank you.

I might add that unfortunately I did not receive until today a report of a project done in Representative Chisholm's area on the aspect of this bill that I am primarily interested in. I would ask therefore that this report be placed in the record also, please.

By way of introduction, I am Dr. Ethel D. Allen of Philadelphia, Pa., physician and surgeon and Republican member of the city council.

I am testifying today on behalf of the National Women's Political Caucus with respect to H.R. 208 introduced by the Honorable Patsy Mink.

I commend Representative Mink for the introduction of such timely legislation and for her recognition of the need for same. It is truly said, "There is nothing more powerful than an idea whose time has come."

Having perused the bill carefully and having discussed it with a number of women's organizations, particularly in Philadelphia, I regret to say that a number of them were not familiar with the bill, but they are now. I sincerely hope that at some future hearing members from Philadelphia and outlying areas will come and testify in regard to the bill.

My particular interest in the bill was the opportunity that it affords women over 30 and particularly women with children, the possibility of continuing an interrupted education. Women deserve the right to fulfill themselves to their fullest potential and capabilities. Acting positively about helping others becomes beneficial to the overall good of our human community.

Our Government has passed a law entitling women to total equality in employment. But unless education can be furthered, the majority of women in this country who are over the age of 25 cannot begin to fill the qualifications needed for employment without some kind of college degree.

Women who are the sole support of themselves and/or their families, who wish to go back to school—and who for many discriminatory and financial reasons couldn't go at an earlier age—face too many years of study if they must do it part time and then only at night. The majority of these women who don't have degrees barely earn enough money on a full-time basis to provide for the necessities of life. With this in mind, it is inconceivable to expect them to afford to also put themselves through college. At their current ages now, this would put them far behind for competition in the job market when they finally do finish their education.

Besides this, they carry the responsibility of maintaining a home and raising children, with no subsidies or grants available to them to cover this extra load. In view of this, and in view of the job opportunities, it has become necessary for the mature woman to be provided with the same benefits for furthering their education as many other minortiy groups now have.

College has become a necessity rather than a choice. Because of the highly competitive and not totally equal society in which we live, degrees are considered necessary for most good employment. Women are faced with the following problems:

They cite difficulties in attending school; timewise and moneywise; prohibitive costs; lack of open enrollment and eating up of extra years while working and schooling simutaneously in their maturity.

Also, in many schools, waiting lists present a problem for the mature woman. Because of their ages, the lists are unrealistic.

Even in the so-called "free city university" cost is definitely a major barrier. Courses are not free to adults who work and take care of families and pay taxes.

Over a period of 5 years of borrowing money to go to school, her cost amounted to $11,000 out of a total income of $18,000, leaving her about $5,000 to $6,000 in debt.

Women have trouble understanding the job market, they do not know what they want to do; they are only vague about wanting better jobs, more money, et cetera. Studies show (from data bank) that 85 percent of women with a BA in liberal arts are working in jobs that have nothing to do with their degree. It is necessary to be specific about what is to be studied. Consulting school catalogs and counselors to ascertain that right courses are being taken is foremost. A BA in liberal arts is useless; it is not a marketable item.

It is obvious that not enough good counseling services are available. This becomes important, because they act as a catalyst, helping women returning to school, business. The object is to establish more of them. With successful women directing and helping others to find ways to accomplish these goals, more women have better changes. Although women have found ways to educate themselves for specific jobs, feedback on this aspect is nill.

I feel that H.R. 208 serves this purpose. In my testimony that I have submitted for the record, I make note of the fact that as Mrs. Fraser noted, publishers have been at fault with respect to the early education of children and the textbooks submitted to the same.

It was my experience in the get set program which is a prekindergarten phase of education, that the books there always depicted children and circumstances totally unrelated to that of our lifestyle. We had to explain to children when they came into our clinic and saw a woman physician instead of a male that, yes, women do become physicians.

You have to explain it to older patients also. I have had people come in and ask to see the doctor and when they are shown into my office, they still ask when they will see the doctor. My reply often is, "I is the doctor."

This shows how ingrained this sex discrimination and stereotyping is in our Nation based not only in the education system, but on the community situations we faced.

When I ran for political office and it was noted in the newspapers, everybody naturally assumed I was masculine. When they finally saw me and heard my platform of "What you see is what you get," they realized that women were venturing further into the political circles in Philadelphia which has been called the bicentennial city, despite the fact that it has a centennial approach to life.

We are finding that with H.R. 208 in the discussions we have had, we are very enthusiastic about it, extremely enthusiastic. With only two women members on the city council we have not been able to get any legislation through successfully that deals with sex discrimination. We have many major problems not only with education, but with housing, credit, mortgages, and so forth. Our inability to get any legislation through is due to the fact that the men in our council are locked into the attitude that women are not brilliant enough to write the type of legislation such as you have introduced, Representative Mink, and anything we put out before them gets stuck in committee.

So, your bill represents, on a national scale, a new approach to thinking with regard to education, a new approach to thinking with regard to the female.

We sincerely hope that your bill will be able to get through such as the Equal Rights Amendment got through. We hope it will not have to go through the harassing circumstances the Equal Rights Amendment currently faces.

But we envision this as not serving one special interest group. The first impression I got on discussing this bill with members of NOW, Status of Women, women's political caucus in my area, was that this presented a remarkable opportunity for women to develop their graduate and postgraduate degrees in special emphasis studies especially in the field of sociology.

I don't envision H.R. 208 has doing this. I envision it providing those opportunities to a woman like me after having had to go back into the work force, desirous of developing either a career or a good work ethic, can break that cycle of poverty and depression, move out into the mainstream and then profit by the benefits that your bill outlines.

Black women need the opportunities to get back into the educational system. The minority groups such as the Spanish-speaking, the Puerto Rican, the Chinese, all need the same opportunities.

H.R. 208 provides these opportunities, provided it is not used by those people who are better equipped to gain the postdoctoral, the postgraduate degrees through other mechanisms other than what you design in your bill.

Therefore, I speak to the point that it has to be attendant to the needs of the grassroots individual, the economically deprived, the socially deprived, the undereducated, the person who has had their education interrupted by some circumstances and that individual who is too old to qualify for the special governmental programs currently existent.

This is how I see H.R. 208. I will do anything possible I can to help you in getting it passed.

Thank you.

Mrs. MINK. I certainly appreciate your enthusiasm and your warm support of the legislation. I concur wholeheartedly with your view of what the intent and purpose of this legislation is. I am interested in your comments that you discussed this bill wtih other women's organizations in your city.

Did you find a general concurrence with the overall objectives of this bill after they had an opportunity to study it or what were your impressions in discussing this with these organizations that you mentioned?

Dr. ALLEN. Regrettably, Representative Mink, I am sorry to say that most of the emphasis was placed on what the benefits would be to those individuals who were primarily interested in professional education. I did not hear in one circumstance in talking with the members of the various feminist groups any interest with regard to the grassroots individuals. Once I took the bill before the residents of the Advisory Board, the Tenants Union Council, and especially the Domestic Workers Members they were highly enthusiastic about the bill and asked how it pertained to them and the opportunities afforded.

I think we are going to structure a meeting between the two groups so that East can meet West, so to speak, or the high can meet the low and we can see what merits can benefit both groups.

As a physician who plans to go to law school, if I wanted to be very selfish about this, I could say this is my golden opportunity. However, I would rather sacrifice my needs for the needs of some mother of five or six children who has exhibited to me remarkable potential but has not had the opportunities that H.R. 208 can afford her.

Mrs. MINK. Apart from the applicability of the bill to adult women, and I assume that you were restricting your comments to that aspect of the bill do you see the same kind of difficulties with respect to how children might benefit under the legislation?

Dr. ALLEN. No, I don't see the difficulties unless the difficulties lie primarily in the recalcitrant behavior of the education system especially in urban areas to respond to H.R. 208.

We have difficulties in Philadelphia with the fact that counselors are not properly oriented in career direction of youngsters at a very early stage or even on the secondary level. Therefore, you find a young lady who has marked aptitude who wants to become an automotive mechanic being refused the opportunities to develop that vocation because this is not the acceptable thing to do. She is in turn then told to go into computer technology and she said, "I will settle for computer mechanics" which is a phenomenal field with fantastic financial rewards. She is directed from anything that involves tools, because the thinking in Philadelphia is that women don't work with tools; they don't become mechanics. They don't even become mechanical dentists. They can't work in the dental industry where they make teeth.

So you find a kid in the third grade who is presented for the first time with a city hall situation where he goes down to see how the city council operates. The first thing he sees is a black female city councilwoman—unheard of. In the civics class they never said this. Or he walks in the courtroom and sees a Chinese female judge—unheard of. This is not taught in the classroom. He goes back to school and says why the difference between what I learn here and the real life situation?

He has never been exposed to counseling that says that your sister is just as capable of repairing the engine of your father's car as you are. It is supposed to be his lot to do that sort of thing and this is the thinking all along.

Correspondingly, if your car breaks down on the road, women who might know something about what is wrong with your car will pass you by because it would not be nice for a woman to be seen with the hood up and bent over the engine.

This starts at an early age. If you offered to help them in a circumstance that was not female oriented, they would not respond. There have to be very marked changes in the educational system and marked changes in the community approach.

Mrs. MINK. You are absolutely right on that.

Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. How are you, Ethel?

Dr. ALLEN. Fine.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. It is very good to see you here today. I would like to ask you three questions. My first question concerns this minority woman, who has the twin jeopardy of her race and her sex. We do know that minority women, generally speaking, in this Nation have not yet developed a high degree of political sophistication about many, many things. Would you say, therefore, that we need to make sure that these women who possess this twin jeopardy are given some kind of priority consideration. If not, won't those who are active and those who are sophisticated and those who are better educated benefit from the legislation to the exclusion of these groups who definitely need so much help. If you feel this way, what would be the suggestions, if any, that you can make to this committee?

Dr. ALLEN. I definitely feel that way. I think that the priority is of the highest essence. I base that not only on the statements that you have made, but on the experience that I just suffered in trying to deal with this bill through the structured organizations.

The recommendations I would make would be that the Commission that would deal with H.R. 208 must of necessity contain a preponderance of the minority people, as opposed to a preponderance of just high level educators. You may be able to combine the two.

I would also feel that there has to be input from that level, input of great magnitude, input of great depth. This input must be sought out not only by the Commission, but also by those individuals or staff who will be working with the Commission because they will vary from time to time. The needs will vary from time to time.

The emphasis should definitely not be on the fact that we would further the educational and career goals of those individuals who are already provided with the wherewithall to get the same.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. My second question is: Do you feel that if this legislation was passed, it would not only provide national or Federal guidelines, but it might also bring about a more enlightened attitude on the part of State legislative bodies and therefore be more responsive to women's needs even though the majority of our legislatures don't have many women? Do you really feel this would help?

Dr. ALLEN. I think it would help greatly. However, that also will be dependent on how much assistance this bill gets on the local levels from the various women's groups and from the Commission itself. This is one of the biggest roadblocks we have currently. Our Commission on the Status of Women is very effective, but only in specific areas. In the area of education, it has been most ineffectual. Not that they lack women educators on their staff, but they are intimidated to a great extent by the legislators who in our legislature are all men. We have two women in the house of representatives in the State, but other than that, all the rest of the people are men and they intimidate them by saying, "We will take away this or that."

I see this bill, if properly implemented in the States, as developing welfare reform on a State level by virtue of its educational benefits. Once you get people educated and able to work, they are not going to be on welfare. If you start the children off with an opportunity to get that education, they will never have to go on welfare.

So, I envision H.R. 208 as having a dual purpose, not only the educational changes that will be made, but also the development of a welfare reform method.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I have no further questions. Thank you.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much Dr. Allen. We appreciate your testimony.

Our last witness this morning is Dr. Audrey Norris, chairman of the Education of Women Committee, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

## STATEMENT OF DR. AUDREY NORRIS, CHAIRMAN, EDUCATION OF WOMEN COMMITTEE, ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, CINCINNATI, OHIO

Mrs. MINK. Your testimony will be placed in its entirety in the record. You may proceed.

[The statement referred to follows:]

### STATEMENT OF DR. AUDREY B. NORRIS, CHAIRMAN, EDUCATION OF WOMEN COMMITTEE, ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, CINCINNATI, OHIO

Chairman Hawkins, Representative Mink, members of Equal Opportunity Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, I am Dr. Audrey B. Norris of Cincinnati, Ohio, and I serve as Chairman of the Committee on the Education of Women of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. This association consists of thirteen thousand superintendents, assistant superintendents, directors of curriculum and instruction, supervisors, principals, key teachers and other curriculum workers from all of our states. I have served as a teacher, an elementary and secondary supervisor, a public school director of curriculum and research in two areas, a federal grant director of Tomorrow's Educational Systems Today, a Title I and III E.S.E.A. Act grants project expending over a million dollars of federal funds and I am presently a university professor in the Department of School Administration at the University of Cincinnati. During the last month I have been one of the last 15 finalists in the competition for Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C. I have worked in the Arlington Virginia, Hamilton County Ohio and Willoughby Eastlake Ohio City Schools. During the last several years I have been invited to be in contact in a training way with teachers and administrators from Maine to Mississippi and California and at all major educational conventions. In addition I am working with organized womens groups. I speak today in support of Representative Patsy Mink's Women's Educational Equity Act.

March a year ago, at the national convention of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in 1972 resolutions from the floor of the business meeting indicated the magnitude of the problem concerning women regarding equal opportunity for advancement within the educational profession, curriculum for women of all ages in school, the re-education of the out of school population of both women and men and the problem of sex bias and stereotyping. This year the Association supported a small grant proposal of $6000 to begin to build a task force with the superintendents, school board members, supervisory and curriculum workers to begin to attempt to get equal opportunity for women in the education profession, which consists mainly of women in the teacher ranks, and to develop a brief guideline and resource already developed for curriculum directors regarding sex bias and stereotyping in the curriculum. Six thousand dollars is an infinitesimally small amount in relation to the magnitude of the problem. However, it represents one of our largest grant investments, thus substantiating the need. None of our workers are paid for this particular work and we therefore can spend only limited amounts of time on this.

My remarks today are divided into five distinct parts as I speak to support the need for this act in a summary statement. The aspects of the problem of women, education and equity I will address myself to today are equity, women, and the pluralistic society, the role of schools and school districts, state legislatures and the courts, the curriculum sex bias and stereotyping, equal opportunity especially within the education profession itself and the national need for the Women's Educational Equity Act.

### EQUITY WOMEN AND THE PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

Equity regarding women denotes "in its broadest sense and most general signification the spirit and the habit of fairness, justness, and right dealing which would regulate the intercourse of men with men." [1] Naturally Black's Law Dictionary in this definition implied women with women and men and men with women. This fairness, justness, and right dealing varies as different parts of the pluralistic society indicates its values. The role of women varies in these points of view from an independent responsible one or worker to that of chattel. Thus, women are living a myth and need to know where they stand as concepts of the family, role of the courts and legislatures and the economy vary, in regard to the individual. Likewise concepts of education also vary.

### THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS

As concepts of education vary so do the roles of the school and districts vary from seeing the school as transmitting the past, to one of transmitting the past and allowing some problem solving, to solving problems under competent guidance of the teachers, to using the school to solve society's problems, or to using the school to bring about radical or violent change. How do we know what guarantees to include in the curriculum as schools assume different roles?

### STATE LEGISLATORS AND THE COURTS

As concepts of the school vary so does the manner in which new statutes or law are enacted by legislatures and courts. Some see the legislatures and courts reflecting the society, whereas others see these bodies as forums making wise decisions using research, rights, and knowledge.

### THE CURRICULUM—SEX BIAS AND STEREOTYPING

Definitions of curriculum vary from the text as curriculum to learning opportunities or experience itself as curriculum.

What is sex bias and stereotyping in the curriculum? What are women's rights? What are their legal rights? Are they constitutional or are they value judgments? Are the decisions situational? Isn't this a marketing society? Are women's roles, economic? What motivations are behind these decisions? What research do we have about women's roles? What value decisions do we want to make? Can we legislate one curricular design for women across mass number of youngsters?

These are just a few of the research problems which need more extensive study for curriculum workers. Courts and legislatures need a lot more knowledge or research in making changes. What are the implications of no fault concepts to the individual and the family? What are the ramifications of present vesting procedures in retirement? Massive studies of curriculum and curriculum materials are necessary.

How can you operate schools and different curricular designs in a pluralistic society? Where are the models with consideration for equity concepts of justice, and fairness in administration procedures for students, teachers, administrative roles, etc. What about equal opportunity?

### EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

My experience has taught me that professionals are upset by discriminatory practices of Boards of Education, administrative groups, legislatures, judges and others. A recent survey of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education[3] in thirty states indicates that 67.8% of the full time instructional staff in these states are women. In these same districts and schools women hold 21.0% of the elementary principal positions, 3.5% of the junior high positions, 3.0% of the senior high positions, 0.6% of the superintendents positions, 7.5% of the Deputy of Associate Superintendent positions, 2.9% of the Assistant Superintendent positions, and 15.2% of the Administrative Assistants to the Superintendent. In this same survey in a category entitled central office administration women hold 48.2% of the general administrative positions, 8.5% of the finance and school plant positions, 38.3% of pupil personnel services positions, 46.3% of administrative instruction and supervisory positions, and 36.3% of the special subject area administrators in central offices. There is one women superintendent in Montana and no women superintendents of the selected large cities of the survey. Now you see why a white woman is competing in her hometown of Washington, D.C.

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[1] Black, Henry Campbell, *Black's Law Dictionary*, Revised Fourth Edition, West Publishing Company, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1968, p. 634.

For several months I have been studying the ways Boards and colleagues work to exclude women from top jobs. Naturally, if the criteria says you have to have been a superintendent that does it. If your qualifications are competitive Boards do not let you in for an interview but choose a less competitive woman candidate who cannot compete in the finals, or if they let you in for an interview then perhaps the race is wrong or individual and group procedures are employed tactifully to cut a woman out in the selection process. If a woman cannot get into the Department of Educational Administration at a university in the first place that also takes care of the matter. Thus, I am saying much research and work needs to be accomplished and disseminated to assist the states (schools, family groups, legislatures, courts, and businesses) at all levels regarding issues inherent in problems of women in a pluralistic society, and problems and procedures related to sex bias and stereotyping especially motivation and economic aspects and possible viable solutions and ideas.

In a recent salary survey conducted in the ASCD organization itself we found a significant difference in the salary between males and females in the same type of position in supervision and curriculum development.

### WHAT IS BEING DONE TO REEDUCATE MEN AND WOMEN

Individual citizens and groups are working hard. However, use of mass means of communication is essential in this regard as the problem is tremendous regarding education and equity.

### SUMMARY

The United States is in a value dilemma, regarding woman, her role, status, and equity.

The Women's Educational Equity Act can serve as an outside system to work with and through the permanent systems of schools, family groups, legislatures, courts, and businesses:

To instigate essential research regarding education of woman and equity.

To encourage and conduct in-service training and improve awareness to the problem.

To assist states in setting up models of effective action in schools, family groups, legislatures, courts, and businesses.

To publish essential reports and communicate these to influential people and the general population.

To link action underway.

To develop systems for improvement of equity for women.

Equity deals with the conscience of the United States in regard to its citizens, both the educational and justice systems need this act, immediately.

I thank you.

Dr. NORRIS. Representative Mink and committee members of the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity of the House Education and Labor Committee, I am Dr. Audrey Norris of Cincinnati, Ohio. I serve as chairman of the Committee on the Education of Women of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. This association consists of 13,000 superintendents, assistant superintendents, directors of curriculum and instruction, supervisors, principals, key teachers, and other curriculum workers from all of our States.

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[3] National Council of Administrative Women in Education, *Wanted—More Women, Where Are The Women Superintendents?*, 1815 Fort Meyer Drive, Arlington, Va. 22209. $2.50.

I have served as a teacher, an elementary and secondary supervisor, a public school director of curriculum and research in two areas, a Federal grant director of Tomorrow's Educational Systems Today, a title I and III ESEA act grants project expending over $1 million of Federal funds and I am presently a university professor in the department of school administration at the University of Cincinnati. I also served as the director of Tomorrow's Educational Systems Today, an outside temporary system for the purpose of bringing about educational change in permanent school systems.

That is the reason why I am here today, because of my situation with the ASCD as chairman of the education committee and also as a director of an outside temporary system which has been established for the purpose of bringing about change.

I guess one of the things I should say also is that I am one of the 15 finalists for the Superintendent of Schools position for Washington, D.C. Since Washington, D.C., is my hometown and very dear to my heart, you can see why I am here today.

I have worked in the Arlington, Va., Hamilton County, Ohio, and Willoughby Eastlake, Ohio, city schools. During the last several years I have been invited to be in contact in a training way with teachers and administrators from Maine to Mississippi and California and at all major educational conventions. In addition, I am working with organized women's groups. I speak today in support of Representative Patsy Mink's, Women's Educational Equity Act.

March, a year ago, at the national convention of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in 1972, resolutions from the floor of the business meeting indicated the magnitude of the problem concerning women regarding equal opportunity for advancement within the education profession, curriculum for women of all ages in school, the reeducation of the out-of-school population of both women and men and the problem of sex bias and stereotyping.

This year the association supported a small grant proposal of $6,000 to begin to build a task force with the superintendents, school board members, supervisory and curriculum workers to begin to attempt to get equal opportunity for women in the education profession, which consists mainly of women in the teacher ranks. The education profession consists mainly of women, however, at the high level spots, this is not the case.

The second position of this committee is to develop a resource pact and brief flexible guidelines to begin to assist curriculum directors across the country with getting sex bias and sex stereotyping out of the curriculum. Six thousand dollars is an infinitesimally small amount in relation to the magnitude of the problem. However, it represents one of our largest grant investments, thus substantiating the need. None of our workers are paid for this particular work and we therefore can spend only limited amounts of time on this.

Since March we have been talking to everyone you can think of in terms of the magnitude of the problem in curriculum guides, opportunities in the classroom and also in relation to materials. Thus I am saying that the part of House bill 208 which indicates the need for this, as a leader in the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, I can say and substantiate the need for this kind of thing in the United States today.

My remarks today are divided into five distinct parts as I speak to support the need for this act in a summary statement. The aspects of the problem of women, education and equity I will address myself to today are equity, women and the pluralistic society, the role of schools and school districts, State legislatures and the courts, the curriculum sex bias and stereotyping, equal opportunity especially within the education profession itself, and the tremendous national need for the Women's Educational Equity Act.

First, equity women and the pluralistic society.

Equity regarding women denotes "in its broadest sense and most general signification the spirit and the habit of fairness, justness, and right dealing which would regulate the intercourse of men with men."

By the way, that is Black's Law Dictionary's definition of equity.

Naturally we recognize that this dictionary definition implies women with women, and men and men. This fairness, justness, and right dealing varies as different parts of the pluralistic society indicates its values. The role of women varies in these points of view from an independent responsible one or worker to that of chattel.

Thus, women are living a myth and need to know where they stand as concepts of the family, role of the courts and legislatures and the economy vary, in regard to the individual. Likewise concepts of education also vary.

### THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS

As concepts of education vary so do the roles of the school and districts vary from seeking the school as transmitting the past, to one of transmitting the past and allowing some problem solving, to solving problems under competent guidance of the teachers, to using the school to solve society's problems, or to using the school to bring about radical or violent change. How do we know what guarantees to include in the curriculum as schools assume different roles?

I would like to add a comment here to my prepared statement. This is one of the most difficult problems curriculum leaders are faced with today, to know the kinds of guarantees to include in the curriculum and to find the way to include these in the curriculum.

Thus I am saying to you that the past of the act that indicates the tremendous need for research is a very important part of the act because this part of the act can give leadership to directors of curriculum and assistant superintendents in charge of structure and curriculum and also to communities.

I would like to speak for a moment in terms of State legislators and the courts. I would like to add to my prepared comments if I may.

I spent all day yesterday in the Ohio Legislature and I would perhaps like to make some comments in that regard. I feel that had the Ohio Legislature yesterday had just some reserach bulletins in terms of equity, some suggested kinds of financial formulas, or ways that they could conceptualize how to make new statutes in Ohio regard, for example, the one yesterday was in regard to whether Ohio should enact no-fault-type legislation.

I felt that if the legislators would have had some kind of research to base some of the kinds of decisions on that were suggested and would perhaps go into the statutes.

You see, as concept of the school vary, so does the manner in which new statutes or law are enacted by legislatures and courts. Some see the legislatures and courts reflecting the society, whereas others see these bodies as forums making wise decisions using research, rights, and knowledge.

### THE CURRICULUM—SEX BIAS AND STEREOTYPING

Definitions of curriclum vary from the text as curriculum to learning opportunities or experience itself as curriculum.

What is sex bias and stereotyping in the curriculum? What are women's rights? What are their legal rights? Are they constitutional or are they value judgments? Are the decisions situational? Isn't this a marketing society? Are women's roles economic? What motivations are behind these decisions? What research do we have about women's roles? What value decisions do we want to make? Can we legislate one curricular design for women across mass numbers of youngsters?

I ask these questions and ~~add to~~ my written comments because questions like these are the kinds of questions that curriculum directors and leaders are faced with daily as they develop curriculum and as teachers and principals develop learning opportunities for youngsters. These are just a few of the research problems which need more extensive study for curriculum workers.

Courts and legislatures need a lot more knowledge or research in making changes.

I see bulletins in this regard that can be disseminated. What are the implications of no-fault concepts to the individual and the family? What are the ramifications of present vesting procedures in retirement?

I am trying to say that massive studies of curriculum and curriculum materials are necessary and there needs to be a relation between the kind of research studies that are undertaken.

How can you operate schools and different curricular designs in a pluralistic society? Where are the models with consideration for equity concepts of justice, and fairness in administration procedures for students, teachers, administrative roles, et cetera. What about equal opportunity?

My experience has taught me that professionals are upset by discriminatory practices of boards of education, administrative groups, legislatures, judges, and others.

I would like to quote some figures from a recent survey of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education. In 30 States indicates that 67.8 percent of the full-time instructional staff in these States are women. In these same districts and schools women hold 21.0 percent of the elementary principal positions, only 3.5 percent of the junior high positions, 3.0 percent of the senior high positions, 0.6 percent of the superintendents positions, 7.5 percent of the deputy or associate superintendent positions, 2.9 percent of the assistant superintendent positions, and 15.2 percent of the administrative assistants to the superintendent.

In this same survey in a category entitled "Central Office Administration," women hold 48.2 percent of the general administrative positions, 8.5 percent of the finance and school plant positions.

I would like to add a comment in that regard. Those are where the decisions are made in terms of how the money is spent—38.3 percent of the pupil personnel services positions, 47.3 percent of administrative instruction and supervisory positions, and 36.2 percent of the special subject area administrators in central offices.

There is one women superintendent in Montana and no women superintendents of the selected large cities of the survey, which makes the Washington, D.C., situation a very important one, and I guess as you can see why a white woman is competing in her hometown of Washington, D.C.

For several months I have been studying the ways boards and colleagues work to exclude women from top jobs. Naturally, if the criteria says you have to have been a superintendent, that does it. If your qualifications are competitive boards—do not let you in for an interview but choose a less competitive woman candidate who cannot compete in the finalists, or if they let you in for an interview, then perhaps the race is wrong or individual and group procedures are employed tactfully to cut a woman out in the selection process. If a woman cannot get into the department of educational administration in a university in the first place, that also takes care of the matter.

Then it is difficult to get into a system as an administrator.

Thus I am saying that much research and work needs to be accomplished and disseminated to assist the States—schools, family groups, legislatures, courts, and businesses—at all levels regarding issues inherent in problems of women in a pluralistic society, and problems and procedures related to sex bias and stereotyping, especially motivation and economic aspects, and possible viable solutions and ideas.

In a recent salary survey conducted in the ASCD organization this past June itself, we found a significant difference in the salary between males and females in the same type of position in supervision and curriculum development.

What is being done to reeducate men and women?

Individual citizens and groups are working hard. However, use of mass means of communication is essential in this regard as the problem is tremendous regarding education and equity.

The United States is in a value dilemma, regarding women, her role, status, and equity.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much, Dr. Norris. We appreciate your taking the time to present your views and your testimony to the committee. I have no questions to ask.

Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I don't have any questions either. The only thing I am going to say is that your testimony reinforces so much of what has already been said and we want to thank you very much for your appearance here today before the committee.

Dr. NORRIS. Thank you, Mrs. Chisholm. I think as the group in the country who are the workers in developing curriculum development—that is why we are here because we want to say to you the great necessity for this act and the kind of dilemma we as workers are in and we appreciate sincerely the kind of support this act will lend.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much.

The subcommittee hearings are recessed until tomorrow morning at 9:30.

[Whereupon, at 12:22 p.m., the subcommittee was recessed to reconvene at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, July 26, 1973.]

# THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT

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THURSDAY, JULY 26, 1973

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities,
of the Committee on Education and Labor,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 9:30 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2261, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Patsy T. Mink presiding.

Present: Representatives Mink, Clay, and Chisholm.

Mrs. Mink. The Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities will come to order.

We are pursuing again a continuation of our hearings on H.R. 208 relating to the Women's Educational Equity Act. We are privileged this morning to hear from Katherine W. Cole, project director, Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education. I believe she is accompanied by Diane McDonald of the Women's Caucus of the National Education Association.

We welcome both of you to our committee this morning. We have your testimony, and is it your wish that the report that accompanies your testimony be included in the record?

## STATEMENT OF KATHERINE W. COLE, PROJECT DIRECTOR, RESOURCE CENTER ON SEX ROLES IN EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., ACCOMPANIED BY DIANE McDONALD, WOMEN'S CAUCUS, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Ms. Cole. I will leave that up to the discretion of the committee. I know it is voluminous, but I felt it contained a lot of materials that would be of value to the committee.

Mrs. Mink. I will ask counsel to examine it, and if we feel that it should also be included in the record we will insert it at the end of your statement, which will be included in toto.

[The information referred to follows:]

### Statement of Katherine W. Cole, Project Director, the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education

Ms. Chairwoman and members of the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, by name is Katherine W. Cole and I am here representing the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, a project of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education. The Resource Center is a national project carrying out three functions:

1. preparing materials that assist schools and community groups in the reduction of sex role stereotypes;
2. maintaining a clearinghouse of materials and resource persons working to reduce sex role stereotypes in elementary and secondary education; and

3. providing technical assistance for research, conference design and training to organizations and groups working to reduce stereotypes.

With me today is Diane McDonald, a teacher from Reston, Virginia and a member of the steering committee of the Women's Caucus of the National Education Association. We very much appreciate the opportunity to present this testimony in support of the Women's Educational Equity Act, H.R. 208.

During the past twenty years the concept of educational equality has been a major issue for public education. The impact of the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown vs. the Board of Education, has resulted in our addressing ourselves to some of the most obvious manifestations of racism. That struggle continues as we continue to identify the depth to which it is imbedded in our society. We now find ourselves addressing a second way that children are denied educational equality. Sexism, or the unquestioned, unchallenged, unexamined belief that one sex is superior to the other operates to deny more than 51 percent of our population the opportunity to develop their human potential. Like racism, sexism permeates all institutions of our society.

Schools, as the primary socialization tool which prepares children for adult roles, similarly reflect and reinforce these beliefs. Elizabeth Koontz summarizes the situation by pointing out that:

> "Schools reflect the society that has tied woman's role as childbearer to every aspect of her person. Women should not hold traditionally male roles for fear that the family will break up; women work at lower paying helping jobs, such as nurse, secretary, beautician, teacher or factory worker. . . . As a result, women are trained from birth to use femininity to get their way, and learn at school that girls stay at home and can cry while boys go to work and cannot cry. The reality is that women constitute 51% of the U.S. population, make up 40% of the labor force, but earn only 59% as much as men." [1]

If schools are to provide for the needs of girls they must move beyond opening educational opportunities as they have traditionally existed. Growing up equal is not growing up in the same ways but rather growing up with opportunities that permit each person to develop and grow in ways that are consistent with their values, culture and potential. Specifically, we are talking about equity which actively seeks to meet specific needs of women by moving beyond opening the traditional doors of opportunity.

Perhaps one of the best ways to examine the lack of equity in education today would be to review the "report card" for women's education that was developed by Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker.[2]

### LOSS OF ACADEMIC POTENTIAL

1. Intellectually, girls start off ahead of boys. They begin speaking, reading and counting sooner; in the early grades they even do better in math. However, during the high school years, a different pattern emerges and girl's performance on ability tests begins to decline. Male students exhibit significantly more I.Q. gain from adolescence to adulthood than their female counterparts.

2. Women make much better high school grades than do men, but they are less likely to believe that they have the ability to do college work.

3. Seventy-five to ninety percent of the brightest high school graduates who do not go to college are women. Of those who do enter college, they are less likely to finish than males.

### LOSS OF SELF-ESTEEM

1. As boys and girls progress through school, their opinions of boys grow increasingly more positive and their opinions of girls increasingly more negative. Both sexes are learning that boys are worth more.

2. College women respond negatively to women who have achieved high academic or vocational success, and at times display an actual desire to avoid success.

3. Both male and female college students feel the characteristics associated with masculinity are more valuable and more socially desirable than those associated with femininity.

### LOSS OF OCCUPATIONAL POTENTIAL

1. By the time that girls are in the fourth grade, their visions of occupations open to them are limited to four; teacher, nurse, secretary or mothers. Boys of the same age do not view their occupational potential in such restricted ways.

2. Women working full time earn less than men and the gap between men and women is increasing. In 1955 women earned 64% of what men earned, in 1970 it had dropped to 59%.

3. Even women in the same job category earn less than men. Of professional workers, women earn 66.7% of men's earnings, of sales workers 42.8% of men's earnings. In higher education, the gap between women faculty at the professor level is 8.6%. The mean salary of women public school teachers is $9,216 and male teachers is $10.013.[3]

The report card is applicable to all of our society. Family experience, mass media, institutional practices, personal attitudes, and community norms all contribute to women's education. Within public schools, however, we can identify numerous ways that sex role stereotypes are perpetuated.

### TEXTBOOKS AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

The functioning of textbooks and instructional materials as agents of socialization has been well documented in the work of Sara Zimet.[4] Her analysis of reading texts indicates that readers, in addition to serving as instruments of instruction, also serve to convey socially appropriate behavior patterns and cultural expectations, social and economic values, and racial and sex role stereotypes with a general aura of authority and finality.

Lenore Weitzman's studies of sex role stereotypes in children's picture books and textbooks demonstrate the extent to which women are consistently either virtually invisible or portrayed as passive dependent, unstable, unadventurous, and weak.[5] This finding has been replicated in numerous studies by various investigators; this image recurs in texts in all subject areas and in all educational levels.

Although publishers are now beginning to examine the operation of such stereotyping in their books and instructional materials, there is still a great need for basic developmental work in this area. Only limited progress can be made until a systematic program of educational research and development is identified and implemented, one which will place the concerns of women in a context of changing socialization practices. These are the problems.

The next question is what is being done to deal with these issues. The most accurate way that we could describe the national situation is that the educational community is at a beginning awareness of the problem of sex role stereotyping. During the past two years we have seen nearly every educational organization and group pass resolutions, publish materials, and being to talk about the issues. More than thirty state and national conferences on the problems of sex role stereotypes have been held this past year. Studies of the pervasiveness of sex role stereotyping in schools have been completed in at least eleven communities and many others are underway or being organized.[6] The encouraging part of this activity is that it is found in nearly every corner of the educational community from the Education Commission of the States, to State Departments of Education, to schools of education, to teacher associations and unions, to local chapters of NOW and WEAL and the multitude or other parts of the educational system.

During this year we have also seen a growing awareness and use of legal tools for redressing violations of sex discrimination. It should be pointed out that this has occurred in spite of the lack of action from federal agencies. As an example, even though several significant pieces of legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in education were passed during the first six months of 1972, no systematic effort to inform state and local school administrators and staff of their impact have been undertaken to date. For example, Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments was passed June, 1972. State School Officers and local school superintendents were not informed of the legislation until February, 1973. To date, guidelines or regulations have not been developed for the legislation and federal and state department personnel have not been trained to enforce the legislation. When community groups have moved to file charges of discrimination against school districts, most administrators have had no understanding or comprehension of the legislation or the issues.[7]

Awareness can only be considered the first step in bringing about change in the opportunity structure. We now have to face the problem of developing programs which can systematically deal with the problems and provide the skills and capabilities for bringing about change. In this area we are facing a competency crisis. Few persons and organizations know how to deal with the issues or have the resources for developing that competency. We must find a way to provide resources for developing that competency. This is going to cost money and H.R. 206 could go a long way toward providing the resources that will be required to deal with the problem.

The argument may be made that funds are available under other existing programs. Although a few projects have funded programs for women, they represent a miniscule amount of research and demonstration funds awarded by the U.S. Office of Education and the National Institute of Education. Given the current situation of increasing educational costs and a declining federal support of educational activities, it is naive to assume that systematic programs for increasing women's educational opportunities will be developed without specific designation of funds for these activities. H.R. 206 would provide funds consistent with the principles that have been found necessary for changes:

1. citizen involvement through a national advisory committee;
2. Openness to research demonstration and training programs for all persons of women't educational community;
3. opportunity for systematic funding and coordination of programs;
4. opportunities for programs related to specialized cultural, racial, or ethnic needs;
5. increasing supply and quality of counseling and guidance services.

We urge passage and funding of H.R. 208 for the betterment of all citizens and for moving toward provision of true equity to women.

## FOOTNOTES

[1] Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, *Nea Reporter*.

[2] Acknowledgment is given to Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker, *Sexism in School and Society*, (Harper & Row: New York, 1973), pp. 69–75.

[3] *Research Action Notes*, Vol. I, No. 1, National Foundation for the Improvement of Education.

[4] Sara Goodman Zimet, "A Rationale for the Inclusion of Aggression Themes in Elementary Reading Textbooks," *Psychology in the Schools*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 232–237.

[5] Lenore J. Weitzman, "Sex-Role Socialization in Picture Books for Preschool Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1971.

[6] *Salaries Paid and Salary-Related Practices in Higher Education*, 1971–72, Nea Research Report.

[7] "Survey of Sex Discrimination in the Waco Independent School District," Waco, Texas, Board of Education, 1973.

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## SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES PROJECT
## FINAL REPORT

### PREFACE

The following report summarizes one year's efforts in examination of sex role stereotypes in elementary and secondary education supported by a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. Activities carried out under the grant represented an empirical approach for determining the present awareness and consideration being given to this issue. Data collection used traditional techniques of literature review but concentrated on involvement of individuals and groups currently working in this area. Organizations and groups were convened, not only to gather information but also to determine how their own efforts might assist changing present levels of awareness. The national conference provided a method for an exchange of information and a stimulus for similar state level activities.

Throughout the project the emphasis was placed on expanding the resources of the grant and incorporating activities within the existing programs of other organizations and groups. Although the grant was administered by National Education Association, the materials, conference design, follow-up activities, and continuing efforts are the result of more than fifty organizations and two hundred individuals. It is estimated that the total funds expended for the conference and follow-up activities were four times the amount of the grant. Special credit must be given to a core group of organizations and individuals who participated in ongoing meetings and eventually formed the Coalition on Equal Opportunity in Education. This group provided major input for the project.

The report is organized into two major sections. The first section is directed to the objectives of the total proposal. The conceptualization of the issues and the activities of the proposal are offered as documentation of the work and as a guide for groups who may be developing similar programs. The second section is a more detailed description of the national conference and the follow-up activities.

## SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES IN EDUCATION

### *Introduction*

The following report documents the activities and learnings of a grant from the U.S. Office of Education to the National Education Association for the development and implementation of a working conference on Sex Role Stereotypes in the Classroom. The proposal for the conference outlined four objectives:

1. To identify ways that classroom activities perpetuate sex role stereotypes.
2. To identify and utilize resources for change.
3. To develop materials for increasing teachers' awareness.
4. To initiate cooperative dissemination efforts among individuals and groups.

These objectives were to be met by utilizing a national conference as the focus of data collection, identification of resources, development of materials, and the stimulation of similar activities among individuals and groups.

The proposal for the conference was submitted to the U.S. Office of Education, January 1972. The impact of the women's movement had been felt in higher education by this time, but there was little activity in elementary and secondary education which reflected women's concerns. Delineation of the issues and identification of resources was a major task for meeting the objectives of the proposal. When the conference was held November 24–26, 1972, it was the first national conference on sex role stereotyping and the first conference to focus exclusively on women's issues in elementary and secondary education. The grant for the project was awarded for May 1, 1972, for a one year period.

## PROPOSAL OBJECTIVE I

### HOW CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES PERPETUATE SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES

A primary obective of the project was the delineation and identification of the ways that classroom activities perpetuate sex role stereotypes. Techniques used for this purpose included review of the available literature, interviews with experts in the field, group consultations with educators, feminists, and related groups, and participation in programs and conferences dealing with sex discrimination in other fields. It became apparent that the problems of sex role stereotyping could not be understood within the context of classroom activities alone. Any understanding of stereotyping must be placed within the context of the socialization experience provided by schools and the related institutions of our society.

As a result, the focus of the project activities was broadened to include all areas of school influence and effort was made to include individuals and groups related to other institutions of socialization. Throughout the project, several primary questions guided the activities:

1. How does the socialization experience for girls differ from the socialization experience for boys?
2. How do schools prepare children for adult roles and their functioning in economic, social, physical, and cultural roles of adulthood?
3. What is the relationship between our educational system and the unequal status of racial and ethnic groups, and women in our society?
4. How can individuals and groups begin to intervene in the socialization process and increase opportunities for optimal human development?

### *The socialization process*

A child's socialization or preparation for carrying out age appropriate behaviors develops from three sets of factors—the inherent biological endowment, the development of an individual personality or ego identity, and the social group experiences of life.[1] The first two sets of factors represent variables that remain largely outside the influence of educational systems. The focus of a discussion of sex role stereotyping in schools, therefore, must be placed on the interaction between the child and the groups which form the life experience. Each group outlines and prescribes expectations and standards for behavior. Children learn to behave in ways which are similar to those of the people around them.

Children's socialization experiences may be very similar, such as those of two black females who grew up in rural southern U.S. communities. The difference may be extreme, such as the difference between an urban American male of English parentage and an Asian female living in a rural environment in China. The differences may extend far beyond individual likes and dislikes. They may include the ways we perceive the world, style of thinking, the ways we solve problems, and the things that we value as most important in life.

Every group within the society develops a philosophy or set of common beliefs, attitudes and values which are used as guidelines for individual and group behavior. Societies with little variation of social class, geographical environment and institutional influence develop a strong sense of agreement as to the "rights" and "wrongs" and the "desirable" and "undesirables" of life. In larger societies such as the United States, the shared experiences and agreements are lessened. Although membership in a national group will provide some similarities of experience, the socialization process will vary in terms of family, social class, culture, and community groups.

The first socialization experience for the child is provided by the family. Family child rearing practices most often reflect cultural expectations and standards for age appropriate behavior. In a sense, a "life script" or life style is developed for children and adults. This script is believed to provide the necessary learnings for economic, physical, psychological and social well-being of the individual and the cultural group.

The mechanisms for enforcing the learnings and insuring that the child becomes a part of the groups and the larger society seem to remain consistent across the various cultural experiences. Four basic needs assist the "teaching" the expectations and standards for behavior:[2]

1. The desire and need of the child to obtain affection, regard, acceptance and recognition from others
2. The desire to avoid unpleasant experiences of rejection or punishment from others
3. The desire to be like people whom the child has grown to respect, admire or love (identification)
4. The tendency to initiate the actions of others (role modeling)

In these ways children are taught the appropriate behaviors for the roles that they will occupy throughout life.

Male-female distinctions represent the most common criteria for differential assignment of roles within a culture or a society. Historically, women have been assigned a secondary status in nearly every cultural group, although the pattern and extent of this secondary status varies.[3] Socialization activities, have been designed to perpetuate that status and to prepare women for the secondary roles.

Both boys and girls have been prepared to carry out the prescribed roles and to avoid behaviors which would be associated with the other sex. These roles may have been appropriate to economic and social conditions of the past. The question to consider is, are they consistent with our urban, technological society and our democratic value system. It is time to reassess the ways boys and girls are channeled into sex stereotyped behaviors without consideration of their human potential and the changing requirements of our society.

An examination of the pervasiveness of the problem gives us some idea of the strategies which must be dveloped to promote any change. Betty Levy's essay on sex role socialization[4] provides a framework for viewing sex differentiation throughout most cultures. The following, in large measure, is based on her research.

1. Sex-role behaviors are among the first learnings for children. Kagan's work indicates that the male/female distinction is clear to children as early as age two[5] and other research suggests that by preschool age, children know their sex and the play preferences, behavior patterns, and expectations that adults hold for that sex.[6]

2. Sex roles become more stereotyped and restrictive with increasing age.[7] The tolerance of cross-sex behavior is tolerated less as children grow older. Boys experience a greater degree of awareness of "feminine" behavior and tend to avoid those behaviors.[8]

3. The male role is frequently seen as the most desirable by children. Numerous studies[9] document the increased desirability that children place on the male role. Masculine activities are seen as desirable and given high visibility and status.

Girls are encouraged to be tomboys, whereas boys are frquently punished for exhibiting feminine characteristics. Pre-school children indicate a belief that boys have more fun.[10]

4. Among adults, preferable status is given to males and male children are more highly valued than female children. Surveys indicate that males are more satisfied with their role.[11] This preference extends to children's sex where parents tend to favor boys.[12]

5. Acceptance of traditional sex role identity is related to positive psychological adjustment for males and poorer adjustment for females. Males who identify with masculine roles evidence better psychological adjustment than do females. By contrast, females who exhibit high IQ, creatively and originality are those who internalize cross-sex behavior, e.g., who have exhibited tomboy behavior at some point in their lives.[13]

The differential treatment of males and females in the society begins with a major value assumption, e.g., that women and their contribution to the society are inferior to men and their contribution. Variations of this belief and its manifestation in personal and institutional behaviors is called sexism. Perhaps the most amazing facet of sexism is the degree to which its operation within our lives is unconscious and internalized as a part of the natural socialization of boys and girls. The consequence of sexism is shared by all members of the society. For girls, the stereotypes and assumptions have limited their self-esteem, aspirations and contribution; for boys they have perpetuated unrealistic views of the world and denied them of the full range of human expression. Any effort to understand and change the role of schools in perpetuating sex role stereotypes must be considered and related to the transactional relationship among schools, community, and society.

### *Schools and sex role stereotypes*

A primary rationale for U.S. public schools has been the provision of literacy skills necessary for a democratic system and the provision of equality of educational opportunity for all citizens. A major issue facing education during the past twenty years has been the increasing awareness that schools do not provide equal opportunity to all citizens. The 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown vs. the Topeka Board of Education marked open acknowledgement that schools provided for non-white children did not meet the test of equality. We are continuing to identify and deal with the ways that racial and ethnic minorities are denied educational equality.

The past five years have witnessed the identification of a second way that children's growth is short changed. Sex role stereotypes or differential treatment of females and males, operate in ways that deny children the opportunity to develop their full human potential. Boys and girls are directed and "channeled" into traditional roles through the prescription of "appropriate" behaviors.

Schools reflect the local community and the general society. They are the society's most important socialization tools. Children are prepared to live in that society as it presently exists. Racial and ethnic minorities, and women represent less powerful groups in society than the dominant white male group and schools contribute to a "sorting" process which perpetuates their second roles. As the society deals with the questions of changing the total opportunity structure, we begin to see the incorporation of that struggle within the schools. Fifteen years ago it would have been difficult to find school textbooks and instructional materials which provided any role models for non-white children. The ferment of the civil rights movement has brought about change and today it is possible to find some degree of representation of the largest groups of non-white ethnic groups. A similar process is now underway as the society deals with efforts to modify the definition of appropriate roles for women. Much of the task of public schools must be to anticipate social change within our society and prepare children for living in a future society rather than the society that currently exists.

One of the most difficult problems in understanding public schools is the need to distinguish the *intent* of school programs from the *actual* outcomes. Reimer has identified four universal functions of schools—custodial care, social-role selection, indoctrination, and provision of skills and knowledge.[14] In carrying out these functions, schools become effective mechanisms for social control, the perpetuation of conformity, dependence on others for learning, and social stratification.

Based on Levy's analysis of the actual outcomes of education,[15] we can describe the gap between the professed goals of schools and the actual outcomes.

1. Although schools profess the promotion of equality of opportunity, they perpetuate inequality in our society. Schools profess learning as a purpose, but actually "teach" institutional conformity and non-thinking.

2. The curriculum, authority structure of schools and the policies of schools reflect social stratification and perpetuate stereotyped images of minority groups and sex roles.

3. Elementary school values are congruent with traditional demands of female sex roles. They reinforce obedience, social and emotional dependence, and docility.

4. Secondary schools further differentiate appropriate educational activities for boys and girls, placing more emphasis on girls' preparation for marriage and child raising.

5. Girls generally excel in elementary school programs due to the congruence of expectations with traditional feminine activities.

6. Underachievement of girls is evident in the drop-out at the onset of puberty. This results from the increased role conflict and the limited expectations of schools.

7. Schools evidence greater concern for the future of boys than of girls.

The cost of this limited socialization opportunity for girls is evident in the outcomes for girls. Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker have summarized existing research into a "report card" education's impact on girls.[16] Some of the points included in their report are:

> 1. Intellectually, girls start off ahead of boys. They begin speaking, reading and counting sooner; in the early grades they are even better in math. However, during the high school years, a different pattern emerges and girls' performance on ability tests begin to decline. Indeed, male students exhibit significantly more IQ gain from adolescence than do their female counterparts.[17]
>
> 2. Although women make much better high school grades than do men, they are less likely to believe that they have the ability to do college work.[18]
>
> 3. Of the brightest high school graduates who do not go to college, 75–90 percent are women.[19]
>
> 4. As boys and girls progress through school, their opinions of boys grow increasingly more positive and their opinions of girls increasingly more negative. Both sexes are learning that boys are worth more.[20]
>
> 5. By the time they are in the fourth grade, girls' visions of occupations open to them are limited to four; teacher, nurse, secretary, or mother. Boys of the same age do not view their occupational potential through such restrictive glasses.[21]
>
> 6. Decline in career commitment has been found in girls of high school age. This decline was related to their feelings that male classmates disapproved of a woman using their intelligence.[22]
>
> 7. In a survey conducted in 1966 throughout the state of Washington, 66.7 percent of boys and 59 percent of girls stated that they wished to have a career in professional occupations. However, 57 percent of the boys and only 31.9 percent of the girls stated that they actually expected to be working in such an occupation.[23]

If these are the educational outcomes for boys and girls, it is critical that we begin to examine the specific practices and ways that children are socialized into these behaviors. Examination of the practices of schools indicates that the messages of the appropriate role behaviors are transmitted to children in seven general ways:

> 1. *Textbooks and instructional materials:* Textbooks and instructional materials are designed to transmit knowledge and skills. They are equally effective at indoctrinating children in the prescribed behaviors through the selection and omission of life experiences.
>
> 2. *Teaching Behavior:* The behavior of teachers is the most critical dimension in the educational process, particularly in the elementary school. Their interaction with children in the classroom teaches children how to act, how other people will respond to you, how other people will treat you, and the expectations others have for your future development.
>
> 3. *School and student groupings:* One sex school and sex segregated groupings among children concretely demonstrate differential expectations for boys and girls. These are frequently seen in elementary school in reading groups, play groups, and classroom maintenance activities. In secondary schools vocational classes and interest groups frequently demonstrate stereotyped ideas of the appropriate roles for boys and girls.

4. *Physical education and health education:* Motor skills are in large measure, the result of practice. Many girls and boys are denied opportunity and encouragement to attain a healthy degree of physical development, to maintain physical fitness, to incorporate healthy concepts of sexuality, and to develop athletic abilities.

5. *Counseling and Guidance:* Counseling activities are usually considered as specialized functions of testing, vocational guidance, and assistance in dealing with personal problems or concerns. Counseling might be redefined as the affective portion of the school experience which is carried out by trained counselors, teachers, administrators and other students. Seldom has effort been made to optimize the supportive environment for all students.

6. *Women's Status in Education:* Role modeling is a primary method of socialization. When children are denied opportunities to see both sexes in a variety of roles, aspirations are channeled into "what is" rather than "what are my individual strengths and goals."

7. *Extra-Curricular Activities:* Extra curricular activities such as interest clubs and honors provide evidence of adult sanctions. They represent another powerful way of demonstrating the expectations of the school and the community.

In the following sections the implications of these socialization practices will be discussed as they operate in schools to deny equality of opportunity to all children. Although the focus of the dicsussion is the way that sexual stereotypes limit development, many of the same phenomenon operate with respect to racial stereotypes and social class stereotypes.

### *Textbooks and instructional materials*

Textbooks and instructional materials are usually identified as the tools for teaching children reading skills, computation skills, and general information. Often we forget the degree to which these materials frame the range of experience for the child and define reality. Sara Zimet's work on readers demonstrates that textbooks pre-select and fashion children's view of the nature of American society. Sexual, socio-economic and racial stereotypes are incorporated into texts which convey a general aura of authority and finality.[24]

Numerous studies of the image of women in textbooks have been conducted.[25] The common findings reveal that women are underrepresented as main characters in stories and illustrations, are shown as passive, dependent persons, are characterized as unstable and weak, and are labeled with negative terms. Lenore Weitzman's [26] work on children's books and textbooks demonstrates the extent to which these negative images predominate. When girls of minority group cultures are included in children's materials, the images are frequently even more sex stereotyped.[27]

A survey of the research on textbooks conducted by Jean Grambs [28] moves beyond the content analysis of texts. She points out the limitations of the basic construction of language as it implies male dominance. Terms such as mankind, manpower, workman, etc., exist without feminine equivalents and imply a value hierarchy. As a result, the very structure of language defines a continuing source of sex stereotyping.

The importance of correcting sex bias in textbooks cannot be underestimated. Longitudinal research documenting the effect of reading materials on children's attitudes and behaviors is sketchy, but it does appear that books do have an immediate effect upon children's beliefs. Studies which used reading content as a means of changing children's attitudes toward specific ethnic groups and specific fears demonstrated that in each instance, attitudes changed in a positive direction with positive character presentations and in a negative direction with negative character presentations. Although these studies measured only the immediate paper-and-pencil responses of the children, a potential formative effect was consistently demonstrated.[29]

A recent study of textbooks documents improvement of the images of minority groups in textbooks.[30] Women, however continue to be shown in stereotyped ways. Efforts are currently under way by textbooks publishers to correct some of the images of women.[31] It is estimated that it will take a minimum of five years before non sexist materials exist in any quantity.

Interim solutions for dealing with the problem continue to be identified. Supplementary books and materials presenting positive images of women are being developed by non-traditional publishing groups.[32] Creative teachers have been using simplified content analysis techniques to assist students in discovery of the ways that males and females are portrayed in instructional materials. A few school systems are developing their own materials and involving teachers in this process. Teacher organizations are also dealing wth the problem. The 1973 Yearbook of the National Council on the Social Studies is directed toward teaching multiethnic studies.[34] NEA has published guidelines for evalating textbooks and instructional materials.[35] The American Federation of Teachers has provided encouragement and outlines for assisting teachers to develop supplementary materials. In many ways, these interim solutions provide an important demonstration of how problems can be used to improve the total level of instruction.

### *School and student groupings*

The most obvious form of sex role stereotyping in schools is the segregation of boys and girls into different schools, classes or activities. Although there may be valid reasons for sex segregation, it is difficult to demonstrate that separate but equal programs are truly equal. Preschool programs that encourage boys to play outdoors and use play equipment that facilitites large muscle development, and provide indoor crafts activities and miniature kitchens for girls do not provide comparable experiences. Children may be drawn to differential sex segregated activities as a result of previous socialization. It is the responsibility of the school to increase the range of alternatives by encouraging all children to participate in the total program.

Elementary school programs continue "channeling" children by sex. Physical education activities frequently offer different activities for boys and girls. Classroom groupings may perpetuate assumptions that girls are "naturally" better in reading and boys "naturally" better in mathematics and science. Emphasis must be placed on individual achievement without reference to sex.

Sex segregation in classes is increased as children progress through middle school and high school. Physical education, sex education, home economics, woodworking, auto mechanics, typing, shorthand, welding, printing, and other vocational courses overtly or covertly limit the alternatives for boys and girls. In some school systems vocational and technical courses are listed "for boys" and "for girls." [36]

This tracking of boys and girls not only reduces personal choice, but it must also be pointed out that the anticipated wages for the trades taught in girls' schools or classes is less than the trade taught in boys' schools.[37] The seriousness of this problem is highlighted when we consider the increaing probability that girls will be entering the work force (eighty-five percent of the high school girls today will be employed outside the home at some time) and the changing pattern of family stability (if present trends continue, one marriage out of every three will end in divorce).[38] The lack of comparable educational opportunity is, in large measure, the beginning of the earnings gap between male and female workers.

The impact of these practices affects males as well as females. Males who wish to develop artistic, dramatic, musical and literary interests are often discouraged and labeled as "sissies." Boys who would select vocations such as cooking or hairdressing may be denied training opportunities. The lack of "survival" courses which teach both boys and girls the basic cooking and mechanical skills perpetuates unrealistic views of sex role activities in later life.

### *Teaching Behavior*

The most important factor in the elimination of sexual and racial stereotypes in education is the quality of the teacher.[39] The behavior of adults within the school system represents the most powerful influence for children's learning. The book *Pygmalion in the Classroom* [40] documents the importance of teacher expectations and the impact of self-fulfilling prophecies in the classroom. Teachers, like all other persons in our society, frequently operate on what Bem and Bem [41] have identified as the "nonconscious ideology" which assigns secondary status to women.

Teacher behavior with respect to sex of children has been a relatively neglected area of research. Studies of teacher behavior generally support that teachers interact more frequently with boys, particularly with respect to disapproving or controlling comments.[42] Jackson and Lahaderne conclude that boys have a more difficult time in school than do girls. "If control messages are crude measures of that difficulty, these sixth grade boys, as a group, have eight or ten times more trouble than do their female classmates . . . the experience of going to school is clearly very different for boys than for girls".[43]

On the other hand, girls tend to excel in academic activities until approximately the seventh grade. From that point onward the loss of IQ gains and the higher female achievement rates continue a downward trend. Frazier and Sadker [44] explain the seeming contradiction in terms of the differential behaviors of girls and boys. During the early grades the developmental advantage of girls operates in their favor. When children enter school, girls on the average are at least two years developmentally more advanced than boys. Further, their socialization has rewarded passive behavior which is very adaptive to mastering basic learning skills.

Boys exhibit more independent, aggressive behavior which may require a greater response from teachers. This independence, although requiring more control from teachers, also encourages self-reliant learning from boys and is particularly helpful after basic learning skills have been mastered. This independence and the reduction of developmental disadvantage makes it possible for boys to eliminate the previous achievement gap.

The impact of teacher attitudes and their impact on schools continues to influence the behavior of boys and girls. Girls' education is often consciously or unconsciously downgraded in its importance. It is expected that girls should turn their attention to future marriage and family preparation rather than career planning. These attitudes are bolstered by strong behavioral evidence. Although adult women constitute a large number of the teaching staff, they are seldom found in administrative or leadership positions within the school. Few teachers have been actively involved in the development of women's studies programs or other efforts to eliminate sex role stereotypes. Relatively few opportunities have been available for teachers to examine their assumptions, attitudes and values as they relate to sex role stereotyping.

If we are to make positive interventions into the self-perpetuating cycle of the transmission of attitudes, we must place future effort on the expansion research on teacher behavior, the development of preservice and in-service training programs for teachers, and the development of curriculum materials and teaching techniques which can assist the reduction of sex role stereotyping.

*Physical education and health education*

The primary objectives of physical education programs are to develop children's fitness and to encourage life-long commitment to maintenance of that fitness. The reality of most physical education programs is frequently quite different. Sex role stereotyping in school programs follows the pattern of increasing restrictiveness as children progress through school. During the elementary grades differences in boys and girls physical education are chiefly evident in the number of activities offered to boys as compared to the activities offered to girls.[45]

In middle school and high school, not only do we see differences in the number of sports programs, but also in the proportion of public funds expended for these programs. A Michigan school district spent ten times as much on boys' athletics as girls' athletics and there was not reason to believe that this was unusual.[46] A similar ratio was found in a Pennsylvania district.[47] In Texas, one study indicated that approximately ten million dollars of public facilities were, for practical purposes, unavailable to girls.[48] A second Texas school district exhibited the same pattern.[49]

Schools in the state of Washington further document the pattern. In a study of sixty junior and senior high schools, not one of the schools reported equal budgets for girls and boys or even a girl's budget which was 50% of the boys. The 10:1 ratio of expenditures seemed to prevail as a general benchmark.[50]

Intercollegiate and inter-school competitive activities are severely limited for girls. In some cases, female star athletes are denied the right to coaching services and opportunity to compete.[51] When women's inter-school sports are offered, they are seldom included in the computation of points for all-sports trophies.[52] The cumulative effect of these practices may be seen in the observation that none of the female athletes competing on U.S. Olympic teams during the past eight years have received their training in public education programs.[53]

Another manifestation of sex stereotyping practices in sport's programs include differential pay for male and female coaches. In some school districts women are not listed as "coaches" but as "intramural instructors." This listing epitomizes the status system in athletics. As instructors, women have less prestige, decision making authority, and influence within schools. They cannot negotiate the expansion of programs, use of facilities and greater equality in salaries.

Awards and incentives for girls' participation in sports is limited. Personal enjoyment is usually reported as the reward for girls' participation in athletics; whereas, boys are awarded school letters, jackets, certificates, trophies, and athletic scholarships. As an example, one school in Colorado awards male members of the tennis team school letters and female members charms for bracelets. Women with talents, until recently, could not accept such scholarships.[54]

Health education represents one of the most difficult areas in which to document sex role stereotyping. The content of health education may be provided in physical education courses, sex education courses, biology courses, child growth and development courses, etc. Seldom are students provided with a healthy understanding of their bodies or with realistic information for planning their lives. Information on reproduction, birth control, family planning, abortion, pregnancy and childbirth may be omitted, provided in sex segregated classes or covered in a sketchy fashion. Boys and girls need opportunities to understand the social, psychological and economic factors of health and a chance to incorporate sexuality as a natural part of life. Many of the myths and misunderstandings of the role of sexuality in life could be corrected at this point.

A specific example of sex discrimination in schools is found in the policies expelling pregnant students from school. Over 200,000 young women under 18 years give birth.[55] Most of them are forced out of school at the first sign of pregnancy. A 1970 survey of 17,000 school districts revealed that less than one third offered pregnant school-age girls any educational services. When they were available, they were segregated in special classes or provided with assistance for home study.[56]

Eighty-five percent of these young mothers will keep their babies.[57] Those that marry in this age group are three or four times more likely to end up in divorce than all other age groups.[58] Among teenage mothers who remain unmarried, 85 percent go on welfare.[59] The price society pays for this form of discrimination may not be as openly acknowledged as other forms of sex discrimination, but it is nonetheless real in terms of human, economic and social cost.

*Counseling and guidance*

School counseling and guidance services hold out the promise of a primary intervention for meeting the career planning needs for boys and girls. This hope is quickly diminished when we consider the relatively small contact that most students have with trained counselors. A comparison of the ratio of counselor to student in twenty large cities reveals a range of 1 to 250 in Portland, Oregon to 1 to 794 in New York City.[60] It is further diminished when consider the effect of counseling on female students. A recent study reported in *AERA's Educational Researcher* documented the ineffectiveness of counseling with respect to women and motivation. It concluded that

> Effects to increase motivation, such as special counseling and teacher attention, appeared to have little long-range effect on girls, whereas these same efforts seemed to have an immediate and relatively long lasting effect on boys.[61]

Traditional counseling techniques do not seem to be meeting the needs of girls, and no major effort is currently underway to develop adequate theory and techniques. Many groups refer to the need for aggressive counseling tools, especially for girls from lower economic levels.

Studies of counselor behavior similarly document the problem of sex role stereotyping. Several studies indicate that both female and male counselors have incorporated stereotypes as to the levels and types of occupations that are realistic and appropriate for college and non-college bound girls.[62] Further, female counselors need for self-validation presents a consistent problem for their providing support in helping girls select non-traditional career goals.[63] The pervasiveness of sex stereotypes extends to the investigations of Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz and Vogel's study of clinicians views of mental health and healthy males and females.[64] Clinicians hold different concepts of mental health for men and women and tend to support the sex role stereotypes of our society. They were likely to suggest that healthy women are "more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable, have their feelings more easily hurt, more emotional, more conceited about appearance, less objective, and disliking math and science."

Counseling bias extends to tests and measurements used for guidance. One example is the Strong Vocational Interest Blank which was cited for sex bias by the American Personnel and Guidance Association. If the results of the test are scored in terms of male form of the instrument, an individual may be counseled to move toward becoming a physician, psychiatrist and psychologist. The same scores on the female form would suggest dental assistant, physical therapist, or occupational therapist as appropriate occupations.

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School counseling programs tend to perpetuate many of the same stereotypes. Again, counselors should not be discredited for holding the same biases that other members of the society do. Rather, we need to press for the development of a research *program* which will identify the theory and techniques most appropriate for girls, the modification of pre-service and in-service training of counselors, the development of counseling tools which are more realistic for the changing roles of women, and the incorporation of vocational information into school counseling programs.

*Women's status in the profession*

The organization of professional services in education represents an ongoing source of sex discrimination and the role modeling of behaviors that perpetuate sex role stereotyping. The progressive restriction of women from the higher levels of responsibility and leadership becomes increasingly apparent when we examine the percentages of women involved in various aspects of education.

In 1970–71 women represented:

64 percent of all full time professional staff of public schools.
20 percent of the administrative and supervisory staff
67 percent of the teachers
21 percent of the elementary school principals
3 percent of the senior high school principals
47 percent of the counselors
99 percent of the nurses
91 percent of the school librarians
64 percent of the psychologists and psychometrists
Less than 1 percent of the superintendents
5 percent of the chief state school officers [65]

The increasing domination of males in administrative positions within schools has been an object of concern. The most frequent explanations of this phenomenon are based on assumptions of great economic needs of males and the presumed continuity of their career patterns. Studies which have raised questions about these and related explanations [66] do not seem to have had much impact in changing male administrative domination. Perhaps a more profitable approach would be to view male domination in terms of power relationships among groups in society and to trace the process of how male and female educators are "shaped" or socialized into acceptance and perpetuation of this pattern. Longitudinal studies of occupational socialization are a major need.

A woman has never headed the U.S. Office of Education and women's involvement in decision making positions has been exceedingly limited. At the present time the U.S. Commissioner of Education is male; his deputies and associates are male; only two women hold positions at the assistant executive level. The average grade level for women is GS 7; whereas the average grade level for men is GS 14.[67]

Sex discrimination in the higher levels cannot be explained by the lack of qualifications. One fifth of the doctorates in education are awarded to women, and 13 percent of these doctorates were in the field of educational administration.[68]

Similar patterns appear in teacher organizations. Leadership of both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers is overwhelmingly male. Among state groups about eight percent of the state federations are headed by women presidents, and 20 percent of the state teachers associations are headed by women. The male dominated pattern remains whether consideration is given to total boards of directors, number of staff, or staff in top decision making positions.

Within elementary and secondary schools, the need for balancing the assignments of males and females is clear. Males must be encouraged to move into classroom positions, particularly in the pre-school and elementary schools. Females, on the other hand, must be recruited, trained, and moved into administrative positions. Only when equality is demonstratable within the experience of children, will it be a reality of education.

*Extra-curricular activities*

A subtle but important source of sex role stereotyping is found in the organization and sponsorship of programs provided for boys and girls outside the formal classroom. Most schools offer some activities to meet the special interests of children and to provide character building experience. Competitive sports have already been discussed with respect to the ways that boys' activities represent greater variety and resources than girls'. It must also be pointed out that intramural programs for both boys and girls suffer from the focus on the inter-school competitions.

Members of the group studying athletic fund expenditures in Dallas estimated that 90 percent of the funds were spent on less than the 10 percent of the male students participating in inter-school team sports. The "star" athlete phenomenon limits opportunities for both boys and girls. Intramural activities provide a method of allowing both boys and girls to enjoy sports at their level of skill.

Other examples of extracurricular activities include clubs such as; aviation, phtography, science, modern dance, and organizations which represent the school such as marching band, jazz band, chorus, debate team, etc., which may overtly or covertly limit or discourage the participation of one sex. An example of this "tracking" came to public attention in a national high school science program. Only boys were eligible for the program. After protest, the program was changed to include girls. Youth needs the opportunity to participate in a range of activities based on individual interest.

Honors, awards and special assignment of tasks are other ways of sex role stereotyping. More of this is seen at secondary school level in awarding of scholarships and awards but there are some evidences of it at elementary school level. Children are often placed in lines by sex; competitive activities (e.g. spelling bees) may pit girls against boys; specified halls and stairs may be assigned by sex; classroom tasks (e.g. delivering messages to the office, carrying the heavy equipment) may be delegated by sex; and school "safety" officers may be limited or assigned by sex. It is the cumulative effect of sex-differentiated behaviors that continues to provide sex stereotyped images for children.

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## Objective II

### IDENTIFY AND UTILIZE RESOURCES FOR CHANGE

The first identification of sex role stereotypes in education began in higher education during the 1968–69 school year. Questions of employment discrimination and the omission of women's contribution and concern provided the focus for change. During the past five years most universities and colleges have initiated actions to include women in affirmative action plans for expanding employment opportunities, male-female salary differentials have been equalized by some institutions, and more than 1400 courses on women's studies are being offered in colleges and universities throughout the nation.

The values and leadership of the higher education community have little direct impact on the elementary and secondary education community. When the proposal was developed, federal legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in elementary and secondary schools did not exist. The primary interest in examining and changing early socialization practices of boys and girls was evidenced by small groups of feminists who had little contact with each other. Frequently, the organizational base of these groups was related to the general community rather than professional educational groups. Examples of these groups included the Emma Willard Task Force in Minneapolis, Minnesota; the Kalamazoo, Michigan Task Force on Equal Education; the Ann Arbor, Michigan Task Force; the New York City Chapter of NOW; the Berkeley, California Task Force; the Boulder, Colorado Task Force of NOW; etc. A major task for the project was to attempt to identify these resources and stimulate interest among groups where it did not currently exist.

Three techniques were used for this purpose—the group interview and consultation with individuals and representatives of groups, the development of regular meetings with representatives of national organizations and interested individuals, and individual telephone interviews. Each of these methods was effective in assisting with the continuing identification of resources and providing ideas and suggestions for the conference. More than 200 persons representing teacher associations, community groups, state departments of education, national organizations, higher education, feminist groups, government employees, students, and parents were involved in this process.[69]

These pre-conference sessions were invaluable as a means of developing a general framework and planning the materials and design of the conference. General principles which evolved from these sessions were articulated and incorporated into the activities of the project. They provide general guidelines for any group wishing to develop programs on sex role stereotyping in schools.

*1. Use of socialization framework*

The initial plan for the project had focused narrowly on classroom activities with the hope of selecting a specific target for action. As the questions were examined, it soon become apparent that this was not appropriate for elementary and secondary schools. A major part of the curriculum is not related to the content of classroom activities, but is found in the hidden curriculum of teacher behavior and the general environment of the school.

Children arrive at school with internatized sex role stereotypes. Attempts to change these must be linked to the family and community. It is not helpful to argue where the responsibility for stereotypes originate in an effort to label "villains." Rather, it is important that we understand sex role stereotyping as a pervasive inflence in all areas of life. Every individual and institution has the job of a continuing examination and identification of behaviors which perpetuate sex role stereotyping.

Change in schools is difficult under optimal conditions. It is extremely important that efforts are made to involve occupants of the various groups involved in schools and develop mutually supportive efforts if change is to occur. Community groups, teachers, administrators, school board members, students and parents can initiate efforts and make an effective contribution to change.

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[69] See Appendix A for list of organizations.

The socialization framework was used as a guide for materials development; the design of the conference and the involvement of groups. It expanded the focus of the project activities from a narrow view of classroom activities to a perspective of the relationship between schools and society.

*2. Inclusion and involvement of all racial and ethnic groups*

The adage that we are prisoners of our own experience must be taken seriously. Frequently, we generalize from our experience and omit the perspective of different racial, ethnic and social class groups within the community. Sex role socialization varies within and among groups. Change strategies that might be appropriate for one group may not be appropriate for another. Efforts to initiate action should include the perspective of all groups in the community.

A common oversight is not to consider the full range of stereotyped behaviors and the prescription of roles. Racist and elitist beliefs and assumptions also deny children's rights to human potential development. Programs to change schools should maintain concerns of all groups working to change racist, sexist or elitist stereotypes. Change efforts must be built on the common areas of agreement, while, at the same time there is a recognition and acceptance of differences.

During the project an attempt was made to involve racial and cultural minorities, and spokespersons of various social class groups. Individuals and organizations with non-white perspectives were consulted and invited to participate in conference planning meetings. Some participated in the planning and implementation of the conference. Materials attempted to provide the points of view of various groups of women.

Throughout the experience several problems were identified. First, much of the articulation of women's issues has been made by white women who have been unaware of the other sources of discrimination and the ways that children are denied equality. Second, relatively few channels of national media are available for women of ethnic and cultural minorities to present their point of view. Materials development activities of the project included a search for non-white oriented materials on the socialization of women. Some materials were commissioned or located, but it is apparent that this remains a much needed priority for future development.

Lastly, it seemed that a number of forces were operating to assist "divide and conquer strategies." Many individuals and groups saw the movement toward sexual equality as antithetical toward efforts of racial equality. To some degree, this condition was a part of the general atmosphere or climate, but it must be given attention for any group wishing to reduce sex role stereotyping in schools.

*3. Involvement and consideration of institutional structures*

Any attempt to introduce change into school must include its incorporation in some existing regularity, behavioral or programatic.[70] Change must be woven into the institutional fabric and solidly incorporated into the behavior of all persons within the schools. This suggests that efforts should be made to "tune into" the programs and concerns of other institutions if progress is to result. It is critical that change efforts focus on specific tangible issues which can be resolved.

Priorities were given to identification of organizations which make up the educational community such as administrators organizations, teacher organizations, professional associations, community groups with interests in schools, student groups, etc. Contacts with these organizations focused on helping them to identify ways that they could begin to address issues of sex role stereotyping.

One of the learnings of the experience was the need for expansion of contacts with other organizations. It was also noted that the success of the contact was directly related to the specificity of the request for assistance or involvement. Many individuals and groups genuinely wanted to assist but were not clear how they move toward bringing about change.

Continuing activities for the identification and utilization of the forces for change is currently being carried out by the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education under a grant from Ford Foundation. Any project in this area should plan time and resources for working with other organizations and the incorporation of action training.

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[70] Seymour B. Sarason. *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971.

## OBJECTIVE III

### IDENTIFY MATERIALS FOR TEACHER AWARENESS

Materials on sex role stereotyping in elementary and secondary schools continues to be limited. Traditional methods of locating materials such as review of the literature and use of reference sources did not prove especially useful. The most fruitful source of identifying materials was the contacts with women's groups, other national organizations, and informal word of mouth communications.

Materials were collected from all identified sources. A few articles could be located in national journals or newspapers. The majority of materials collected were published by feminist groups such as Feminist Press and KNOW or remained in unpublished papers, studies, and monographs. An analysis of the collected materials helped to identify neglected areas. Once identified, project staff attempted to locate a knowledgeable resource and commission the development of materials. The most relevant pieces of material were selected for the conference publications. This general scarcity of material and proliferation of informal publications continues. Explanations for this phenomenon include the local nature of the studies of sexism in schools, the frequent omission of quality documentation in action projects, the lack of ongoing research programs, and the resistance of established media to publish articles on this subject.

A 108 page notebook of reading material was prepared and mailed to conferees before the conference. The objective of this notebook was to provide participants with some general sense of awareness of the problems and begin to direct their concerns to action planning during the conference. A second collection of "how to" materials was prepared for use during the conference. A listing of the materials used in these notebooks is given in Appendix B.

Conference materials have been distributed widely since the conference. More than 300 full sets of conference materials have been supplied to educators, conference planners, researchers, state departments of education and schools of education. Thousands of copies of brochures and the publication *51 Percent Minority*, a report of the Connecticut Conference, were distributed during follow-up conferences and in response to requests for information. One of the most successful methods of distribution of materials was through the project's assistance and work with professional journals. The December issue of the NEA journal *Today's Education* ran a 12-page feature on sex role stereotyping in schools. Not only did this reach the 1,300,000 NEA members but more than 15,000 reprints have been distributed during conferences and in response for information.

Participants attending the conference stimulated the development of articles which have appeared in the more than sixteen state and local publications. Project staff provided assistance to persons developing materials for national media such as *Sports Illustrated*, *Learning*, *American Education*, *Ms.*, and *Women Today*, *Kappan*, *AAHPER*. Reports of 9 follow-up conferences will also add to the general store of information stimulated by the project.

A continuing problem in the development of materials was the need to speak to the concerns of non-white women. A few materials were identified or developed to meet this need. It remains a priority for future work in this area.

Materials development stimulated by the project continues through other sources. Members of Feminist Press are currently involved in producing materials for teachers, students, community persons and administrators. The Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education is also developing materials for these groups. The NEA publications department is publishing a multi-media kit of materials for in-service training. It is clear that the impact of the project will continue to be felt in the future.

## OBJECTIVE IV

### TO INITIATE COOPERATIVE DISSEMINATION EFFORTS AMONG INDIVIDUAL'S AND GROUPS

Dissemination activities represented an integral function of the conference and the materials development activities. Two additional mechanisms were used for dissemination purposes. Regular group meetings of interested individuals and groups were initiated during the planning of the conference. This group later formalized itself into the Coalition for Equal Opportunity in Education. The primary function of the group is to share information about common concerns and to provide a mechanism for continuing identification of persons with similar interests. Perhaps the most valuable outcome of this activity has been the stimulation of regular contact among individuals and groups involved in the Coalition.

A second dissemination vehicle was carried out in the conference follow-up activities. A total of twelve conferences or programs were directly or indirectly assisted by the project. Project staff provided assistance with design of conferences, conference materials, identification and provision of speakers, and provision of workshop leaders.

Conferences held to date include those in: Boston, Massachusetts; Seattle, Washington; Portland, Bangor, and Presque Isle, Maine; Fort Wayne, Indiana; Hartford, Connecticut; Little Rock, Arkansas; Houston, Texas; Tallahassie, Florida: Austin, Texas; and New York City.[71]

## SECTION II

### CONFERENCE ON SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES—EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL

*Why a conference?*

The original proposal for the project identified a national conference as the vehicle for achieving its objectives. The rationale for this included:

1. Primary leadership for changing sex role stereotypes was coming from multiple sources working largely in isolation from others with similar interests. A national conference could identify these groups and provide an opportunity for exchange of information.
2. Little published information about theoretical concerns or action strategies was available. The conference could provide a means for data collection and for evaluation of strategies for dealing with sex role stereotyping.
3. Change in sex role stereotyping will result from the combined efforts of teachers, administrators, students, parents and community groups. The conference could provide a common focus for the involvement of representatives of each of these groups.
4. A necessary first step for change is increasing the general level of awareness and demonstrating ways which others can deal with the problem. The conference format represents not only an educational vehicle, but also could demonstrate ways that participants could continue similar activities.

*Conference theme*

Conference planning sessions suggested the need for the development of a common framework for viewing schools and the ways that sex role stereotypes are perpetuated. The conference theme "Education for Survival" grew out of the conviction that the goal of education should be to prepare children for optimal physical, economic, political, cultural and psychological survival. The survival needs of children differ according to sex, race, ethnic group, and social class. Schools must provide an education matched to the survival needs of the individual child. Equal opportunity cannot be served when the same education is provided for all children.

Five vehicles used by schools for meeting children's needs were identified:

1. Curriculum: the total of the formal skills and knowledge that is transmitted to children
2. Teacher Behavior: the behavior of teachers, administrators and the general environment represent the "hidden curriculum" of schools.
3. Physical education and health education: Activities which assist in the development of healthy bodies, an understanding of how to maintain healthy bodies, and positive body images.
4. Counseling: the sum total of activities that form the affective portion of the curriculum.
5. Extra-curricular activities: the activities which represent the interface between societal expectations and the school experience.

A grid for analysis of the ways that these vehicles contribute to or deny preparation for survival was developed and used as a concept in designing the conference. (Figure 1) The Conference program was organized under the same general areas. (Appendix F)

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[71] For a detailed description of these conferences (sponsorship, theme, and contact person) please see pages 82–84.

FIGURE 1

MODEL FOR ANALYSIS OF ADEQUACY OF SCHOOLS PREPARATION FOR SURVIVAL NEEDS

| Adult roles, survival needs | Curriculum | Teacher behavior | Physical education, health education | Counseling | Extracurricular activities |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Political survival | | | | | |
| Psychological/cultural survival | | | | | |
| Physical survival | | | | | |

*Conference participants*

If a casual observer had wandered into the Airlie Conference Center near Warrenton, Virginia during the 1972 Thanksgiving weekend, he or she would have had difficulty guessing the purpose of the conference. More than 191 persons were involved in the various conference activities. Participants represented a spectrum of age groups, racial-cultural groups, and professional and occupational groups. Sixteen percent of the participants were male and thirty-five percent of the participants were members of racial and ethnic minority groups. Teachers, administrators, governmental employees, students, staff and representatives of teacher organizations and community groups provided a lively variety of perspectives.

Leadership was shared among a variety of individuals. The Conference Highlights provided in Appendix C gives a listing of major speakers and workshop leaders. The design of the conference had sought to bring together much of the national leadership with interest in this area. A continuing problem was the lack of time for full utilization of the talent represented at the conference.

*Conference site*

Airlie House, a conference center located in a beautiful Virginia country setting, was sleected to meet the conference requirements for numerous small group meeting rooms and for its distance from distractions of the city. Meals and most conference sessions were held in the main building of the center. Sleeping accommodations were conveniently located in nearby buildings.

## CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

*Speeches and presentations*

The Conference opened with remarks from NEA leaders, Margaret Stevenson and Samuel B. Ethridge, and from Louise White, Director of the Teacher Corps, U.S. Office of Education. Conference activities attempted to provide a variety of presentations. The primary framework for the conference was provided by a panel presentation on Education for Survival. Speakers for this presentation included Elizabth Koontz, Director, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor; Celeste Urlich, Vice President, AAHPER; Michelle Russell, Cummings Foundation; Florence Howe, Feminist Press; Celicia Suarez, National Chicana Foundation. Copies of their remarks are provided. Small group discussions were utilized for getting acquainted purposes and providing opportunities for formulating questions for members of the panel.

*Workshops*

A total of twenty different workshops were provided during the conference to encourage active involvement of the participants. In addition, time was made available for non scheduled meetings of participants sharing similar interests. The scheduled workshops included:

*Education Association Involvement* (Cora McHenry and Kate Kirkham).—An examination of ways that education associations can move towards reducing racial and sexual stereotypes in schools.

*Racism and Sexism* (Michelle Russell).—An analysis of racial and sexual stereotypes which affect our bhavior.

*Analyzing Instructional Materials* (Sara Zimet).—How you can analyze the stereotypes of textbooks and instructional materials.

*Non-Sexist Early Childhood Education* (Nora Allemany).—Ways of reducing sex steotyping in early childhood education.

*Consciousness Raising Techniques for Changing Schools* (Rogie Bender and Joan Bartl).—Ways of spreading the message to others.

*Curriculum for Teachers* (Florence Howe).—Practical ways teachers can learn non sexist education content and techniques.

*Institutional Sex Role Stereotyping* (Gail McLure and John McLure).—Outline of a system approach for change.

*Students and Sex Role Stereotyping* (Claire Fulcher)—Programs for meeting students concerns and needs.

*Commnunity Involvement* (Naydene Paysoure).—A look at how community groups can assist change in schools.

*Happenings in Your Head* (Verne Moberg).—Ideas for raising awareness of sex role stereotypes.

*Women in Education* (Suzanne Taylor).—Status of women within the educational profession.

*Use of Media for Community Action* (Ann Grant)—Demonstration of multimedia techniques for increasing community awareness.

*Experience Based upon Career Exploration* (Jan Birk and Faith Tanney).—Helping high school girls plan their careers.

*Identifying and Changing our own Sexist Behavior with Children* (Betty Levy).—Ways that we transmit sex stereotypes to children in the classroom.

*High School Curriculum* (Cynthia Eaton and Carol Jacobs).—A model of women's studies for high schools.

*Affirmative Action for Education* (Althea Simmons).—Writing affirmative action plans for school systems and institutions.

*Legal Tools to Fight Sex Discrimination* (Charlotte Hallam).—Existing legislation that prohibits sex discrimination in schools.

*Women's History—Her Story* (Martha Gershun).—Socal studies curriculum for high school students.

*Media presentations*

Five media presentations were interspersed throughout the conference program. They provided important content for the conference and a demonstration of the variety of ways that awareness can be increased. These presentations included:

*Sex Role Stereotypes of Textbooks.*—A slide show by Lenore Weitzman. Lenore Weitzman was then in the process of completing a study of the textbooks that are used by schools throughout the nation. The books studied included reading books, science books, spelling books, and mathematics books. This well-documented slide show graphically demonstrated the prevalence of sex role stereotyping in textbooks and other instructional materials.

*Free to Be You and Me*—Non-sexist record presented by Letty Progrebin. The Ms. Foundation had just completed the development of a non sexists record entitled "Free to Be You and Me." Letty told of Marlo Thomas' leadership in development and production of the record and played portions of the material for the audience.

*Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers*—A slide show by the Women on Words and Images. The Women on Words and Images have provided national leadership in their study of children's readers. This slide show demonstrated some of their findings and techniques of raising consciousness.

*Our North American Foremothers*—A slide show by Ann Grant. Ann Grant spent months researching the contributions of North American women. This excellent slide show presented her findings and demonstrated a most effective method of supplementing present curriculum materials.

*"Dick and Jane"*—A slide show by Corrine Perkins. Corrine Perkins, a teacher in Iowa City, Iowa, demonstrated how teachers could conduct their own studies of textbooks and use them as effective methods of in-service training.

## SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES

### KEYNOTE SPEECH

(By Louise R. White)

I am reminded of a statement by a president of the League of Women Voters. She said, "I think there may be one thing more valuable than an idea in its time, and that is an idea in action, an idea made to work by the efforts of people working together, making a commitment and taking the concrete steps to bring the idea into effect."

Of the present 1,138,400 elementary school teachers, 961,500 are women. This is a fantastic resource for the furtherance of refined objectives especially for the analysis of sex roles and forced stereotyped behavior. However, one quickly finds that eight out of ten principals are men. At the high school level the number of men and women teachers is about equal, but 97 percent of the principals are male. If these figures are valid, then we as women must share the brunt of perpetuating the differences between the expectation and aspiration levels of boys and girls.

The day has passed when education can afford to stress specific learning roles according to sex. Today's educational system has taken on many of the features of a technological industry. We can assume that the process of educating people for survival is becoming the most important ingredient in our society as we move toward the 21st century.

Education in the past has sought to prepare the individual for sex roles for working in an industrial and post-industrial society. This tradition, however, has given way to a new and more realistic one in which the education of the individual is a multipurpose task focusing on the whole child in the context of the whole society. We now educate the person, regardless of sex, to become more creative and productive.

Certain educational conventions still exist, however, that stereotype women and minorities by limiting interaction, and by reinforcing beliefs of their lesser ability and value. These conventions constitute a negative "hidden curriculum" which shapes the interests and concerns of children from a very early age. By the time they are in the fourth grade, girls' visions of the occupations open to them are often limited to four: teacher, nurse, secretary and mother. The self-fulfilling prophecy also exists within many classrooms. What the teacher expects is usually what the teacher gets. If she expects the girls to be quiet and non-assertive, the teacher generally gets quiet, non-assertive girls. If girls are expected to excel academically, they usually do. This is a very positive element in a classroom if a teacher has expectations, but when expectations include unquestioned obedience from girls, or poor academic performance from boys, such predictions become very harmful to the child.

One must also explore the facts and fictions of stereotypes. In a recent survey conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, some sex differences related to attitudes were explained by the researchers as being the result of childhood socialization practices which "discourage the training of girls to work on their own." That research showed a significant difference between men and women in their desires to be free to decide how to do their jobs. The men attached greater importance to such freedom. Also, women were less concerned than men about getting ahead on their jobs. Significantly more women than men said that they never wanted to be promoted. The study discovered that women's attitudes toward promotion were strongly tied to their expectations of being promoted.

Since these questions have serious implications for education, it would seem inappropriate to examine those deficiencies which lead to human failure, and to begin to develop alternatives. Education should redirect itself to support women and minorities to develop fully their potential and to utilize it.

As we deliberate during this conference, it is my hope that we will examine those conditions under which meaningful educational change can occur. Among the many possible ideas to consider, let me suggest at least three requisites for meaningful change:

1. Recognition that all intelligence does not originate at the university, but that some emanates naturally from within the community to form a richer hybrid of learning.
2. A "freeing of the atmosphere" by educators with respect to what skills go best with which sex. Survival is dependent upon enlargement of our own understanding of past achievement and progress. Life is dependent upon a more thorough search for alternatives which will include all people regardless of sex, race or creed.
3. The ways in which NEA can continue to impact the activities of the U.S. Office of Education with specific input toward shaping its activities.

We will have taken a giant step toward educating the children of our country for survival when the produce of education becomes more important than the container, when the educational atmosphere has become flexible enough so that females can make educational choices without fear of being stigmatized, and when educators can admit that there are many unexplored avenues to educational development.

## EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL

(By Elizabeth Koontz)

Prison uprising, drug addiction, alcoholism, suicide, poverty, hunger, welfare, job dissatisfaction, unemployment, underemployment, campus unrest, political decision—what to do these words bring to your mind?

Educators can do more about these problems than they realize by examining some of the schools' contradictions. Schools profess to promote equality of opportunity and the search for truth, with learning for living as one purpose. This must be examined in terms of processes, structures, practices, and the assumptions of educators, school boards, and parents.

The Women's Bureau was established 52 years ago at the instigation of women who deplored the conditions under which women and children were forced to work in factories. The Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau were established by Acts of Congress.

Today we seldom hear of violations of the child labor laws, but only in recent years has concern been expressed about eliminating discrimination against women. What has brought this about? Two events have promoted the movement toward equal opportunity of the sexes: the influx of women into war industries during World War II, and the civil rights movement of the '60's. The youth culture has also played a significant role by changing lifestyles for youth and adults.

Schools can be a vital change agent. But if individuals are to expect economic, psychological, cultural, political and physical survival, the schools themselves must change. The attitudes of educators, school boards, communities and politicians who control school funds, must change. Curriculum, methodology, textbooks, policies and practices and focus must also change.

Why such emphasis on the schools? Simply because the school system is the institution through which we expect all citizens to gain knowledge of the traditions, mores, and culture they are to perpetuate. If that system perpetuates biases and prejudices that limit development of one's self concept and ability, it must be examined to ascertain the reasons for failure, and it must take corrective action.

Let's look at some of the problems:

Education is expensive, and will grow more expensive in the future. People want to "get their money's worth". When you mention "welfare" you get different reactions. Much emotion accompanies expressions such as "taxing me to support those who won't work and live better than I", or speaking of minorities as "lazy, shiftless, and not wanting to accept work". What contributes to this condition is the political process. What do schools have to do with this?

Schools prepare one to cope with the world in which he or she lives and will survive. Notice that I said, "he or she". That's first. Our language can determine a whole chain of events, decisions, policies and kinds of behavior. The implications become quite evident when generic uses of "he" become literal translations for preferences, or for success or failure. Females make up more than half of the population, but we regard them as secondary in most instances, and schools reflect that status.

Schools reflect society to a greater extent than they develop society's attitudes. Although we have become an industrial country, we have not progressed much beyond the limited ideas about women assigned by the previous agrarian society. We still have "women's work" and "men's work" even though mechanization and automation have changed and virtually eliminated men's heavy and rough work. Parental care of children has been almost completely assigned to women as a carry over from earlier days when women were required to work at home. Men worked outside the home to provide food, shelter and fuel. Despite the fact that all male duties of the home have been so modernized that women can now take care of them, little has been done so that the women can share the child-rearing responsibilities with men. Herein lies most of the problem.

Somehow our society has tied women's roles as childbearers to every other aspect of her personness. We determine from this fact our rationale for the following decisions:

1. Women should not be permitted to hold jobs traditionally performed by men because families will break down if women work. That means women can cook, clean, plow, run tractors, repair machinery, drive cars, haul children, groceries or furniture, but they must not work at the same jobs for pay, or in competition with men.

2. Women should work at such jobs as nursing, caring for children, waiting on others, teaching, or in certain departments in factories. In industry that means women should stick to the jobs that have been broken down so that the pay could be reduced and women encouraged to take them.

3. Women should receive training only for those kinds of jobs associated with homemaking and improving their attractiveness, unless, as during World War II, they are asked to do non-traditional jobs that pay well and include child care facilities. That means women can do any kind of work when they are really needed. But when women need to work at better jobs, they should be protected against themselves and kept out of competition.

4. This suggests that every woman needs more protection than a man from certain jobs because woman's contribution is made when she is a good wife and mother, and cares for the family's needs, and when she is a noble servant. This means that a woman should get a man and bear children and take care of the home for which she will be rewarded with care for the rest of her life and not need to worry about the problems of the world.

5. Woman is trained from birth to use her "feminity" to get her father's favors and copy her mother's way. She is to sit still and look pretty while boys play rough games. She is rewarded for being quiet while boys are rewarded for being assertive. For performing her household duties she will receive compliments such as "I don't know what we'd do without you." This means women are supposed to wait on others who are grateful for not having to do anything that smacks of boredom, routine, and drudgery.

6. Girls attend school where decisions are made, and attitudes derived from the role she is expected to assume as an adult. In nursery school both sexes learn which toys are for each, and that boys give the orders and girls take the orders. They learn that fathers go to work and mothers stay home, take care of the house and the children. Fathers know how to do many things, but mothers can only "mommy".

Throughout the grades, school books portray girls and women in the limited roles of housewife and mother, or performing at the orders of others, are passive, with no opinions of their own, and usually asking the males for opinions and answers. Girls are not supposed to have the brain power to do arithmetic. That is a man's subject. She learns from teachers and counselors that she should concentrate on getting married and being a good wife; therefore studies are necessary just for getting a diploma. Learning to type is something to "fall back on" until she hooks that man. Boys are led to believe that they are superior at learning math, science, physics, and the solid subjects, and that only a sissy would be interested in learning to cook, sew, iron, or do hair.

The curriculum has reinforced myths that educators cannot explain rationally. You read or hear:

> "It is our philosophy that every person deserves the opportunity to develop to the full extent of his potential and ability."

Therein lies the trouble. Remember the generic use of "he" or "his". Schools have predetermined what the potential is for a boy, or a girl, and have categorized all in each sex as being alike and completely different from the other sex category.

Now it is time to look at reality. Fifty-one percent of the population is female, and women make up 38% of the work force. They receive earnings much lower than men's because of the kind of work they do, and because of discrimination in pay for the same work. This is under attack now, and discrimination on the basis of sex is clearly illegal. Some 35 million dollars have already been awarded in back pay because of violations.

Women work because of economic need, not for fun and luxuries. Two-thirds of the women working are single, divorced, deserted, widowed or married to men earning less than $7,000 a year. Women are heads of families. Of the 51 million families in the U.S., one out of nine is headed by a woman. Among minorities, this rises to four out of 10. And women work even when they have children under three years of age.

Only a small percentage of women are managers, or even skilled craftspersons. They are seldom doctors or lawyers. And though they are teachers, they are seldom principals or superintendents. Why? Mainly because of sex stereotyping that schools permit and even perpetuate.

But stereotyping does not end there. The sex roles assigned by minority cultures prohibit women's economic independence because the majority culture has set forth certain characteristics for males and females based on myths.

One of these myths is that the wife does not work. This is not realistic. The fact is that the great middle class of this country exists because both husband and wife have worked for many years, and still do. But the myth persists, and minorities suffer from the weight of what is prescribed in order to be called a "man". He must be able to support a family singlehanded. Minorities in general need the combined incomes of all adults in the family to attain a decent level of existence. So do many families among the white majority, but the minorities do not know this. Another proof of manhood is associated with the ability to produce children. This becomes part of the larger population problem when women are taught that bearing children is their greatest contribution. What will the schools train women for if the problems of natural resources and population control must be dealt with?

You might think of the needs of our society in urban planning, management of social institutions, crafts, services of all kinds, and ask: "Why are we selecting from only a small segment of the society the ones to be trained, employed, or recruited for special responsibilities?

Do the schools know the needs for survival of the difference sexes, or of different groups? Do the schools ignore some of the signals? The signals are prison uprisings, drug addiction, alcoholism, depression and mental illness, job dissatisfaction, divorce rates, underemployment and unemployment and its relationship to such crimes as prostitution where the seller goes to jail and the buyer goes free. We need to ask what the schools might be doing about these problems and their causes.

If the schools hamper one's chances for survival, I don't believe it is intentional. So since it is happening, largely from ignorance, insensitivity or unawareness, why not begin now the plans to do something about it all over this land.

Finally, we must ask what the schools are doing to make each individual feel good about herself, or himself, even though our living conditions are the result of discrimination.

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## SCHOOLS AND ECONOMIC SURVIVAL

(By Michelle Russell)

Economic survival does not come about by accident. It requires a constant struggle to keep up with changes in the labor market. We have experienced major shifts since World War 2 which have resulted in job stratification and a general atomization of the work force. Rapid technological change has brought with it impersonalization alienation and isolation, particularly for those at the lower end of the economic ladder. This would include most members of racial and ethnic minorities and women. It would also include a large segment of the labor force described as lower class.

If we examine the major problems of our society we can see that they are basically economic in origin. I am referring to the problems of racism, sexism and classism, or elitism. And these are the problems our educational system is not able to cope with unless it undergoes drastic changes. At present the schools are not able to respond realistically to the needs of young people.

The schools present white middle class students with an increasingly regimented, stratified and accelerated curriculum that keeps them in the school's custody and out of the labor market for a longer period of time than necessary. These students experience isolation and a receding structural relationship to society. They find their identity and worth as "youth" in nonproductive metaphysical areas. Thus, they remain children.

At the same time Black youngsters are categorized by the schools as deviants, dropouts, pushers, and junkies, destined to become criminals. This is equally nonproductive and antagonistic to the social order. The minority students are not prepared by the school to deal with teachers and careers, but rather with cops, ambulances, and oppressive environments. These students are tracked by the school into an equally stratified labor market—into hard, dangerous jobs with a high turnover or, in the case of gifted students, into professional employment that isolates them from their own people, or into social work which bolsters the dependent relationship of their people to the government.

White men in power have been tracking us as women from the day we were born, and they will continue to do so. Women in the labor force are concentrated at the bottom of the system. When they predominate in an industry, such as the textile industry, the managers are men. Other types of jobs open to them are mainly in the social service sector or in "paper pushing." We are tracked into jobs that help maintain the stability of the economy, not into expanding areas in which there is room to grow. The characteristics required for the jobs we do are those characteristics that are looked down on, and which increase the tendency to keep us in our place. But these are the same qualities that help us to survive. This is the reality that we live with.

The schools track women students into maintenance and socialization work—as cooks, maids, nurses, secretaries, and teachers—for which society does not pay well.

If we are to face up to the problems of racism, sexism and classism, each of the groups with no power must begin by defining their own identity. The Black movement of the '60's took this route and used it successfully. Even though some hostility was generated, and competitive forces were unleashed, it did result in a considerable gain in power. Teachers can be a vital link in helping to eliminate racist, elitist and sexist practices in the schools and in society, by focusing on the survival strategies of each group presently lacking sufficient power to control their own destiny.

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## BUT I AM MY BODY—SCHOOLS AND PHYSICAL SURVIVAL

(By Celeste Ulrich)

Descarte suggested "*je pense, donc je suis*," however, I would seek to convince you that "I am, therefore I think, and feel, and act." Schools, and even societies, have subscribed to the notion that the real person exists within a temple of muscles, nerves and organs called the body, the preservation of which fosters survival. My survival depends upon the behavior I manifest as I reflect the doing, feeling and thinking domains of the totality which is me.

The idea that "I am my body" is not easily accepted by the institutions of formal education, nor is the plea of physical educators that we must foster physical survival. Education, which has bowed to reason and idolized cognition, has only recently considered the totality of the individual, and recognized that the learner must feel and do, as well as think. Only through such a holistic approach will relevant education be found.

Physical educators have always endorsed holism. As we have attempted to understand the art and science of human movement, we have depended heavily upon activity to sponsor feelings and understandings. But, because action and concern do not always stem from cognition; physical education has often been a step child of the formal school curriculum. The traditional curriculum has usually assumed the responsibility to reflect society as depicted through rational understanding.

Education is expanding, and has already started to assume more societal responsibility. The schools which reflect the social scene also reproduce stereotypes of the real life social drama. They overtly stereotype roles with regard to racial, religious and economic patterns, and they covertly and malignantly stereotype persons by sex-oriented expectations. Sex role stereotyping has seldom been recognized, even by the individuals against whom it discriminates. It is a malignancy because it endorses the fallacious idea that over 50 percent of the world's population are to be treated as second class citizens—of less worth and of whom less is expected. The female has come to fulfill the prophecy which has been set for her.

The most highly valued American attributes are those reserved for the male. The research of Rosenkrantz, Broverman, Reisman, Griffin, Maccoby, Horner and others, has all demonstrated that traits identified as feminine are valued less than the masculine. The masculine image is considered synonymous with the image of the healthy adult person. We sanctify our reasoning via theories of biological determinism, historical relevation, God, male dominance, ego satisfaction and personality development. Freud depicted the female as dependent, passive, fragile, non-aggressive, non-competitive, empathic, sensitive, yielding, receptive, supportive and emotionally liable. The male is depicted as independent, aggressive, competitive, task oriented, assertive, innovative, self-disciplined, stoic, active, analytical, courageous, confident, rational and emotionally controlled.

The terms used to describe the behaviors associated with masculine role fulfillment stem from concepts of physical strength and endurance—the two traits in which the average male bests the average female. Gender identified traits reflect relative values in strength and endurance, an abundance of which has always been assumed valuable.

Very little research is available about female strength and endurance. Evidence is accumulating, however, to show that the strength differential is greater within each sex than between sexes. A number of women are stronger than a great many men, and many men are less enduring than some women. The day may be approaching when a woman can aspire to values treasured for all healthy people without being considered unfeminine.

Many assumptions about the relative strength and endurance of men and women are based upon adult mean scores, and may not apply to real boys and girls. The 100 best athletes from a school of 300 boys and 300 girls would contain a high percentage of females. Thus, the restrictions placed upon women in developing their fullest potential do not have a sound physiological rationale. Instead, they reflect a moral vendetta and stereotyped sex roles. The Olympics contained women who are not ashamed to be strong. The Sherpa bearer who accompanied Edmund Hillary when he climbed Mt. Everest was a 90-pound, 18-year-old female who carried equipment weighing close to 150 pounds.

To insure the idea that women must never get "out of hand", a determined effort has reinforced the weak and fragile concept of femininity. One ridicules the Amazon to teach what happens to girls who muscles bulge and whose behavioral patterns cater to aggression and drive. To bulge from excess mammary tissue is one thing, but to bulge from muscular tissue is another. As females reinterpret their roles, they find out that strength and endurance are not unfeminine and that bulges can be controlled. Women who affirm their bodies are beginning to feel comfortable with assertive roles and with personality characteristics of strength.

Because the internalized feelings regarding strength and endurance are so basic to our interpretations of the stereotyped sex role, it would appear that departments of physical education might act as change agents within the schools. However, blatant sexual discrimination has been most rampant in departments of physical education. It is the only sex-identified body of knowledge in the school curriculum (you do not have boys' math and girls' math, boys' English and girls' English). Physical education facilities, equipment and personnel for girls have been regarded as less important than those for the male.

Women who have allied themselves with physical activity have often had to risk their feminine image, and in a world where even bicycles have a sex, that is frightening. As some insecure males felt that sports—the last bastion of masculinity—was being stormed, they felt and acted as if they were being emasculated. Therefore, women, ever mindful of their responsibilities to booster the male, turned to the one activity pattern open—dance. They "took over" and stressed the physical traits of flexibility, agility and coordination which reinforced the womanly attributes of grace, poise and beauty. Men began to find dance distasteful and felt feminized when forced into such a movement pattern. The personality of the male dancer is still the object of social derision.

Nowhere has the concept of the strong woman been more dramatically represented than in the Olympiad. Women have been forbidden to compete against men in all activities except equitation and, in that activity the woman rider is allowed to challenge the male rider. However, even as the activities of women Olympic contestants were held in check by a social dictum which reinforced the idea that women were weak and non-enduring, the female athletes brought both strength and endurance to the activities. The male Olympic coaches line the fences not believing when women athletes shatter records previously thought unattainable by men or women.

As young people insist "but I am my body", more emphasis is placed upon self-actualization and the autonomy sponsored by physical survival. The boys and girls in today's school are not nearly as "up tight" about sexually designated activity roles as were their parents and grandparents. Many girls do not feel unfeminine as they run, jump, climb, throw, and endure. More boys are turning to dance, synchronized swimming and figure skating. Both participate in gymnastics, volleyball, soft ball, climbing, surfing and a myriad of movement patterns which reflect as unbiased approach to the art and science of human movement. The "mod bod" is asexual.

Physical survival is the bedrock of self-actualization. Physical educators ache to help people examine reality directly and honestly—an approach which will ameliorate individual abilities even as it enhances a society. As alternate life styles become available, and we feel comfortable in believing "I am my body" without feeling that we have abandoned the stereotypes of intellectualism, scholasticism and other gender-oriented "isms", the opportunities for economic, psychosocial/cultural and political survival will be manifested in social self-determination. I am my body. *Je suis, donc je fais. Je pense et j'attends.*

## SCHOOLS AND CULTURAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL SURVIVAL

(By Cecilia Suarez)

First of all I would like to give my definition of cultural survival as it relates to the Chicana. I think that the Chicano and the Chicana feel that cultural survival means keeping their language and their culture; therefore that is my definition of cultural survival. We are fighting to keep alive our language and culture which we feel are being obliterated. While there are many sexual stereotypes concerning the Chicana, I want to focus on the description of her child rearing practices.

Many people talk about Chicanos and Chicanas in terms of the Chicano problem and the bilingual problem. We don't feel that the problem is a Chicano problem, nor do we feel that we have bilingual problems. The problem is the way society views us—stereotypically.

A stereotype is a generalization made about a group or members of a group based on emotions or faulty judgment. Stereotypes have stifled and restricted people and groups and have hindered the full social development of women by labeling them as passive. The Chicana, that is, the Mexican American woman, however, carries a double burden. She is discriminated against as a woman and as a member of an ethnic group with damaging effects to herself and to her family. I want to review with you some of the childhood practices that have been traditionally ascribed to the Chicano and how they have affected her cultural and psychological survival.

Child rearing is the interaction between parents and their children within the home—their expressions, attitudes, values, beliefs, and interests. One kind stereotype that occurs in a study of childbearing practices is the lumping together of all low income families. Programs developed in California are based on research done on South Carolina poor, and programs for the Chicana have been based on definitions of so-called disadvantaged families of any ethnic group or from any geographic area.

For example, Ira Gordon described the disadvantaged home as disorganized, having no levels of expectation, and disciplining by verbal or physical force. No, I'm not going to comment on all these descriptions except to say that many of the Chicano programs stress the fact that they're very well organized. They emphasize this point precisely because so often the Chicano home and the Chicana have been labelled disorganized. In trying to be very organized and very clean so that the child will feel secure, they produce a highly sterile environment. This is actually very offensive to the Chicana.

I, for example, come from a family of eleven children. If my mother had not been organized, she would not have been able to get the dinner on the table every day.

Deutsch and Hunt who did a lot of research in the '60's came up with the theory of the disadvantaged child. That is, if the low income family's environment was so supposedly disadvantaged and deficient, it had to be enriched so the child could catch up with the whites in the class. They described the middle class life as one which provides opportunities for the normal growth of the child. Therefore, according to the theory, minorities do not grow normally and slum conditions are detrimental to the physical and mental growth of the children—a very dismal picture of the low income family. Deutsch and Hunt also stressed the minimum of learning opportunities in the ghetto and barrio, and said that the ghetto parents are unable to help their children prepare for or continue in school. This theory implied that the ghetto child could do well in school only by becoming middle class and white. Of course, for the Chicano this also meant he had to be English-speaking.

Celia Heller, in her book, *Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten at the Crossroads*, describes various attributes of the Chicano family that she maintains contribute to the delinquency of the Chicano child. She criticizes Chicana upbringing practices for emphasizing values that block the child's advancement into Anglo society. For instance, some of these values are close family ties, honor, masculinity, living in the present and stressing courtesy and politeness. Our parental love, however, is unconditional. It is not dependent on the child's level of performance as compared with other cultures. We don't have a standard of excellence for our children, but we love them all, and this is considered really bad. We don't train our children for independent behavior, expecially since the mother is supposed to be very close to her children, and this is considered even worse. And, of course, we're supposed to be very fatalistic, our goals being always in the present and never in the future.

William Madsen, an anthropologist who did a study called *The Mexican-Americans in Texas*, claims that the Mexican family is the main obstacle to the advancement of the child because of the strong ties and the demand that one puts the family above itself. He describes the family roles in the traditional way saying that the father avoids demonstrations of affection, but that the mother remains very close to the child, and that sex and age determine the roles within the family. The males and the older male child are the most respected. He goes to great lengths to describe the Chicana as submissive, and as a wife who gratefully submits to physical abuse from her Chicano husband. He describes the Chicano as having a "machismo syndrome." Machismo is defined as the masculinity of the Mexican-American male—one who asserts male superiority and dominance through multiple sexual conquests. The Chicana is described as defenseless and submissive to this macho.

My last description of the Chicana comes from a nursery school model in Greeley, Colorado. The program was based on a description of the Chicano as a deprived child who lives in an environmentally deprived home, in a large family and whose father does not earn an adequate living. The mother who has to go out and work, comes home tired and is unable to cope with or help the children. The only way that the Chicano child will succeed is by becoming an English-speaking white middle-class child.

Deprived, deficient, disadvantaged, submissive, disorganized—these are all descriptions of the child-rearing practices of the Chicana. What does it mean to her? It means that because of the differences in culture, she has been stereotyped as inferior rather than culturally different. What does it mean to be labeled inferior? People learn who they are and what they are from the ways they have been treated by those around them. People develop feelings that they are liked, wanted, accepted, from having been liked, wanted and accepted. To produce a healthy self it is necessary to provide experience whereby individuals are accepted. What does it do to the Chicana who is told she is not a good mother? This has some deep psychological implications not only for the Chicana, but also for her children, especially her daughters. The Chicana will have to refute these stereotypes for her psychological and cultural survival. Her child rearing practices must not be looked upon as something that should be stamped out because they are different.

Our society, and specifically our educational system, must appreciate the various American cultures. Cultural pluralism is a necessary part of the philosophical basis of education.

## SCHOOLS AND POLITICAL SURVIVAL

(Florence Howe)

The Feminist Press is a tax exempt institution that publishes educational materials to change schools, especially for the sake of the education of women. We are engaged in several educational projects including a series of community workshops on children's books in Holyoke, Massachusetts, New York, and Baltimore under a Rockefeller Family Fund grant. We are also conducting inservice teaching in New York City's public schools. We also publish a variety of materials through a clearing house on women's studies, including a Women's Studies Newsletter.

One of the main points that has been made at this conference is that sexism is intrinsically linked to racism. I think that's perfectly true. It is impossible for a white woman to work as a white woman for the sake of white women. For the women's movement to continue as a white women's movement is to fly in the face of reality and to be led into the same traps that our 19th century ancestors were led into. I am also concerned about classism. The women's movement must address white working class women as well as American Indian, Asian, Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women.

When we talk about minority group women we must be clear about including working class women as well as the poor. If we have begun to reach Black women, or women are joining us, they are by and large professionals. If they are speaking up for their sisters who are not professionals, that is great, but I don't always hear that.

Unless we are clear about racism, we can't deal with sexism. I have taken a long time in coming around to that position, but I have come to it in part through the experience of teaching at Old Westbury where some of the experience is enough to turn a liberal into a racist. Some of the experience is that difficult and unpleasant. I am happy to say I wasn't a liberal in the first place, so I don't suppose I am going to wind up a racist. But I think the experience there is very difficult for white people who have been quite unconscious of their racism, or even when conscious of their racism, to be faced by hostility from Black people and from Puerto Rican people. To some extent it is deserved, but very often the people who face the hostility are not necessarily the people who deserve it.

I have been living recently in an environment very different from any that I have lived in before. During my two summers in Mississippi I was welcomed by the Black communities—an experience not comparable to that at Old Westbury where 30 percent are white—and it is a very educational experience for white people to be in a minority environment. Of course Black people and Chicanos understand what that means, but at Old Westbury they are the majority, and to some extent they act the way white people act when they are the majority. It is a very interesting thing.

I have learned about the necessity to come to grips with racism and sexism by teaching a women's studies course this term. I'm right in the middle of it, and I'm hoping that I can finish the semester without its going to pieces.

When I came into this classroom eight weeks ago to teach "introduction to Women's Studies" I expected to find white women, because Black people at Old Westbury have largely been hostile to the idea of women's studies. Well, more than half the students in the class were Black women, and of course, my curriculum went out the window. The course has been different from any course I have ever taught. What is clear to me now is that Black and white women talk over each other's heads. They don't know what each other's lives are like, and they don't even begin to communicate with each other on the subject for a long time. It took many weeks before the women were willing to say that they don't trust each other. They may be friends; they don't want to be segregated; they don't want separate classes. but they don't trust each other. They don't trust each other about intimate matters, for instance, because they don't believe the other group can understand what their problems are, or their experiences, or their views.

I am not saying we can build bridges to understanding, if by bridges you mean the elimination of differences. We can communicate what the differences are about, and how they feel, and we can appreciate the differences. It seems to me that this the first step to political survival for all of us, not only in community relations, or conferences, but in the schools.

What has happened in my classroom may be a paradigm. We have not been able to talk much about sexism, or we can talk about it for only half the class period. I talk with the Black students, though I don't really know that I'm doing it until the next day when I suffer white backlash. I know I divide my attenion, but I don't know how to stop because I know of no way to talk both to Black and white students about some subjects. Michelle Russell assisted in my class and was marvelous because she could do the reverse of what I do.

In addition to its interracial composition, half the people in my class are lower, or working class. A few are upper or upper-middle class, and a couple are upper-upper. We also have three generations of women in the class, the age range being 17 to 60 years, and some students have as many as eight children. There are about four youngsters aged 17 to 22 who are beginning to resent being called the "young people" in the class, but they really are somewhat different from the rest.

How do we deal with the issues of racism, sexism, and classism? We manage it by becoming a bit more sophisticated all the time, and a bit more knowledgeable about the issues. Also, we need to go beyond understanding to analysis. Until you have a history, you have no future. Until we understand where sexism and racism, our problems and illnesses come from, we will not know how to solve them. It's much more than knowing they exist. It's knowing where they came from and of what use they are to this nation.

We can't abolish sexism by saying we are going to abolish it, just as we can't abolish race prejudice by fiat. We have to work toward their elimination every single day, especially in the classroom. In whatever system we work, however complex or horrendous, there is always an entering wedge—a place that is susceptible to change. Sometimes the change isn't enough to suit us, but if we are interested in change at all, we have to keep trying to find entering wedges.

I think the single most important entering wedge toward combatting racism and sexism is teacher education. More than 1,000 women's studies courses are being taught in colleges and universities all over the country. Only about six of these are in schools of education. Why is it that schools of education are so intransigent? What about school systems? How difficult is it to change school systems. We all know about that, I haven't given up on schools of educatin, but I feel that we must reach teachers quite massively at other levels, too, through inservice courses, teachers' organizations, and the women's movement.

### WOMEN'S STUDIES

How do we reach women teachers and what do we do once we get to them? One route is the women's studies route. The inservice courses conducted in New York City schools by the Feminist Press are very token efforts. Many school systems have paid staff to run inservice courses for their teachers. In some states such as New York and Pennsylvania guidelines for women's studies programs have been adopted by the boards of regents or the state commissioner's office. This another entering wedge. Guidelines are powerful instruments, but they need to be handled by people who care. The entering wedge in New York State is a guideline that says ending sexual stereotypes in the elementary and secondary schools is the aim of the Board of Regents. This means that teachers can demand inservice training of the sort that they need in order to educate their students.

Now, what do we do in courses with teachers? Some people are worried that women's studies courses will simply allow the rest of the curriculum to go on as is. When the budget is cut, women's studies courses disappear.

One type of women's studies is called "Images of Women in Literature," what I would call compensatory education. It's like the courses in Black literature, some of which have gotten lopped off.

Some Black literature courses have a lonely existence among 40 other lily white courses in the department. That is not progress. A course in Black literature one year should lead to some consciousness raising among students and faculty so that next year every literature course contains some Black literature. If that doesn't begin to happen, then the Black literature teachers are not doing their job, or are prevented from doing it because of political factors. I would say the same thing to women.

The second type of women's studies course, the anthropological type, is what should fill inservice programs. If you were studying anthropology, you would look at foreign cultures and societies from all possible angles—economic, psychological, intellectual, etc., which is precisely what some women's studies courses are doing with regard to women. They look at women and men, deal with sex role socialization and stereotyping, and teach about how we grow up female or male in this country.

### MATERIALS PRODUCTION

The other way to reach women teachers is through the production of materials. It is possible to produce a set of materials, send them to the school teacher, and say, "This is what you teach this year instead of what you taught last year." This is not useful, although I think that we will go this route in five years.

The production of materials alone will not change school systems unless the women's movement is greatly strengthened and the consciousness of teachers is so altered that they can and want to use the materials. To some extent the Feminist Press was founded on the premise that some teachers are ready for and want new materials.

### A WORKING MODEL

The best model is to work with teachers in small groups and give them both new information and new materials, and work to raise their consciousness levels about sex and race. We need to inform teachers that the real goal is to help them choose materials and then design their own classes. A year is essential to do this. During the second part of the year, teachers should work in groups with one group designing curriculum units. Then they try out the unit in their classrooms, which, ideally, should be visited by the workshop leader. This would mean released time for that teacher. Whether or not that is possible, the teachers can still use the workshop members as a support after having tried out their curriculum units.

One would imagine that women teachers could meet as a group for an extra hour after school, but this has never happened since it's not built into the consciousness of teachers. Faculty and staff meetings in most elementary and high schools don't stimulate teachers to want further meetings, but this is an essential route for survival. Where schools are staffed by American Indian, Asian, Black, Chicana and Puerto Rican women, the teachers' meeting, or workshop, will have to begin with the issue of racism and deal with the hostility that is built into our culture before the discussion can turn to the lives of our children which is, of course, what I think we are all interested in.

## CONFERENCE FOLLOWUP

Impact of the national conference is still being felt. To date, a total of 12 conferences have received assistance from the project staff in planning, materials or implementation of similar conferences. At the present time, three more are scheduled for fall, 1973. The conferences held to date include:

### BOSTON, MASS., CONFERENCE—BOSTON, MARCH 24, 1973

Mayor Kevin White's special assistant for educational affairs, Robert Schwartz, initiated a conference with the cooperation of the Massachusetts State Department of Education, the Boston Teachers Union, the Massachusetts Teachers Association and the National Education Association. The one-day conference drew more than three hundred participants and has sparked numerous follow-up activities. A report of the Conference is being developed. Contact persons: Cecelia Dibbella and Cathy Mincucci, Massachusetts Department of Education, 182 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02111.

### WASHINGTON EDUCATION ASSOCIATION—SEATTLE, WASH., MARCH 15–17, 1973

The Human Relations Commission of the WEA sponsored a conference on Racism, Sexism and Classism in Education. ex bias concerns were a major focus of the conference. Highlights of the conference included the development of action plans for continuing work to change opportunities for minorities and women, and the organization of a group that will be implementing these plans. Contact: Paul Tanaka, 2000 Tacoma Mall, Suite 6–36, Tacoma, Washington 98409.

### MAINE CONFERENCES—PORTLAND, BANGOR, AND PRESQUE ISLE, APRIL 10–12, 1973

The Maine State Department of Education initiated a series of three conferences to increase educators' awareness of sex discrimination and the need for modification of curriculum and administrative policies. The Maine Superintendents Association and the Maine Teachers Association served as co-sponsors for the conferences. Contact: Shirley Ezzy, Maine State Department of Education and Cultural Services, Statehouse, Augusta, Maine 04330.

### FORT WAYNE, IND.—FORT WAYNE, APRIL 15, 1973

The Ft. Wayne Education Association sponsored a conference on Values and Curriculum Concerns. One of the areas to be highlighted was the relationship between values and sex role stereotypes. Contact: Marvin Ross, ISTA, 1520 Spy Run Avenue, Ft. Wayne, Indiana 46805.

### CONNECTICUT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, MAY 19, 1973

The second CEA Conference focused on the legal tools for combating sex discrimination and the variety of ways that sex discrimination manifests itself in elementary and secondary education. The primary focus of the conference was to develop action strategies for reducing sex role stereotypes. A report of the Conference will be available. Contact: Suzanne Taylor, Connecticut Education Association, 21 Oak Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06106.

### ARKANSAS CONFERENCE—LITTLE ROCK, ARK., MAY 5

A conference was sponsored by the Governors Commission on the Status of Women, the Arkansas Department of Education, the Arkansas Education Association and the University of Arkansas Chapter of the Commission on The Status of Women. The one-day conference initiated the exploration of how citizens and educators could work to eliminate sex role stereotyping. Contact: Cora McHenry, AEA Building, 1500 W. 4th Street, Little Rock, Arkansas 72201.

### HOUSTON, TEX.— HOUSTON, TEX., MAY 12, 1973

A task force on education sponsored by WEAL, Houston NOW, Galveston NOW, YWCA and Houston Teachers Association held a one-day workshop to examine sex stereotypes in schools. The group will continue to work with statewide groups in developing action. Contact: Gertrude Barnstone, P.O. Box 2222, Houston, Texas 77001.

### FLORIDA—TALLAHASSEE, MAY 11 AND 12

A two-day conference sponsored by the Florida Education Association probed the ways that citizens and educators could reduce sex role stereotyping in schools. Analysis of pending legislation and the involvement of women's groups highlighted the conference. A report of the conference will be available at the end of the summer. Contact: Molly Sample, Florida Education Association, 208 W. Pensacola Street, Tallahassee, Florida 32303.

### TEXAS—AUSTIN, TEX., MAY 18–20

Jane Wells and Jane Hickey coordinated a state wide conference from the office of the State Board of Education which was directed to action plans for reducing sexism in elementary and secondary schools. A coalition made up of individual leaders worked with the Texas Education Agency, and the Texas Classroom Association in sponsoring a conference. As a result of the conference, 110 persons are now involved in the continuing work of the task force. A report of the conference will be prepared. Contact: Jane Hickey, 6921 Thorncliffe, Austin, Texas 78731.

### TEACHER LEADERSHIP PROGRAM—NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 23–26

A three-day program for leaders of teacher organizations was held by the Teacher Leadership Program which is administered by the Office of Teacher Education, City University of New York. The focus of the conference was the educational implications of the sexual revolution, the feminist movement, changing sex roles and discrimination against women in education. Contact: Myron Lieberman, Teacher Leadership Program, CUNY, 1411 Broadway, New York, New York 10018.

### FOLLOWUP EVALUATION

After a six-month interval, a follow-up evaluation instrument was circulated to participants. (See Appendix "G"). A summary of the 25 responses received by June 15 is given below:

The most frequently mentioned goals were to *establish communication* and to *gather information*. The goals were fully realized by 92 percent and partly realized by eight percent.

The quality of the main speakers was rated as good to excellent by 96 percent, and poor by four percent.

The workshops were considered good to excellent by 87.5 percent, and poor by 12.5 percent.

The quality of conference materials was rated by 100 percent as good to excellent.

Facilities and arrangements were considered under four subdivisions and rated thus: *housing and food*—98 percent good to excellent; *transportation*—75 percent good to execellent; *informal discussions*—90 percent good to excellent; and *social opportunities*—62.5 percent good and 37.5 percent less than good.

A variety of suggestions were made on ways the conference could have been improved:

More informal discussions, hospitality, and free time.

Hold state group meetings and emphasize action back home.

Repeat workshops and distribute workshop handouts to total group.

Provide more in-depth involvement in few areas and add problem-solving exercises.

Have fewer slide shows with more polished and condensed content.

Hold meetings in Washington, D.C. and have telephones in rooms.

Stick to elementary-secondary problems in sexism/racism and supply more follow-up information.

Better transportation.

Responses concerning ways the conference influenced perception ranged from expanded personal awareness to realization of the difficulties involved in changing attitudes. More than 50 percent reported increased awareness and reinforcement of perceptions at the conclusion of the conference.

The conference stimulated expansion of participants' follow-up activities in numerous ways. Typical follow-up activities included: increased crossovers to other organizations to spread the message on sexism/racism through speaking, writing, research and exchange of resources; clarification of goals and priorities and development of concrete methods for change; shared conference experiences with colleagues in schools including teachers, students, administrators and school boards. To some participants the major expansion offered by the conference was discussion of possible legal action to enforce equal rights, particularly under title IX of the education amendments of 1972.

There is evidence that the conference materials were reproduced independently and distributed widely, in schools and beyond, to newspapers, periodicals, to speakers, writers and researchers. More than 300 copies were distributed to non-conference participants from NEA.

Since the conference, participants have reported experiences that either encourage or discourage activities. Among the encouraging items were these: good attendance at state conferences on the subject; programs at other professional conventions (APGA, APA, ASCD, AAHPER); increased flow of information within states on sex stereotyping and sex discrimination including more open discussion of topic among educators; individual pursuits of (1) Ph.D. program on sex roles and (2) development of guidelines for equal opportunity in athletics.

Discouraging experiences included (1) failure to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in two states; (2) state legislators who cloud the issue with such things as women pickets or "bra burning"; (3) state human relations departments that ignore sexism and focus only on racism; (4) resistance to change by "protectors of the system"; (5) hostile reaction of school board; (6) feeling among teachers that the problem is too big to cope with, and (7) women who shy away from administration and positions of authority in education.

Services that the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education could provide, as seen by participants, were (1) a newsletter to share data and experiences, (2) specific materials for workshops, (3) guidelines for assessment of sexism, (4) research in sex discrimination and in sex differences, (5) teaching materials such as mini-courses for high schools, (6) bibliographies of non-sexist textbooks and other resources, (7) films and slide shows for distribution, (8) lists of speakers and leaders on geographic basis for meetings, workshops, and conferences, and (9) current data on legislation and court cases.

Many participants expressed interest in contributing data and articles for publication and distribution by the Resource Center. Some also offered to serve as consultants.

Suggestions for action as "next steps" reflected similarity in major priorities. However, differences as to items needing immediate attention show relationship to local or state situations. Several respondents mentioned the need for legal action and enforcement of antidiscrimination laws. Another "next step" was publicity to influence educators and the general public. Reforms in curriculum, textbooks, counseling, teacher education, and school administration were considered important. Some emphasis was given to development of a data bank of research on issues related to sex discrimination.

It can be assumed that in many states legal action by teachers to encounter sex discrimination is just beginning. Therefore, this is a first priority. It can also be assumed that where legal action has proved its effectiveness, other approaches such as curriculum reform can move to higher priority status.

Of the final comments recorded on the evaluation form, three are of special interest:

"Teachers are the key—"

"A girl should be educated to appreciate herself."

"Children should be encouraged to write about their own sex roles."

## APPENDIX A

1. American Association of University Professors, Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession.
2. American Association of University Women.
3. American Chemical Society, Women's Service Committee.
4. American Federation of Teachers, Status of Women's Commission.
5. American Friends Service Committee.
6. American Historical Association, Committee on the Status of Women.
7. American Library Association, Status of Women.
8. American Personnel and Guidance Association.
9. American Political Science Association, Committee on the Status of Women in the Profession, Women's Caucus for Political Science.
10. American Psychological Association.
11. American Speech and Hearing Association, Subcommittee on the Status of Women.
12. American Sociological Association, Committee on the Status of Women.
13. Association of American Colleges.
14. Association of Women Mathematicians.
15. Black Women's Community Development Foundation.
16. Business and Professional Women.
17. Center for a Voluntary Society.
18. Church Women United.
19. Citizens Advisory Committee on the Status of Women, Department of Labor.
20. Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession.
21. Day Care and Child Development Council.
22. Delta Kappa Gamma.
23. Delta Sigma Theta.
24. Detroit Industrial Mission.
25. D.C. Status of Women's Commission.
26. Emma Willard Task Force.
27. Federal Women's Program.
28. Feminist Press.
29. Girl Scouts of America.
30. Girl Scouts, Metropolitan Council.
31. HEW.
32. League of Women Voters.
33. Montgomery County Commission for Women.
34. NAACP.
35. National Association of Media Women.
36. National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women.
37. National Association of Women Deans and Counselors.
38. National Council of Administrative Women in Education.
39. National Council of Negro Women.
40. National Welfare Rights Organization.
41. NOW—National and D.C.
42. Office of Education.
43. Phi Delta Kappa.
44. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.
45. Women on Words and Images.
46. Women's Action Program.
47. Women's Equity Action League.
48. Women's Media Workshop.
49. YWCA.

## APPENDIX B

## PARTICIPANTS LIST

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## Appendix C

## Conference Highlights and Reminders

(Sex Role Stereotypes Conference, November 24–26, 1972, Airlie House, Warrenton, Va.)

The NEA Teacher Rights Division and U.S. Office of Education welcome you to an exciting working conference. The conference materials, panel discussions and workshops that you will participate in this weekend are designed to help you understand sex role differentiation as experienced by American Indians, Asians, Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and Whites, and to eliminate discriminatory sexual stereotyping from all aspects of public school life.

Feel free to call on the NEA conference staff should you need any assistance.

### REMINDERS

Conference recorders should plan to meet at 9:30 p.m., Friday, to discuss assignments. The room will be announced during the first general session. Do not forget to return all completed recorder forms to the Registration Desk.

Lost materials will be replaced for $15.00.

Don't miss any of the scheduled meals; the Airlie House dining room is the only one within miles.

Messages will be held at the Registration Desk.

### CONFERENCE PERSONALITIES

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor, Special Counselor to the Secretary for Women's Programs, Director of the Women's Bureau, Washington, D.C.

Ms. Koontz, a past president of the NEA, was appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor in April 1971 and has served as Director of the Women's Bureau and U.S. Delegate to the United Nations since 1969. She previously worked for many years as a special education teacher in Salisbury, N.C. Ms. Koontz received the M.A. degree from Atlanta University, the B.A. from Livingston College.

Louise R. White, Director, Teacher Corps Washington, D.C. Before becoming director of the Teachers Corps, Ms. White was a history, English, and drama teacher. She also worked in Los Angeles as an interviewer for KTTV, educational consultant to the city schools program management specialist to the Economic Youth Opportunities Agency, and probation counselor for the county probation department. Ms. White is a past director of the Conference on the Black Woman's Agenda and is the author of many publications, including: "The Black Woman's Agenda", "Limited Employment Opportunities for Women, "Implications of New Divorce Law in California", and "A Perspective of Community Involvement in Education". Ms. White received the Ph.D. degree from Claremont Graduate School, the M.A. degree from California State University, and the B.A. degree from Arkansas State College.

Cecilia Suarez, Associate Professor of Education, California Polytechnical State University, Pomona, California.

Currently an associate professor of education, Ms. Suarez is chairwoman of both the National Chicana Foundation and the Los Angeles Head Start agency, MENA. She previously taught in elementary and junior high school and directed a community action program and a bilingual/bicultural head start training program through the UCLA Chicano Studies Department. Ms. Suarez received the M.A. degree from Cal State, Los Angeles, and is completing her doctoral studies at UCLA.

Celeste Ulrich, Professor of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Ms. Ulrich, who is vice president of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation and chairperson of the AAHPER Physical Education Division, has been a professor at UNC since 1956. She is the author of *The Growing Years—Adolescence* (AAHPER, 1962) and *The Social Matrix of Physical Education* (Prentice Hall, 1968). Ms. Ulrich received the Ph.D. degree from the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, and the M.A. and B.S. degrees from the University of North Carolina.

Michelle D. Russell, Consultant, Detroit, Michigan.

Currently a consultant in race relations, Ms. Russell was formerly on the staff of the Detroit Industrial Mission. She has been a guest lecturer on Black art, history, and politics and the psychology of racism; research assistant and editor of the McCone Commission advisory report on the history of race riots in the U.S.; and consultant to the Los Angeles Human Relations Commission on police-community relations and racism. Ms. Russell has written "Erased, Debased, and Encased: The Dynamics of Black Education Colonization in America" (*College English*, April 1970) and "Notes Toward a Radical Course in Black Literature" (*The Radical Teacher*, Winter 1969). She received the B.A. degree from the University of Southern California and is a Ph. D. candidate at Brown University.

Florence Howe, Professor of Humanities, SUNY at Old Westbury, New York.

Ms. Howe, founder and editor of *The Feminist Press* and editorial board member of *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, has taught at SUNY since 1971. She previously taught at Goucher and Queens Colleges, Hofstra University, and the University of Wisconsin. Ms. Howe directed the Goucher-Baltimore City Schools Pilot Project in the Teaching of Poetry. She received the Ph. D. degree from the University of Wisconsin, the M.A. from Smith, and the B.A. from Hunter College.

Wade Wilson, President, Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania. Wade serves as an elected member of the Executive Committee of NEA. He is active in many activities including the Council on Human Relations and has just completed a term as President of the Council on Human Relations.

Samuel B. Ethridge, Director, NEA Teacher Rights Division. He directs NEA programs in the promotion of Human and Civil Rights of Educators and Students and providing leadership for solving and social problems.

Margaret Stevenson, Assistant Executive Secretary for Programs, NEA. She directs NEA programs outlined in the six program goal areas. An advocate of classroom teachers, Margaret is presently the highest ranking female staff member of NEA.

Shirley McCune, Associate Director, Human Relations Section, NEA Teacher Rights Division. Shirley has had primary responsibility for the implementation of the conference.

Hazel Blakey, Conference Coordinator, NEA Teacher Rights Division. Hazel has played a key role in the development and implementation of the conference. She is responsible for administrative support for the conference.

Nora Alemany, University of California, Riverside. Nora's primary interest is in early childhood education. Her workshop will discuss models for *Non-Sexist Early Childhood Education*.

Joan Bartl, Women on Words and Images, Princeton, New Jersey. Joan is a member of a team of women who have established themselves as experts in articulating ways that sexism is perpetuated in elementary schools and means of bringing about change. She will present materials in the workshop on *Consciousness Raising Techniques for Changing Schools*.

Rogie Bender, Women on Words and Images, Princeton, New Jersey. Rogie has established herself as an action oriented member of the Women on Words and Images group. She will be presenting her ideas in the workshop on *Consciousness Raising Techniques for Changing Schools*.

Jan Birk, University of Maryland Counseling Center, College Park, Maryland. Jan, a clinical psychologist, has been active in programs which meet the needs of college and the mature women. More recently, she has been working to develop career counseling models for high school girls. This will be presented in the workshop, *Experience Based Career Exploration*.

Cecilia Burciaga, a program analyst at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, has been working on the "Mexican American Education Study".

Cynthia Eaton, Women on Words and Images, Princeton, New Jersey. Cynthia is a leader in raising and awareness of others to the ways that sex role stereotypes affect education. She participated in planning the Conference and developing materials, and will discuss *High School Curriculum* in her workshop.

Claire Fulcher, Director, Women's Resource Center, YWCA. Claire has been an active participation in the development of the Conference. She has recently assumed responsibility for the YMCA's Women's Resource Center. She will participate in the workshop on *Students and Sex Role Stereotyping*.

Martha Gershun, The Feminist Press, Old Westbury, New York. Martha has been working with teachers in the New York City School System to develop materials that incorporate women's roles and contributions. She prepared materials for the conference and will present them in the workshop *Women's History-Herstory*.

Anne Grant, National Organization for Women, New York City, New York. Anne, chairperson of the NOW Committee on Education, is an outstanding leader in documenting how schools promote sexism. She has recently developed the multi-media presentation, *Our North American Foremothers*, which provides a much needed resource depicting the contribution of women.

Charlotte Hallan, Staff Associate, DuShane Fund, NEA. Charlotte, a DuShane Fund lawyer in the NEA Teacher Rights Division, has led the way in the litigation of women's rights as they affect teachers. She will present a workshop on *Legal Tools to Fight Sex Discrimination*.

Carol Jacobs, Women on Words and Images, Princeton, New Jersey. Carol, a member of the dynamic team making up the Women on Words and Images, has assisted in the development of materials for the conference and will be presenting ideas in the workshop on *High School Curriculum*.

Kate Kirkham, Program Associate, NEA Teacher Rights Division. Kate's primary NEA responsibilities are in the fields of human relations training.

Betty Levy, Teachers College, Columbia University. Betty's research on the socialization of children appeared in *Feminist Studies*. She developed an article for the December, 1972 issue of Today's Education. Her workshop, identifying and *Changing Our Own Sexist Behavior with Children*, will give participants a chance to better understand how classroom procedures and practices perpetuate sex role stereotypes.

Cora McHenry, Arkansas Education Association. Cora is well known within NEA for her training skills and work in the field of human relations.

Gail McClure, Education Department, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. Gail, was the first author to articulate problems of sex role stereotyping in the NEA journal, *Today's Education*. She has played a key leadership role in the state of Iowa in developing efforts to combat sex role stereotyping. She will present her ideas in the workshop on *Institutional Sex Role Stereotyping*.

John McClure, Education Department, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. One of the first persons in teacher training institutions to draw attention to the problems of sex role stereotyping. He will present strategies for a systems approach to changing educational practice in the workshop, *Institutional Sex Role Stereotyping*.

Verne Moberg, The Feminist Press, Old Westbury, New York. Verne, a skilled writer and editor, has assisted with many of the conference materials. She will be presenting a workshop outlining ways that community groups can be involved in reducing sex role stereotypes.

Ellen Patton, Director, Student Counseling Project, YWCA's Women's Resource Center. Ellen has been committed to the involvement of girls in developing models for counseling. She has made the arrangements and will participate in the workshop on *Students and Sex Role Stereotyping*.

Maydene Paysoure, Training Department, NACCP, Maydene, a vital and active resource for the planning of the conference, brings a wealth of experience in social change efforts. She will be presenting a workshop on *Community Involvement*.

Corrine Perkins, Iowa City schools, Iowa. Corrine's interests in sex role stereotypes and the development of materials are combined in the slide show "Dick and Jane Receive a Lesson in Sex Discrimination." The show will be available for use in educational associations and cooperating groups.

Letty Progrebin, *Ms. Magazine, New York*. Letty's primary interest and responsibility with *Ms. Magazine* is the coverage and development of non-sexist materials for children. She will be presenting one of the projects of the Ms. Foundation.

Althea Simmons, Director for Training, NACCP. Althea, a leader in the women's movement and women's participation in the labor force, has participated in the development of the conference. She will be giving specific ideas for implementing *Affirmative Action for Education* in her workshop.

Mary Faith Tanney, University of Maryland Counseling Center, College Park, Maryland. Faith, a psychologist, has been working to increase high school girls interests in career planning. She will be presenting one model in the workshop on *Experience Based Career Exploration*.

Suzanne Taylor, Research Director, Connecticut Education Association, Hartford, Connecticut. Suzanne, who helped organize the Spring 1972 CEA Conference on the 51% Minority, will conduct a workshop on *Women in Education*.

Lenore Weitzman, Professor, University of California, Davis. Lenore is well known for her research on children's books. Her presentation during the conference represents a continuing research into the messages that textbooks give to children.

Sara Ziment, Reading Research Project, University of Colorado Medical School, Denver, Colorado. Sara has been involved in the study of instruction since 1952. She is the editor of the book *What Children Read In Schools*. Her workshop will focus on techniques for analyzing institutional materials.

## APPENDIX D

### CONFERENCE MATERIALS—ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS

| Title | Source | Description |
|---|---|---|
| 1. "Sexism in the Schools" | Diane Divoky, Shelia Jackson, Learning Magazine. | Includes: A contract signed by single women teachers in 1915. An article showing 2 opposing opinions on sexism in the schools and a questionnaire on sexism distributed to teachers. |
| 2. "Equal Opportunity for Women; How Possible and How Quickly" | Florence Howe, SUNY/College at Old Westbury. | A discussion of the women's studies program at Old Westbury, and the broad needs of women in education. |
| 3. "Sexism in the Elementary Schools." | Carol Jacobs, Cynthia Eaton | A discussion of sex role stereotyping and socialization in elementary schools. |
| 4. "A Child's Eye-View of Sex Roles" | Lynne B. Iglitzin | A study of sex role stereotyping conducted on school children in Seattle. |
| 5. "Feminist Studies" | Carol Ahlum, Jackie Fralley | A look at feminist studies at the secondary school level. |
| 6. "Do Teachers Sell Girls Short?" | Betty Levy | An analysis of how schools function to perpetuate traditional sex role stereotypes. |
| 7. New Legal Remedies for Women" | Betty Sinowitz, NEA Teacher Rights. | A discussion of the legal tools necessary and used to eliminate discrimination by sex in education, as well as in a broader societal framework. |
| 8. "American History and Herstory" | Martha L. Gershun | A historical examination of women's rights and recommendations for more egalitarian and well-rounded curriculum materials for history courses |
| 9. "Bibliography on the Treatment of Girls in School." | Feminist Press | Bibliography on sex role stereotypes in the schools. |
| 10. "History on Social Science Resource Bulletin." | Board of Education of city of New York, Office of Instructional Sources, Bureau of Social Studies. | Curriculum recommendations for women's studies at the secondary level. |
| 11. "Outlines of Course on Feminism for Use in High School." | Cynthia Eaton, Carol Jacobs | Example outline for high school course of feminism. |
| 12. "NEA Guidelines for Treatment of Minorities and Women." | John Browne | Proposed guideline for curriculum and instructional materials for implementation in elementary and secondary schools. |
| 13. "Recommendations for Elimination of Sex Role Stereotyping in School Curriculum." | Sullivan Associates | An analysis of sex role stereotyping in schools and recommendations for its elimination. |
| 14 "Women in U.S. History High School Texts." | Janice Trecker | An analysis of the portrayal of women in U.S. history textbooks. |
| 15. "Non-sexist Education in Your Classroom." | Laura Collver | An article geared toward teachers interested in nonsexist teaching. |
| 16. "Physical Education Questionnaires." | Kalamazoo, Michigan Task Force. | Questionnaires on attitudes toward physical education participation in the schools. Used for identifying sex sterotypes and discrimination. |
| 17. "Discrimination of Women in Sports." | Bob Dunning | Discussion of the discrimination women face in the area of sports and athletic competition. |
| 18. "A Chauvinistic Index for Educators." | | An index by which educators may test their own sexism. |
| 19. "Believing Can Make It So" | Peg Jones | An exercise for examining one's sex role stereotyping behavior. |
| 20. "Will the Real Me Please Stand Up" | Shirley McCune, Peg Jones | Exercise for teachers in understanding sex role stereotypes. |
| 21. "Superintendent of Public Instruction." | Pam Root | Affirmative action practices related to women, and guidelines to develop educational programs for girls. |
| 22. "How Sexist Am I As A Counselor." | Janice Birk, Mary Faith Tanney. | Guidelines to assist counselors and teachers in analyzing their sexist attitudes. |
| 23. "Student Attitude Checklist" | Janice Birk, Mary Faith Tanney. | Guidelines to assist students in analyzing their own sexist attitudes. |
| 24. "Career Exploration for High School: A Model." | Janice Birk, Mary Faith Tanney. | An analysis of career opportunities for high school women. |
| 25. "Evaluating Sexism in Your School" | NEA | A questionnaire used to evaluate sexism in the schools. |
| 26. "Analyzing Instructional Materials Content Analysis Procedures." | Sara Zimet | A guideline for analyzing content of instructional materials. |
| 27. "A Feminist Approach to the Women's Collective." | Bernice Sandler | A discussion of all women's colleges in terms of feminist ideology. |
| 28. "Feminist Resources for Elementary and Secondary Schools." | Carol Ahlum, Jackie Fralley | A list of resources available for teachers, students and parents on sexism and feminism for the elementary and secondary classrooms. |
| 29. "Legal Tools to Fight Sex Discrimination." | | Cases of legal action to eliminate sex role stereotyping. |

PRE-CONFERENCE MATERIALS—ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS

| Title | Source | Description |
|---|---|---|
| 1 "Education for Survival Schools and Sex Role Stereotypes" | Shirley McCune | Collection of articles and questions related to the ways schools prepare children for physical, economic, psychological, cultural and political roles |
| A. PHYSICAL ROLES | | |
| 1 "Human Status for Women" | Kathryn F Clarenbach | Discussion of the manner in which girls, through school socialization, have been systematically denied the opportunity to develop their physical skills and participate in a wide variety of physical activity Also a general discussion on later discrimination against women in many areas |
| 2. "Sport: Women Sit in the Back of the Bus." | Marie Hart, Psychology Today, October 1971. | Discussion of the relationship between femininity, athletic involvement, and achievement, and the role conflicts which result. |
| 3. "Should Girls Play Football, and Boys Change Diapers?" | Sally Wendkos Olds, The New York Times. | Discussion of sex role stereotyping in an analysis of children's play, with some discussion of parental influence. |
| 4. "The Female of the Species" | Marion Corwell, Contact Magazine, fall, 1972. | A general description of the many strengths of girls and women in comparison to their male counterparts in society, i.e. population, intellectual development, types of physical development. |
| 5. "The Writing Is On The Wall For Girls Programs". | Marjorie Blaufarb | An analysis of new studies, and legislation affecting girls' participation in high school athletic competition which were traditionally male sports activities. |
| 6. "Competitive Sports for Girls Effects on Growth, Development and and Health". | G. Lawrence Rarick, University of California in Dorothy Harris' DCWS Research Reports: Women in Sports, Washington, D.C., AAHPER 1971. | A discussion of girls' physical development, maturation, and health in relation to participation in athletic activity and competition and vice versa. |
| B. ECONOMIC ROLES | | |
| 7. "Twenty Facts on Women Workers" | U.S. Department of Commerce (Bureau of the Census); Health, Education, and Welfare (Social Statistics); U.S. Department of Labor (Bureau of Labor Statistics and Wage and Hour Division). | Basic facts on women in labor market. |
| 8. Steps to Advance Equal Employment Opportunity for Women. | Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. | A guide for organizations to adopt toward the advancement of opportunity for women. |
| 9. Women as Percent of Total Workers in Selected Nonfarm Occupations April, 1972. | Women's Bureau—Employment Opportunity Commission. | Graph on this subject. |
| "Fully Employed Women Continue to Earn Less Than Fully Employed Men of Either White or Minority Races". | Do | Do. |
| "Most Women Work Because of Economic Need." | do | Do. |
| 10. "Counseling For Careers" | Joyce Denebrink, Contact Magazine Fall 1972. | A discussion of women's opportunities in the job market. A look at career placement attitudes, responses from business recruiters and a look at the future of women in business. |

PRE-CONFERENCE MATERIALS—ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS—Continued

| Title | Source | Description |
|---|---|---|
| C. PSYCHOLOGICAL/CULTURAL ROLES | | |
| 11. "Women's Liberation or Exploding the Fairy Princess Myth". | Anne Grant West, Scholastic Magazine November, 1971. | A discussion of underachievement, or failure to achieve success. |
| 12. "A Bright Woman is Caught in a Double Bind. In achievement-oriented situations, she worries not only about failure, but also about success". | Matina Horner, Psychology Today". | A study which discusses why women are often characterized by the motive to avoid success, done on the basis of TAT tests administered to groups of college men and women. |
| 13. "Sexual Discrimination in the Elementary School". | Myra Sadker, and David Sadker, The National Elementary Principal vol. L11 October, 1972. | Discussion of male and female role awareness in elementary school children, as a partial result of teacher influence and the elementary school experience. |
| 14. "Look Jane Look, See Sex Stereotypes". | Women on Words and Images NJEA Review, March 1972. | A study of elementary school texts and their effects on socialization. |
| 15. "Black Women" | Vistula Chapman | A discussion of the theme of black women as a dominant force in the development and survival of black people, and the relationship of black women to the women's movement in general |
| 16. "The Building of the Gilded Cage". | Jo Freeman, Notes from the Third Year: Women's Liberation, 1971. | An analysis of how the overall political structure affects women from a legal, sociological and psychological framework. |
| 17. "Sister and Brother Getting Ahead Together." | Arleen C. Hernandez Contact Magazine fall 1972. | A discussion of the dual oppression of black women as blacks and women. |
| 18. "White Over Black Racism and Sexism in American Society." | Marie M. Fortune | A discussion of the relationship between racism and sexism—Both products of the dominant white male culture. |
| 19. Recommendations to HEW Women's Action Program. | HEW Spanish speaking Women's Group. | An article on making the women's action program relevant to Spanish speaking women. |
| 20. Background Information | do | Facts on Americans of Spanish origin and Mexican-Americans in the United States. |
| 21. "Recommended Research Project VII." | HEW Spanish-Speaking Women's Group. | Project recommendation to study the development of a Chicana perspective. |
| 22. "Recommended Research Project IX." | Marta P. Latera | Research project recommendation to study Chicana pattern of marriage as it may relate to Chicanas' subordinate status in American society. |
| 23. "Colonized Women, The Chicana" | Elizabeth Sutherland | A discussion of women as a colonized group, not merely an oppressed one. |
| 24. "The Mexican-American Woman" | Enriqueta Longauex y Vasquez | A look at the history of Chicana women, and also a more current description of the status of the Chicana woman in her relationship to her household, husband, and children. |
| 25. "Las Mujeres Encouraged to Get Involved." | Mary Barber, Los Angeles Times, Apr. 30, 1972. | A call to Chicana women to become involved in their liberation, role changes, birth control, etc. |
| 26. "Changing the School Environment." | Doris Schumacher, Women: A Journal of Liberation, vol. 2, No. 4, 1972. | 1 family's approach to affecting change in an elementary school's attitude toward sex role stereotypes. |

## APPENDIX E

### STATEMENT OF CONCERN TO: SHIRLEY M'CUNE, CONFERENCE DIRECTOR; MARGARET STEVENSON, AND SAMUEL B. ETHRIDGE.

We, as participants of The Sex-Role Stereotype Conference, recognize that there is a need for counseling of all minority students. Therefore, we feel that the workshop focusing on counseling should have been multi-ethnic in scope since we recognize that students are not only counseled by professionals from their particular ethnic background but in many cases by professionals or other ethnic/racial backgrounds.

We feel that the tone for multi-ethnic counseling should be stressed by NEA because of the cultural, socio-economic, linguistic and psychological make-up of young people in the educational system. The very omission of multi-ethnic counseling historically has perpetuated low self-esteem, intellectual alienation and has deprived minority students of the survival skills necessary to become effective and productive members of the American work force.

We recommend that future NEA conferences of this type focus on counseling in its entirety. To avoid further negative emphasis on the many differences within our multi-ethnic culture, we should be prepared to deal with these differences constructively. We feel NEA should provide the materials and qualified staff members to effectively foster better relationships among all professional educators and counselors.

BLACK CAUCUS,
*Conference on Sex Role Stereotypes.*

## APPENDIX F

### CONFERENCE PROGRAM

*Friday, November 24*

9:30 a.m., registration opens.

12 noon, buffet lunch.

1:30 p.m., opening remarks, Sam Ethridge, director, Teacher Rights Division, presiding. Welcome from NEA, Margaret Stevenson, program director, NEA. Remarks, Louise White, Director, Teacher Corps, U.S. Office of Education.

2:15 p.m., break.

2:45 p.m., general session—presiding: Dr. Wade Wilson, president, Cheyney College, NEA Executive Committee. Conference framework, Shirley McCune.

3 p.m., panel—Education for Survival: Elizabeth Koontz, moderator, Director, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor. Schools and Economic Survival: Michele Russell, consultant, Detroit, Mich. Schools and Physical Survival: Celeste Ulrich, University of North Carolina. Schools and Psychological/Cultural Survival: Cecilia Suarez, National Chicana Foundation.

4:15 p.m., Small groups discussions of panel presentation—group assignment by name badge.

5:30 p.m., free time.

6:30 p.m., dinner.

7:30 p.m., continuation of small group discussion—sessions.

8:30 p.m., general session—questions for the panel.

9:30 p.m., social hour.

### *Saturday, November 25*

8 a.m., breakfast.

9 a.m., slide show: Sex Role Stereotyping in Textbooks, Lenore Weitzman, Dale Bustamante, University of California, Davis.

10 a.m., workshops—Education Association Involvement: Cora McHenry, Arkansas Education Association; Kate Kirkan, National Education Association. Racism/Sexism: Michele Russell, consultant, Detroit, Mich. Analyzing Instructional Materials—Content Analysis: Sara Zimet, University of Colorado Medical School. Non-Sexist Early Childhood Education: Nora Alemany, University of California, Riverside. Consciousness Raising Techniques for Changing Schools: Rogie Bender, Joan Bartl, Women On Words and Images. So You Want To Teach Women's Studies? Florence Howe, SUNY/Old Westbury. Institutional Sex Role Stereotyping: John McLure, Gail McLure, University of Iowa. Students and Sex Role Stereotyping: Ellen Patton, Claire Fulcher, students, YWCA Women's Resource Center. Community Involvement: Maydene Paysoure, NAACP. Happenings in Your Head: Verne Moberg, Feminist Press.

12 noon, lunch.

2 p.m., "Free to Be You and Me"—Betty Progrebin, Ms. Foundation.

2:30 p.m., slide show presentation: Women On Words and Images, Sex Stereotyping in Children's Reading.

3:15 p.m., workshops—Women in Education: Suzanne Taylor, Connecticut Education Association. Use of Media for Community Action; Our North American Foremothers: National Organization for Women, Anne West. Experience Based Career Exploration: Jan Birk, Mary Faith Tanney, University of Maryland. Identifying and Changing Our Own Sexist Behavior with Children: Betty Levy, Teachers College, Columbia University. High School Curriculum: Cynthia Eaton, Carol Jacobs, Women On Words and Images. Affirmative Action for Education: Althea Simmons, NAACP. Legal Tools to Fight Sex Discrimination: Charlotte Hallam, DuShane Fund, National Education Association. Counseling Needs of Spanish American Boys and Girls: Cecilia Burciaga, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Women's History-Herstory: Martha Gershun, Feminist Press.

5:30 p.m., free time.

6:30 p.m., dinner.

7:30 p.m., General Session—Presentation—Slide Show: Corrine Perkins, Dick and Jane Receive a Lesson in Sex Discrimination. Special Interest caucuses. Special Interest Workshops.

### *Sunday, November 26*

8 a.m., breakfast.

9 a.m., Schools and Political Survival: Florence Howe, Feminist Press.

9:45 a.m., framework for action—Shirley McCune.

10 a.m., State and regional group meetings—back home plans.

11:30 a.m., reporting and general session—Sam Ethridge. A Look to the Future: Dr. Wade Wilson.

12:30 p.m., lunch.

## APPENDIX G

## SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES CONFERENCE -
## FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE

Please think back upon your experiences while attending the Sex-Role Stereotypes Conference.

1. What were your goals and motivations for attending the Conference?

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

2. Were these realized? _____ Yes _____ No

Please specify. ______________________________

______________________________________________

3. How would you rate the quality of the Conference activities?

| | Poor | | | | Excellent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General session speakers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Workshops (specify) ____________ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Workshops (specify) ____________ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Informal workshops (specify) ____________ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

How might these have been improved? ______________________

______________________________________________

4. How would you rate the quality of the Conference materials?

| | Poor | | | | Excellent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-Conference readings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Conference notebook | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Other (specify) ____________ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Other (specify) ____________ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

5. How would you rate the quality of Conference facilities and arrangements?

| | | Poor | | | | Excellent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Housing and food | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Transportation | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Opportunity for informal discussions | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Social opportunities | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

6. How would you have improved the Conference? ______________

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

Please complete these items in light of your experiences in the months since you attended the Conference.

7. In what ways, if any, did the Conference influence your perceptions of sex-role stereotyping in schools? ______________________

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

8. In what ways, if any, did the Conference provide stimulation or direction for your actions toward the changing of sex-role stereotyping in schools? ______________________

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

9. Please specify materials that you have found particularly useful since the Conference and indicate how you have used them.

| Material | Ways I've Used the Materials |
|---|---|

10. Since the Conference, what things (events, experiences, actions, etc.) have either affected your feelings about or encouraged or discouraged your activities in reducing sex-role stereotyping in education? Please give a general impression of your assessments of the situation.

11. What activities, if any, have you undertaken which are related to your Conference participation?

Looking Ahead

12. What services could the Resource Center provide that would be most helpful to you?

Materials - Please be as specific as possible.

Information

Other

13. What news of your activities could you share with others who are interested?

14. What, in your opinion, is the next step for action?

15. We would appreciate any other comments you wish to add.

### STATEMENT OF DIANE McDONALD, WOMEN'S CAUCUS, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Ms. Chairwoman and members of the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, my name is Diane McDonald. I am an elementary teacher and I am here representing the Women's Caucus of the National Education Association.

Teachers are becoming increasingly aware of practices which perpetuate sex-role stereotyping in the schools. Many of us believe that such practices unnecessarily limit the potential of girls and boys.

We know, for example, that children are influenced by the text and illustrations of the books they use to learn to read. Some examples I have seen include:

"We are willing to share our thoughts with mankind. However, you happen to be a girl."

"Look at her mother. She is just like a girl. She gives up."

"Women's advice is not worth two pennies. Yours isn't even worth a penny."

"He didn't want anyone to talk about feeling sorry for him. He felt so sad he was afraid he might cry."

Further analysis of most text books available to schools from social studies to mathematics show boys and fathers to be well-rounded, self-sufficient persons while girls and women are frequently portrayed as colorless, mindless creatures who spend their lives in aprons.

Children are surely getting the message!

As teachers we must become aware of our expectations for children and realize the influence our attitudes and practices have on the children's expectations of themselves and others. If teachers expect boys to be more active and aggressive; girls to be more verbal and cooperative; they probably will be.

But teachers need opportunities to examine and rethink their ideas and classroom practices. Pre-service and in-service education is immediately necessary for teachers to implement equal educational opportunities for all children.

In my experience, neither pre-service or in-service training has included any mention of the need to be aware of stereotyping children by sex.

I am entering my eighth year as an elementary teacher. During this time I have had six to ten days of in-service training included in my contract each year. I have also had four six-week summer training sessions. I am now working on my third degree at my seventh university. In all of this experience no one has ever discussed sex-role stereotyping in schools.

Teachers do not control in-service education funds, nor are they the decision-makers in implementing in-service education programs.

Cooperative relationships between school and community must exist for teachers to have the resources necessary to make changes in school practices retarding sex-role stereotyping.

Funds are critically needed to begin re-education ourselves to prepare children for the lives they will lead.

Ms. COLE. In addition, the report contains a number of names of resource people that I felt the committee might want to know about.

Mrs. MINK. You may proceed as you had planned.

Ms. COLE. Mrs. Chairwoman and members of the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, my name is Katherine W. Cole and I am here representing the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, a project of the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education.

The Resource Center is a national project carrying out three functions:

1. Preparing materials that assist schools and community groups in the reduction of sex role stereotypes;
2. Maintaining a clearinghouse of materials and resource persons working to reduce sex role stereotypes in elementary and secondary education; and
3. Providing technical assistance for research, conference design and training to organizations and groups working to reduce stereotypes.

With me today is Diane McDonald, a teacher from Reston, Va., and a member of the steering committee of the Women's Caucus of the National Education Association.

I would like to say that I have been on this project since March, with 1 month's tour of duty as a jury assignment, so I have had some interruptions during this particular program.

During the past 20 years the concept of educational equality has been a major issue for public education. The impact of the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown* v. *the Board of Education* has resulted in our addressing ourselves to some of the most obvious manifestations of racism. That struggle continues as we continue to identify the depth to which it is imbedded in our society.

We now find ourselves addressing a second way that children are denied educational equality. Sexism, or the unquestioned, unchallenged and unexamined belief that one sex is superior to the other, operates to deny more than 51 percent of our population the opportunity to develop their human potential. Like racism, sexism permeates all institutions of our society.

Schools, as the primary socialization tool which prepares children for adult roles, similarly reflect and reinforce these beliefs. Elizabeth Koontz summarizes the situation by pointing out that:

> Schools reflect the society that has tied woman's role as childbearer to every aspect of her person. Women should not hold traditionally male roles for fear that the family will break up; women work at lower-paying helping jobs, such as nurse, secretary, beautician, teacher or factory worker * * *
>
> As a result, women are trained from birth to use femininity to get their way, and learn at school that girls stay at home and cry while boys go to work and cannot cry.
>
> The reality is that women constitute 51 percent of the U.S. population, make up 40 percent of the labor force, but earn only 59 percent as much as men.

If schools are to provide for the needs of girls, they must move beyond opening educational opportunities as they have traditionally existed. Growing up equal is not growing up in the same ways but rather growing up with opportunities that permit each person to develop and grow in ways that are consistent with their values, culture and potential.

Specifically, we are talking about equity which actively seeks to meet specific needs of women by moving beyond opening the traditional doors of opportunity.

Perhaps one of the best ways to examine the lack of equity in education today would be to review the "report card" for women's education that was developed by Nancy Frazier and Myra Sadker.

I won't go into that here, since that is a part of the material submitted, but I would like to give emphasis to loss of academic potential. By the time that girls are in the fourth grade, their visions of occupations open to them are limited to four: teacher, nurse, secretary or mother. Boys of the same age do not view their occupational potential in such restricted ways.

Women working full time earn less than men, and the gap between men and women is increasing. In 1955 women earned 64 percent of what men earned, and in 1970 it had dropped to 59 percent.

Even women in the same job category earn less than men. Of professional workers, women earn 66.7 percent of men's earnings, of sales workers 42.8 percent of men's earnings. In higher education the gap between women faculty at the professor level is 8.6 percent. The mean salary of women public school teachers is $9,216; and of male teachers, $10,013.

The report card is applicable to all of our society. Family experience, mass media, institutional practices, personal attitudes, and community norms all contribute to women's education. Within public schools, however, we can identify numerous ways that sex role stereotypes are perpetuated.

The functioning of textbooks and instructional materials as agents of socialization has been well documented in the work of Sara Zimet. Her analysis of reading texts indicates that readers, in addition to serving as instruments of instruction, also serve to convey socially appropriate behavior patterns and cultural expectations, social and economic values, and racial and sex role stereotypes with a general aura of authority and finality.

Lenore Weitzman's studies of sex role stereotypes in children's picture books and textbooks demonstrate the extent to which women are consistently either virtually invisible or portrayed as passive, dependent, unstable, unadventurous and weak. This finding has been replicated in numerous studies by various investigators; this image recurs in texts in all subject areas and in all educational levels.

Then I go on to give other highlights about what publishers are doing.

During this year we have also seen a growing awareness and use of legal tools for redressing violations of sex discrimination. It should be pointed out that this has occurred in spite of the lack of action from Federal agencies.

As an example, even though several significant pieces of legislation prohibiting sex discrimination in education were passed during the first 6 months of 1972, no systematic efforts to inform State and local school administrators and staff of their impact have been undertaken to date.

For example, title IX of the 1972 education amendments was passed in June 1972. State school officers and local school superintendents were not informed of the legislation until February 1973. To date, guidelines or regulations have not been developed for legislation, and Federal and State department personnel have not been trained to enforce the legislation.

When community groups have moved to file charges of discrimination against school districts, most administrators have had no understanding or comprehension of the legislation or the issues.

Awareness can only be considered the first step in bringing about change in the opportunity structure. We now have to face the problem of developing programs which can systematically deal with the problems and provide the skills and capabilities for bringing about change.

In this area we are facing a competency crisis. Few persons and organizations know how to deal with the issues or have the resources for developing that competency. We must find a way to provide resources for developing that competency. This is going to cost money, and H.R. 208 could go a long way toward providing the resources that will be required to deal with the problem.

The argument may be made that funds are available under other existing programs. Although a few projects have funded programs for women, they represent a miniscule amount of research and demonstration funds awarded by the U.S. Office of Education and the National Institute of Education.

Given the current situation of increasing educational costs and a declining Federal support of educational activities, it is naive to assume that systematic programs for increasing women's educational opportunities will be developed without specific designation of funds for these activities.

H.R. 208 would provide funds consistent with the principles that have been found necessary for changes:

1. Citizen involvement through a national advisory committee. I know the bill states there will be a commission as such. I hope with all earnestness that this commission will reflect a cross-section of people out here—to the degree that all people are represented, not necessarily those "who are from the Federal sector" but that we have a cross-section of people.

I might add to this, because of the lack, from my viewpoint, of minority involvement in the sex role stereotyping issue—and this is of great concern to me, why there are not more—I have suggested that our organization set up a task force of 8 or 10 black women to address themselves to this point in a position statement and to keep in mind what H.R. 208 has to say, because I do not think enough cross-sections know about this particular bill and its help that it could provide for each of these districts. So if they wrote a position paper and with this paper addressed H.R. 208 and all its ramifications, I think this would go a long way in getting the message across.

I would like to add that this would not say "this is what all people believe." Frequently we get involved in that: "because seven or eight write a particular statement, this reflects the viewpoint of all people." This will only reflect this particular group of people. I would be happy to send you a copy of our statement. We hope to do this in November.

2. Openness to research demonstration and training programs for all persons of women's educational community. Since there seems to be a lack of understanding, I think demonstration and training programs—and of course, this gets into attitudinal changes—we can write all the legislation on the books, but until we give training and change attitudes we are still going to be invaded with racism and sexism.

3. Opportunity for systematic funding and coordination of programs. So we bird dog what is available. Sometimes things are made available and along the line they lose focus.

4. Opportunities for programs related to specialized cultural, racial or ethnic needs. I think they best can determine their needs as opposed to outsiders determining that.

5. Increasing supply and quality of counseling and guidance services. Counselors have done a great deal. If their role was enlarged, not in terms of secretarial but where they can become involved in working with boys and girls to make a meaningful society, I think this would be helpful.

We urge passage and funding of H.R. 208 for the betterment of all citizens and for moving toward provision of true equity to women.

Mrs. Mink. Thank you very much for your statement. We will be especially interested in the special task force regarding minority women that you mentioned and would welcome the submission of that report to this committee and inclusion in our record at such time as it should be completed.

I think one of the very major concerns of this committee is the dual jeopardy which minority women suffer in this society, and therefore the findings and recommendations of the task force that you mention would be especially helpful, I think, in designing legislation that can address itself to this particular problem.

I would be most interested in having your comments and opinions with respect to how this legislation can meet the needs of minority women in this country and how you believe it can have an impact.

Ms. COLE. In terms of the training programs that are specifically stated in legislation, I think this is very good because there are a number of minority women who would like further training, but it becomes a burdensome task if you do not have the money; better still, if you do not know where to go to get it.

This again comes in, why we need the additional help of counselors who would make this kind of information available. Not just counselors—teachers, the entire gamut, the legislators—as they move out on the circuit they tell women in community groups that these programs are available.

I will not discount those people who want to do further research. I think this is very important. But I do not want the two issues to become confused. We are going to do more here and less here in terms of dividing up the pie. I don't think that is equitable treatment. I have seen too much of that until it has become disheartening to me.

Mrs. MINK. Society has in general endorsed the notion, however, of second-class citizenship for women and this has permeated the entire educational system. Recognizing the fact that the overwhelming majority of elementary schoolteachers are women and they are the products of this society and therefore contribute to these attitudes being carried forth from one generation to another through their teachings and the manner in which they present curriculum material in the classrooms, how are we going to confront these women who have a unique and special responsibility to be sensitive to the objectives and pursuits of this legislation?

Who are we going to deal with in this particular problem? I would be especially interested in your comments because you are a representative of the teachers in your capacity as head of the Resource Center.

Ms. COLE. Let me clarify that. I am not just representing the teachers. I am representing the entire gamut, just women. My background happens to be that I have been a teacher. I have been a school counselor and I moved up to counselor-educator, and I am a mother, so keeping all of that in mind—I think first, I guess, I am just hooked on inservice training, but I think we have to get to attitudinal changes.

Until we master that skill on how we can spread the message so it becomes a rippling effect—208 is a very positive measure and I think that commission of women that will be a part of this to carry out this mandate would do well in letting people in the community know which part of the bill would be applicable to their particular needs. But never forgetting attitudinal changes. I guess that is the main thing that I am concerned about that your bill does, and, of course, the data collected would be advantageous in letting usk now which parts have been covered and which have not.

Mrs. **Mink**. Mr. Clay?

Mr. **Clay**. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Could you give us a brief summary of the highlights in the report that you have asked us to look at?

Ms. **Cole**. Back in November, prior to my arriving at this particular assignment, they had a project, Sex Role Stereotyping Conference, under OEO grant. It was felt many women are doing things out here but they had never been pulled together as a particular unit to discuss various issues.

Another thing, a number of women had written materials which would be of value to schools and school districts, and they needed a repository or coming together so they could share these ideas.

From this particular conference—and I have listed all those who attended—from this particular conference they were able to determine what things needed to be shored up in ways of programs, how this information could be utilized by the communities and how additional programs needed to be started.

As a result of that conference, women there felt we needed a resource center to (1) have a repository for these materials which has been developed; (2) to provide technical assistance to schools or school districts where they would like to make changes in their curriculum; and (3) to help chief State school officers in finding out what is going on.

Since that time we have sent out a questionnaire to all chief State school officers to find out what they are doing in this area for women in affirmative action programs, as well as minorities.

We have received to date, I guess, about 10—and that is not very encouraging—as to what is being done in the States in terms of these particular programs. But that conference was a result of that.

Mr. **Clay**. In your statement you say that intellectually girls start off ahead of boys and then at a later date in school their aptitude begins to decline. Do you feel there is a need for some kind of special remedial educational program for girls and women because of past and present discriminatory attitudes?

Ms. **Cole**. Remedial program?

Mr. **Clay**. For those who are economically deprived we came to the conclusion there is a need for special types of educational programs in order to enhance their ability to catch up with others.

Ms. **Cole**. I guess I have a problem with "remediation." I guess I need to clarify that. Because what one may believe that is remediation for, may or may not be. "I am where I ought to be at this particular time and it is just the way they interpret it."

Mr. **Clay**. So, in other words, you are saying it is not——

Ms. **Cole**. You need to recognize that we are all human beings and this has to be perpetuated from birth, straight from the cradle to the grave.

Mr. **Clay**. In other words, the remedial education should be on the other side. Is that what you are saying?

Ms. **Cole**. Thank you, Mr. Clay.

Mrs. **Mink**. Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. There are two basic questions I would like to ask you, in view of the legislation that we are now attempting to have these hearings on and in order to get some input from all the various persons appearing before us.

Since the minority women suffer from the twin jeopardy of race and sex, I was wondering if you feel we must have some built-in regulations or guidelines in this legislation, so that we will be sure that when and if this legislation becomes the law of the land, there will be a kind of priority given in this direction. All too often in the past when you have legislation for society as a whole, those members of society who are not as knowledgeable tend not to be able to get the benefit from the legislation because of a lack of authorization, lack of help, a lack of many things.

I wonder if you would have any suggestion as to built-in guidelines in this legislation to make sure that these women have some kind of priority or are given some kind of consideration, because they are not as organized, and they are not as sophisticated. We all know too well the reasons for this.

Ms. COLE. I think originally I had alluded to the fact I look at that commission because they can either help or hurt us in terms of minority. If this group is a cross section and they are sensitized to our particular needs—and I am using "our" in terms of minorities—if they are sensitized to our particular needs, then they are going to bird-dog each of these programs as they are developed. I don't care where they are. Unless a basic report—too long have we waited for yearly reports or something else way in the distant future—you can do your damage by that time. You can carry it out.

So I think a short period of time where we go back and evaluate and constantly evaluate what is being done, in that way I can be assured that you are doing this for me. That is my feeling.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Second, as I view the legislation I wonder also about the business of having the President appoint the chairman of the commission. We have had the President—I am not talking about this specific President, Presidents before—appointing people to be the heads of commissions who are not really attuned to the needs of the jobs and the responsibilities of said commission.

I wonder whether or not it would make sense, since many of the members are going to be appointed by the President, to actually have the commission function for a period of 4 to 6 months, and then have the members themselves select the chairman. In that way, the members would get an opportunity to talk with each other, to observe each other, and to recognize whether or not the commitment is there. Because if the commitment is not there, this is just going to be another commission on paper, and I have some misgivings about any President appointing a chairman.

Ms. COLE. I share those same feelings. As I went through the bill this was of great concern to me. I had even underlined it. I think if they are going through some kind of humanistic qualities the leader will emerge, as opposed to someone else selecting the leader for them.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. In addition to the curriculum and the materials that would be utilized to bring about a change of direction in the educational opportunities for women, what are we going to do about the attitudes, the attitudes of the persons who are supervisors in the administration. Even if they have the programs to implement, if they have certain preconceived and conditioned attitudes about certain peoples in this country, does it make any difference? They are not going to be able to do the job that the legislation calls for.

So wouldn't you feel it might be necessary to also have an orientation course in attitudes?

Ms. COLE. Yes.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I raise all theese questions because I am an educator by profession. I have gone through this for 15 years before I went into the field of politics. There are several things that concern me, and I want to get your reaction.

Ms. COLE. Very definitely. I think before any program starts, if you are going to work from a team approach—and I would hope that is the way we would work—that we first have an orientation period and perhaps at that time we can begin to eliminate those who would not like to serve in that capacity in that school or in that school district.

It might be feasible for them to retire much earlier, and this would be a way of eliminating some of these people. With some I don't think anything will be done about it, I don't care how many programs you have. But we will have to take our chances and work with those who are at least trying to make some effort.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. One last question. I know this is probably a very highly controversial or provocative question, depending on where the person who is listening to the question comes from. That is this: the question of age. We are living in a very dynamic and fast-moving society and there are many changes that are occurring where persons who have possibly been trained 25, 30, 35 years ago are not able to turn themselves around, if you will, in response to the needs of this society.

What are your feelings on the thought that perhaps we should look a little more at mandatory age resignations or withdrawals from educational systems? Of course, one would take into account all of the pension rights and what have you. I have seen too often in school systems and in educational institutions that it is not the teachers or those on the lower rungs of the educational scheme of things who are not attuned and sensitized and want to do a job, but it is those so often that hold a supervisory and administrative position who have gotten there by virtue of tenure rights, by length of service, who are not sensitized at all, and this thwarts the development of those persons who really want to do a job.

I wonder about your thoughts on that.

Ms. COLE. I think frequently I am concerned about this. I have to be. I don't want to get pushed out of here too soon because of the age requirement, so I have to keep that in mind, but those people who have shown by their work that they are not in tune with what is going on, perhaps we could give them other assignments. You know, through a bureaucracy this can easily be done without setting people off, so to speak.

And maybe if we gave them additional assignments, or we get rid of a number of people through 6.1; maybe we will have another one in March when the cost of living goes up. So maybe this is the way.

But we are still going to have some around. Through the orientation process you mentioned, maybe we could get to them. But they certainly stymie young people from coming forth and giving bright and fresh new ideas. It is hard to put people out to pasture now.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I want the record to clearly indicate that I am not against persons who have years of experience. I don't think they should just be cast out in the pasture, because I hope some day to get old and I hope on the basis of my abilities and talents that I can offer a few services, even if I maybe reach the age of 90.

But I am saying there are far too many of these individuals that I think are thwarting the efforts that can be made to really bring about directional changes, attitudinal changes and what have you, and perhaps we have to look for some other kind of alternative for them.

Ms. COLE. Give them other options which will make them happy.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Right.

Ms. COLE. Thank you.

Diane McDonald is accompanying me and she has a statement to give.

Ms. McDONALD. Mrs. Chairwoman and members of the subcommittee, my name is Diane McDonald. I am an elementary teacher and I am here representing the women's caucus of the National Education Association.

Teachers are becoming increasingly aware of practices which perpeturate sex-role stereotyping in the schools. Many of us believe that such practices unnecessarily limit the potential of girls and boys.

We know, for example, that children are influenced by the text and illustrations of the books they use to learn to read. Some examples I have seen include:

"We are willing to share our thoughts with mankind. However, you happen to be a girl."

"Look at her mother. She is just like a girl. She gives up."

"Women's advice is not worth two pennies. Yours isn't even worth a penny."

"He didn't want anyone to talk about feeling sorry for him. He felt so sad he was afraid he might cry."

Further analysis of most textbooks available to schools from social studies to mathematics show boys and fathers to be well-rounded, self-sufficient persons while girls and women are frequently portrayed as colorless, mindless creatures who spend their lives in aprons.

Children are surely getting the message.

As teachers, we must become aware of our expectations for children and realize the influence our attitudes and practices have on the children's expectations of themselves and others. If teachers expect boys to be more active and aggressive; girls to be more verbal and cooperative; they probably will be.

But teachers need opportunities to examine and rethink their ideas and classroom practices. Preservice and inservice education is immediately necessary for teachers to implement equal educational opportunities for all children.

In my experience, neither preservice or inservice training has included any mention of the need to be aware of stereotyping children by sex.

I am entering my eighth year as an elementary teacher. During this time, I have had 6 to 10 days of inservice training included in my contract each year. I have also had four 6-week summer training sessions. I am now working on my third degree at my seventh university. In all of this experience, no one has ever discussed sex-role stereotyping in schools.

Teachers do not control inservice education funds, nor are they the decisionmakers in implementing inservice education programs.

Cooperative relationships between school and community must exist for teachers to have the resources necessary to make changes in school practices retarding sex-role stereotyping.

Funds are critically needed to begin reeducation ourselves to prepare children for the lives they will lead.

I would like to emphasize at this point that when consideration is given for the commission, I feel as you had stated earlier that many people are not aware of the kinds of things that need to be done in education.

One of my experiences that people who are involved at the higher supervisory levels have not been in touch with children for some time and the children change us a great deal about what they need and I feel it is very important to have people who are involved with children day to day involved in the input in such a commission.

There are knowledgeable persons that can contribute, although they may not be highly visible or very sophisticated in governmental circles. I think they can make a great contribution.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I would like to ask you in terms of the relationships you may have had with the parents in a given community, have you been able to evidence real concern on the part of the parents with respect to this business of role stereotyping? Have parents raised this issue at meetings or in conversations, or in any way at all?

I am interested in whether parents are cognizant of this revolution that is going on today.

Ms. MCDONALD. It has been almost nonexistent until this year. I have noticed a great deal more conversation about it. There is great controversy. Some parents believe that the role stereotype should be maintained and should be reinforced by the schools and at the same time other parents feel the school should be doing something to change the way they teach children and girls' lines and boys' lines in textbooks should be eliminated.

But this consciousness I have not observed until the last year.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. My second question is this: Would you say that perhaps the time has come for colleges and institutions of learning to really reassess and reevaluate the kinds of curriculum that they utilize for the preparation of teachers who are going to have the responsibility of guiding and determining the destiny of the thousands of children that come under their control.

I tend to feel that our traditional educational institutions have been spending so much time trying to get the funds, proposals, and programs ready that they have not given themselves time to reassess and reevaluate the programs in light of why this is happening.

I think we need to do something about changing the traditional educational courses that are being given to young persons that are now coming out today, who are finding themselves abject failures in many of our institutions.

Ms. McDonald. I feel, as Mr. Clay indicated, something about remedial education being necessary; I feel the only thing that would be somewhat akin to that would be to reeducate the people who are going to be educating the children. Those of us who are aware of the changes that need to be made have gone through a great change in our own thinking through our own resources but the schools are not attuned to it and they are very difficult to move.

I have found it virtually impossible to get a university to listen to a teacher about the kinds of things a teacher needs to have in order to teach, whether it is involving sex role stereotyping—in many cases they don't even know what I say when I say sex role stereotyping. They think I mean sex education.

So the level of consciousness is so low and the ability to move the higher educational institutions is so difficult that I think the forces need to prevail on these universities that they will listen to.

Universities are also frequently responsible for inservice training and planning for those teachers who are already teaching. Therefore, they have a double responsibility to become attuned to what is needed.

Mrs. Chisholm. Thank you very much. Our chairwoman is back.

Mrs. Mink. I have a question in relation to your response. The importance of the university, I think, is recognized insofar as the inservice teacher training capabilities they might develop and with regard to the new teachers that they are training each year.

But what do we do with the teachers that do not sign up for inservice training that is planned, who are the real victims of society with regard to sex differentiations as seen in the way they present their curriculum.

What are we going to do about this problem, or is there nothing we can do?

Ms. McDonald. I see two points of entry. One is through the educational associations. There has been a move in the National Educational Association to establish women's educational committees at the State and local levels. It has been recommended by the National Association that all affiliates do this.

These organizations are made up mainly of teachers and can, if they choose to, if they harness their potential, they can educate teachers. The other point of entry would be the school system itself.

I have never heard of a school system that did not require some type of inservice education for its teachers. This is certainly getting to be more of a trend, not less. So that we just get to the people who are the decisionmakers in determining what that inservice will be. That is usually the people who are, from what I have seen, the least convinceable that sex role stereotyping exists, so I see those two points as the only way to reach those teachers who will not voluntarily go out and seek information.

Mrs. Mink. Can you tell us what the Women's Caucus of NEA is?

Ms. McDonald. It is a group within the NEA that is made up of women and men who are interested in working at the national level for women's issues in legislation, in national policies of the Educational Association, and in assisting local associations in developing women's education programs.

We have mainly worked at our national convention to bring to the attention of the delegate assembly those issues that are important for women, and to provide a communications system for those people around the country who are working in this field so that we can help each other out.

Mrs. Mink. What percentage would you say of the NEA identifies with the Women's Caucus?

Ms. McDonald. We have approximately 1,000 members out of 1,400,000 at this point. But we have increased our membership by almost 50 percent. We have only been operating for 3 years. So we are increasing quickly.

Mrs. Mink. Do you think this legislation will assist the Women's Caucus of NEA to enlarge its membership?

Ms. McDonald. I most sincerely hope so.

Mrs. Mink. Thank you very much. May I thank both of you for your contribution to the hearing today.

I would like next to call Joy Simonson, president of the Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women.

We welcome you to the committee today. Without objection, your testimony will be inserted in full in the record at this point, and you may proceed in any way you choose.

[The statement referred to follows:]

### Statement of Joy R. Simonson, President, Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women

The Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women appreciates this opportunity to appear before this Committee to express our strong support for H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973. We have been interested in this legislation from its inception and are delighted that these hearings have been scheduled to focus attention in Congress and elsewhere on this vital subject.

Although the Interstate Association is only three years old, there have been Commissions on the Status of Women in the States since the original Presidential Commission, appointed by President Kennedy and chaired by Ms. Eleanor Roosevelt. Today there exist Commissions, based either in legislation or executive orders, in most of the States and in a rapidly growing number of cities and counties. They represent the concern of their respective governments with the needs and problems of women. They serve as bridges between the "establishment" and the wider community of women.

Education, at all levels and in its varied aspects, has been a primary subject for study and action by Commissions on the Status of Women throughout the country and by the Interstate Association itself. At our recent Third Annual Conference in Philadelphia, we adopted three significant Resolutions on Human Rights, Education and Higher Education (copy attached) relating to this area. Probably no subject, except perhaps the Equal Rights Amendment, has occupied so much of our attention. I will submit for the record statements and author of this bill, Representative Patsy Min, that because of the enormity of the problem of sexism in education and its debilitating effects on our society in the wastage of human potential, the problem must now be attacked at a national level to be effective. America will not be able to achieve its full potential until every member of society has the opportunity to develop her/his full human potential.

Research has shown that different attitudes are expressed toward female and male infants as early as two days of age. Sex role condititoning is in the very atmosphere in which girls and boys develop in their homes and schools. For example, sports are of great importance in American life, so it is significant that sports programs for girls in many schools have been almost non-existent. Often girls teams use the gymnasium or pool when the boys aren't using it, such as before school or in the evening. The separate but equal program has been mainly a myth because of wide disparities between the boys and girls sports programs. Two examples found in 1972 high school budgets from midwestern cities were 1) $192,000 for boys interscholastic sports vs. $9,700 for girls interscholastic sports; 2) $225,000 for boys sports and nothing for girls.

I commend to you the article "Training the Woman To Know Her Place: The Social Antecedents of Women in the World of Work," written by Drs.

Sandra L. and Daryl J. Bem for the Pennsylvania Department of Education in 1973. It summarizes much of the research on sex role conditioning and shows how it psychologically handicaps females and prevents their taking advantage of options which may be theoretically or legally open to them.

This point is of particular importance in relation to the legislation before you. It might be asked why a "Woman's Educational Equity Act" is needed now that we have such a wonderful array of legal weapons against sex discrimination—Title IX of the Education Act of 1972. Title VII of the reports prepared by several State Commissions which provide examples of the work being done in this field—hearings, surveys, publications, etc. Other Commissions, including Hawaii, will submit material directly to the Committee. The attached bibliography lists some of the materials prepared by States Commissions in the area of sex bias in education.

The Pennsylvania and Minnesota Commissions have been instrumental in working with their State Departments of Education in the adoption of guidelines and policies intended to eliminate sexism in the public schools. These policies include elimination of sex segregated and sex stereotyped programs, activities and courses, development of career education programs for all students which recognize the need for equality of opportunity in career choice regardless of sex, inclusion of feminist literature in school libraries, selection of textbooks which promote the elimination of sex bias, and the provision of an equal opportunity program of hiring, training and promotion of all persons regardless of sex, race or marital status. (I am submitting copies of these excellent policy statements.)

We have been so involved in problems of education for just the reasons we are enthusiastically supporting H.R. 208—there is nothing more fundamental and essential to improving the status of women in our society than providing an educational system, broadly defined, which will be truly equitable. Even as we work for changes in the U.S. and State Constitutions, for enactment and enforcement of a variety of laws to equalize the position of women and men, and for breakthroughs in employment, we remain conscious that attitudinal barriers to "full participation in American society" (as Sec. 2 of H.R. 208 so well phrases it) underly all the other obstacles.

We believe that many efforts on a local and state level are very important in raising the consciouness levels of the people involved in the studies and the public officials to whom the studies are directed, in alerting them to the magnitude of the problem of sexism in our society. But we agree with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, and others. In my judgment, H.R. 208 is needed to facilitate *affirmative action*, to help women overcome the effects of past discrimination and to help society itself overcome the attitudinal barriers which permeate the thinking and reacting of men and women. If this bill can provide "equity" for women, they will be equipped to move toward the "quality" which is mandated in many federal and state laws. The programs and support provided in this legislation can give women the skills they have been denied so they will be able to move into the full rnage of educational opportunities and regular programs.

Because of the pervasivenss and subleties of the inequities affecting women, I am pleased to note the great variety of actvities authorized by H.R. 208. Commissions on the Status of Women have recommended many of them as a result of their own studies. They have contributed countless thousands of womanhours to projects ranging from surveys of student attitudes to establishing resource centers to counsel women; from investigations of the employment status of women at every level of the educational system to analyzing textbooks and curricula for sexist bias; from role model projects for high school girls to protesting stereotyped career counselling; from organizing in-service workshops for professionals to presenting radio and television broadcasts. We know that other women's organizations have similiarly poured forth volunteer efforts in this cause.

But the needs are too urgent to be left to the voluntary groups and the spotty "drop-in-the-bucket" funding that a handful of projects have struggled to obtain from government agencies or foundations. We need the Council on Women's Educational Programs and the fund authorization provided by H.R. 208 to give both a psychological and a boost. The Interstate Association recommends that major emphasis be placed on the following:

> Development of new and improved curriculum that will portray men and women equally—this includes the development of textbooks and materials that do not portray sex bias.

Development of a model career education program which recognizes the need for equality of opportunity to girls and boys to choose roles for themselves without being conditioned into a stereotype of which is appropriate for a man or woman.

Development of community education programs that focus on the changing and multiple roles of women and men, the changing relationships between women and men in our society, the equalitarian marriage and other forces of change in present day society.

Development of training programs for teachers, counselors and other educational personnel so they do not continue to educate and counsel young men and women in the sex biases of the past.

Deveolpment of physical education programs at all educational levels so that women develop strong, coordinated bodies and enjoy an active, healthy life.

Development of programs aimed at increasing the number of women in administrative positions at all levels in institutions of education.

Development of training, educational and employment programs for unemployed and underemployed women.

While the $15 million authorized for the first year is miniscule in comparison with other sums spent on education, it will have an effect far larger that the dollars involved. The dissemination of information, of demonstration projects, research, etc. required under the bill will reduce the present wasteful process whereby groups are "re-inventing the wheel" in many communities. Professional expertise and practical know-how can be shared to amplify volunteer efforts. There are worthwhile programs underway, but we need a mechanism for adapting and communicating them to communities around the nation.

The Interstate Association sincerely hope that your Committee will report out H.R. 208 favorable. I assure you that Commissions on the Status of Women in every part of the United States will gratefully support your efforts.

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## INTERSTATE ASSOCIATION OF COMMISSIONS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

### SELECTED RESOLUTIONS—PASSED BY THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE—JUNE 15-17, 1973

### *Human Rights*

IACSW urges member Commissions to work for passage, strengthening and enforcement of laws which prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, creed, religion, national origin, age, and marital status in employment, housing, public services and education; and further recommends that federal, state, and local agencies and departments charged with the enforcing of such laws and the implementing of guidelines should be adequately funded and supported.

### *Education*

Whereas sex role stereotyping permeates all levels of education and all phases of our educational system, and

Whereas women faculty and staff continue to be discriminated against, and

Whereas present federal laws and orders have not been adequately enforced, including:

Executive Order 11246 as amended by 11375
Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
Equal Pay Act of 1963
Title IX of the Education Act of 1972
Title VII and Title VIII of the Public Health Service Act

Therefore be it resolved that IACSW and member Commissions strongly urge the Secretaries of Labor, HUD, and HEW to:

(1) conduct compliance reviews by federal agencies in institutions against which sex discrimination complaints have been filed and institute economic sanctions when applicable;

(2) move without further delay to facilitate issuance of effective Title IX (Higher Education) Regulations;

(3) provide training to State Employment Security staff and State Department of Education staff in existing sex discrimination laws and regulations, including their implementation for state and local governments;

(4) investigate ways that research, contracts and program funds could more effectively deal with needs of women.

Be it further resolved that IACSW supports measures necessary to equalize a high level of educational opportunity for all women. IACSW urges its membership to take positive steps to assure that sex bias not be perpetuated in explicit or implicit ways in the development of any career education programs.

### *Women in Higher Education*

IACSW endorses the joint statement on women in higher education coordinated by the AAUW and prepared by representatives of 13 national educational organizations, because the statement:

(1) Recognizes the wide spread discrimination that exists in our institutions of higher education and the moral and legal obligations of colleges and universities to eliminate discriminatory practices.

(2) Deals specifically and in detail with the *four* major areas of discrimination against women: *Equal education*, including program flexibility, part-time study, curriculum, continuing education, counselling, placement, housing, health services, and student services and facilities; *Employment*, including recruitment and hiring, salaries and conditions of employment, and assignments and training; *Participation of women* in decision making, including general participation, facility and administration, students, trustees and regents; and *Institutional services and practices*, including institutional and community data collection, child care facilities and administrative coordination.

### *Married and Pregnant Students*

Whereas many school districts in the United States do not allow married students and pregnant school girls to remain in school, and

Whereas many of these young people never complete their high school education which is a prerequisite for most job training and as a result many are forced to seek public assistance,

Therefore, be it resolved that the member commissions should petition their state legislatures to enact legislation which would make it illegal for a school district to force any student who is pregnant and/or married to leave school or to restrict participation in school activities and to make it mandatory for each school district to have a program which will actively encourage every person in the district to complete his/her high school education.

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## STATEMENT OF JOY SIMONSON, PRESIDENT, INTERSTATE ASSOCIATION OF COMMISSIONS OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Ms. SIMONSON. I will just read part, and I would like to give you specific examples of what some of the State commissions are doing.

The Interstate Association is not an official body, but are members of all the official bodies.

Although the Interstate Association is only 3 years old, there have been commissions on the status of women in the States since the original Presidential Commission, appointed by President Kennedy and chaired by Ms. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Today there exist commissions, based either in legislation or Executive orders, in most of the States and in a rapidly growing number of cities and counties. They serve as bridges between the "establishment" and the wider community of women.

Education, at all evels and in its varied aspects, has been a primary subject for study and action by commissions on the status of women throughout the country and by the Interstate Association itself. At our recent third annual conference in Philadelphia, we adopted three significant resolutions on human rights, education, and higher education, which we have attached to this statement, relating to this area. Probably no subject, except perhaps the equal rights amendment, has occupied so much of our attention.

I have with me examples of some of the commission's work and other commissions will be sending in statements or reports directly to the committee. I understand that the Hawaii commission, for example, is planning to communicate with the committee. But I think some of these may be of interest to you, to show you the variety of conclusions that the commissions have around the country.

In Pennsylvania, they have adopted a statement which I would appreciate having inserted in the record. It is a short statement submitted to the committee from the Pennsylvania Commission on the Status of Women. I would appreciate if this could be in the record.

Mrs. Mink. Without objection, this will be inserted in the record at the end of your statement.

Ms. Simonson. In Pennsylvania, the commission has worked with the superintendent of education at the State level and last September he issued to the school administrators throughout the State of Pennsylvania an excellent statement on sexism in education which I think is important. It is the kind of thing we would have liked to have written ourselves. The fact it came from a chief school officer in his change of command makes it quite significant. It is a one-page statement.

Mrs. Mink. Without objection, that will be inserted also at the end of your statement.

Ms. Simonson. Similarly in Minnesota, the State commission on the status of women has worked with the school authorities and the Minnesota State Board of Education has issued a pamphlet or a statement of policy and proposed action entitled "Eliminating sex bias in education," which has gone to all the local school superintendents in the State of Minnesota. Again, it is something I would hope would be replicated in many States.

Mrs. Mink. Without objection, that will be included at the end of your statement.

Ms. Simonson. In Illinois we have here a report which was prepared by the commission on the education committee where they study the status of women in higher education. They surveyed all the State universities and colleges and found a shocking situation.

I won't go through this now and I think probably it is too long for insertion, but if I could leave it for staff perusal. It reviews several major aspects not just recruitment and promotion which we know about.

In the last couple of years when funds have become short, it is women who have been fired while men have been hired. Men are obtaining tenure and women are not. Married women are particularly discriminated against which is proof that nepotism rules still prevail, although they are illegal and the universities say they do not have them. The facts are there.

Married women are being fired at a highly disproportionate rate. They have grievance procedures at very few of the universities and colleges in Illinois and the situation is getting worse and not better.

They had a preliminary survey in 1971 and this is a followup that shows things have deteriorated.

I have attached to this a separate report to civil service employees at Northern Illinois University and there again there is a really distressing example of discrimination and these, of course, include a great many low-income, low-skilled women and it is quite obvious they are not getting equal pay for equal work and they are not getting upward mobility as they are entitled to. If I may leave this.

Mrs. MINK. That will be received for the committee files.

Ms. SIMONSON. It is a very distressing situation.

In Idaho, the commission on the status of women has done an interesting report. They have specifically endorsed H.R. 208, and they have recommended that the funds be allocated in block grants to commissions on the status of women. They talk specifically of the Idaho commission, but I presume they would see that as a pattern nationwide.

They set forth an outline of the plan under which the State commission would administer the block grant, would set up criteria for approving projects.

It lists the kinds of groups from whom they would solicit applications for projects. The Interstate Association is not in a position to endorse or act otherwise on that Idaho suggestion, but I think it is an interesting one that you might wish to consider and they also have some other recommendations in the field of education. If I may leave this report and possibly the pages relating to H.R. 208.

Mrs. MINK. Without objection the pages relating to H.R. 208 will be inserted at the end of your statement and the entire report will be received for our files.

Ms. SIMONSON. We have, from Arkansas, an interesting contribution. The Arkansas Commission on the Status of Women did a survey of high school boys and girls in 14 secondary schools. It was primarily an attitude survey and the reactions of the boys and the girls were markedly different.

They asked them questions about the roles which they see for men and for women and the ability to do various kinds of jobs and their basic values and their aspirations in life and of course there are lots of individual differences. But there is a clear pattern that emerges of girls' outlook compared to boys'.

Boys don't seem to think very much of girls. This is an interesting report of which the summary pages perhaps might be included.

Mrs. MINK. Without objection, the summary pages will be included at the end of your statement. The report will be received for our files.

Ms. SIMONSON. Thank you.

In Iowa, I have a newsletter here which shows a number of activities they have of which I have checked two or three specifically in education. They report on a seminar on Woman's Personality in Society, which dealt especially with the elusive area of creativity.

I guess we all know it is very difficult to measure, let alone describe what is creativity. But there seemed to be a consensus that women tend to be more inhibited in our society and to underestimate their intellectual abilities. Creativity thrives on self-confidence and uninhibited exploration, and thus women are further thwarted from fulfilling their "creative abilities."

I think this is something hard to pin down and yet the sort of thing that is important to our society. If any of the projects under H.R. 208 can foster creativity by women, we will all be the beneficiaries of that.

I also have for your consideration a presentation made by the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women to the board of education in the Des Moines public schools. They were considering expansion of the athletic prgram in their schools and the commission on the status of women reviewed some of the inequities between physical education for boys and for girls.

But particularly they raise questions about quality versus quantity of physical education in sports and athletics. In the end they say that * * * it will not do for girls merely to extend the kind of athletics and the kind of physical education that we had for boys. So they raise some very thoughtful questions in behalf of providing suitable athletics and suitable physical education for girls.

There is also here a very interesting challenge to the Scott Foresman reading series. You heard yesterday about the highly sexist nature of these reading books which are used so widely in the schools, and the committee has presented to the Cedar Rapids board a challenge to these textbooks. They have come up with recommendations for interim steps that can be taken while we are awaiting the new textbooks.

I noticed yesterday Mrs. Fraser talked about the 5-year period to get new textbooks. So these are specific recommendations for workshops, compensatory strategies to be devised, in-service training, supplementary materials, to bridge the gap until we get nonsexist textbooks. I suggest this may be also of interest.

Mrs. MINK. Without objection, that will be inserted at the end of your statement.

Ms. SIMONSON. Thank you.

I have a short report from the Rhode Island Commission on the Status of Women which reviewed employment in universities and the obvious discrimination in faculty rank, in pay and so forth between the men and women on the faculties. I know that there are summary figures relating to discrimination in higher education that have been compiled, but it seems to me the fact these different States have to do the studies over and over again to prove it in their own bailiwick is quite significant.

There is also a report from the New Hampshire Commission. This is different from the others because they had a public hearing and they quote in the report some of the significant grass roots remarks and the things that appear to be really pressing to the women who took the trouble to come and testify at the hearing. Not entirely women—they had high school guidance counselors and so on. That makes this quite a significant report and I would like to submit this.

Mrs. **Mink**. It will be received by the committee.

Ms. **Simonson**. In the State of Maryland the commission on the status of women has been part of a coalition effort which has visited the State superintendent of education and some of his top staff, making a lot of recommendations to combat sexism in Maryland schools.

They tell me they were well received and that the Maryland school officials are sympathetic, but they say they lack money to put on the workshops to develop the supplementary materials.

This is another illustration of the real need for H.R. 208 and the way it could underwrite this kind of project. People are coming to realize the necessity of them. Some places we have sympathetic officials, but when they come up against the lack of funds, it seems to be women's activities that get cut off.

The Interstate Association and our commissions have been so involved in problems of education for just the reasons we are enthusiastically supporting H.R. 208—there is nothing more fundamental and essential to improving the status of women in our society than providing an educational system, broadly defined, which will be truly equitable.

Even as we work for changes in the United States and State Constitutions, for enactment and enforcement of a variety of laws to equalize the position of women and men, and for breakthroughs in employment, we remain conscious that attitudinal barriers to "full participation in American society"—as section 2 of H.R. 208 so well phrases it underlie all other obstacles.

We believe that the many efforts on a local and State level are very important in raising the consciousness levels of the people involved in the studies and the public officials to whom the studies are directed, in alerting them to the magnitude of the problem of sexism in our society.

But we agree with the author of this bill, Representative Patsy Mink, that because of the enormity of the problem of sexism in education and its debilitating effects on our society in the wastage of human potential, the problem must now be attacked at a national level to be effective.

Research has shown that different attitudes are expressed toward female and male infants as early as 2 days of age. Sex role conditioning is in the very atmosphere in which girls and boys develop in their homes and schools.

I won't repeat some of the materials that you have heard on the discrimination in the area of sports or certainly in the textbooks and so on, but I do want to commend to you the article "Training the Woman to Know Her Place: The Social Antecedents of Women in the World of Work," written by Drs. Sandra L. and Daryl J. Bem for the Pennsylvania Department of Education in 1973.

That article summarizes much of the research on sex role conditioning and shows how it psychologically handicaps females and prevents their taking advantage of options which may be theoretically or legally open to them.

This point is of particular importance in relation to the legislation before you. It might be asked why a Women's Educational Equity Act is needed now that we have such a wonderful array of legal weapons against sex discrimination—title IX of the Education Act of 1972, title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, and others.

In my judgment, H.R. 208 is needed to facilitate affirmative action, to help women overcome the effects of past discrimination and to help society itself overcome the attitudinal barriers which permeate the thinking and reacting of men and women.

If this bill can provide equity for women, they will be equipped to move toward the equality which is mandated in many Federal and State laws. The programs and support provided in this legislation can give women the skills they have been denied so they will be able to move into the full range of educational opportunities and regular programs.

Because of the pervasiveness and subtleties of the inequities affecting women, I am pleased to note the great variety of activities authorized by H.R. 208. Commissions on the status of women have recommended many of them as a result of their own studies.

They have contributed countless thousands of woman-hours to projects ranging from surveys of student attitudes to establishing resource centers to counsel women; from investigations of the employment status of women at every level of the educational system to analyzing textbooks and curriculums for sexist bias; from role model projects for high school girls to protesting stereotyped career counseling; from organizing inservice workshops for professionals to presenting radio and television broadcasts.

We know that other women's organizations have similarly poured forth volunteer efforts in this cause.

But the needs are too urgent to be left to the voluntary groups and the spotty drop-in-the-bucket funding that a handful of projects have struggled to obtain from Government agencies or foundations. We need the council on women's educational programs and the fund authorization provided by H.R. 208 to give both a psychological and practical boost.

The interstate association recommends that major emphasis be placed on the following:

1. Development of new and improved curriculums that will portray men and women equally—this includes the development of textbooks and materials that do not portray sex bias.

2. Development of a model career education program which recognizes the need for equality of opportunity to girls and boys to choose roles for themselves without being conditioned into a stereotype of which role is appropriate for a man or a woman.

3. Development of community education programs that focus on the changing and multiple roles of women and men, the changing relationships between women and men in our society, the equalitarian marriage and other forces of change in present-day society.

4. Development of training programs for teachers, counselors, and other educational personnel so that they do not continue to educate and counsel young men and women in the sex biases of the past.

5. Development of physical education programs at all educational levels so that women develop strong, coordinated bodies and enjoy an active, healthy life.

6. Development of programs aimed at increasing the number of women in administrative positions at all levels in institutions of education.

7. Development of training, educational and employment programs for unemployed and underemployed women.

While the $15 million authorized for the first year is miniscule in comparison with other sums spent on education, it will have an effect far larger than the dollars involved. The dissemination of information, of demonstration projects, research, et cetera, required under the bill will reduce the present wasteful process whereby groups are "reinventing the wheel" in many communities.

Professional expertise and practical know-how can be shared to amplify volunteer efforts. There are worthwhile programs underway, but we need a mechanism for adapting and communicating them to communities around the Nation.

The Interstate Association sincerely hopes that your committee will report out H.R. 208 favorably. I assure you that Commissions on the Status of Women in every part of the United States will gratefully support your efforts.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much.

Without objection the resolutions which you have attached to your statement will also be inserted together with your statement.

[The information referred to follows:]

### SELECTED RESOLUTIONS—PASSED BY THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE—JUNE 15–17, 1972

#### *Human Rights*

IACSW urges member Commissions to work for passage, strengthening and enforcement of laws which prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, creed, religion, national origin, age, and marital status in employment, housing, public services and education; and further recommends that federal, state, and local agencies and departments charged with the enforcing of such laws and the implementing of guidelines should be adequately funded and supported.

#### *Education*

Whereas sex role stereotyping permeates all levels of education and all phases of our educational system, and

Whereas women faculty and staff continue to be discriminated against, and

Whereas present federal laws and orders have not been adequately enforced, including:

Executive Order 11246 as amended by 11375.
Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
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Title IX of the Education Act of 1972.
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Therefore be it resolved that IACSW and member Commissions strongly urge the Secretaries of Labor, HUD, and HEW to:

(1) conduct compliance reviews by federal agencies in institutions against which sex discrimination complaints have been filed and institute economic sanctions when applicable;

(2) move without further delay to facilitate issuance of effective Title IX (Higher Education) Regulations;

(3) provide training to State Employment Security staff and State Department of Education staff in existing sex discrimination laws and regulations, including their implementation for state and local governments;

(4) investigate ways that research, contracts and program funds could more effectively deal with needs of women.

Be it further resolved that IACSW supports measures necessary to equalize a high level of educational opportunity for all women. IACSW urges its membership to take positive steps to assure that sex bias not be perpetuated in explicit or implicit ways in the development of any career education programs.

### *Women in higher education*

IACSW endorses the joint statement on women in higher education coordinated by the AAUW and prepared by representatives of 13 national educational organizations, because the statement:

(1) Recognizes the wide spread discrimination that exists in our institutions of higher education and the moral and legal obligations of colleges and universities to eliminate discriminatory practices.

(2) Deals specifically and in detail with the *four* major areas of discrimination against women: *Equal education*, including program flexibility, part-time study, curriculum, continuing education, counselling, placement, housing, health services, and student services and facilities; *Employment*, including recruitment and hiring, salaries and conditions of employment, and assignments and training; *Participation of women* in decision making, including general participation, faculty and administration, students, trustees and regents; and *Institutional services and practices*, including institutional and community data collection, child care facilities and administrative coordination.

### *Married and pregnant students*

Whereas many school districts in the United States do not allow married students and pregnant school girls to remain in school, and

Whereas many of these young people never complete their high school education which is a prerequisite for most job training and as a result many are forced to seek public assistance,

Therefore, be it resolved that the member commissions should petition their state legislatures to enact legislation which would make it illegal for a school district to force any student who is pregnant and/or married to leave school or to restrict participation in school activities and to make it mandatory for each school district to have a program which will actively encourage every person in the district to complete his/her high school education.

Mrs. MINK. I would like at this time to insert a copy of a wire that I received from Mary Ellen Swanton the chairwoman of our Honolulu County Committee on the Status of Women, which reads as follows:

> Racial and ethnic stereotypes will never disappear from our educational system until implementing legislation requires and enforces efforts to erase centuries of inequity. Honolulu County Committee on the Status of Women urges the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities in its hearings to report favorably on H.R. 208, a bill to authorize the Secretary of HEW to make grants to conduct specialized programs and activities designed to achieve educational equity for all, and to actively work for its passage into law for Congress at this session.

Honolulu is the core population and employment area of the State of Hawaii and thus our committee feels most keenly that the lack of educational programs for women affects in particular the women in Honolulu. A significant lack is a functional resource center for men and women presently existing on the lower socioeconomic rungs. We desperately need an educational program designed to overcome the rigid attitudes concerning the role of women at the administration and policymaking levels in both business and politics at Honolulu. No one in the United States can deny the appalling statistical inference that is drawn from the place of women on every chart in employment, salaries and in administrative levels published in the past decade. Women do play a secondary role in today's world. The question that now must be a[illegible]vered is where do women go from here to remedy these painful facts—women the last to be hired, first to be fired, women the lowest annual wage employees of every company employing both men and women, the women the majority of the employees, lowest on the promotional ladders.

This act, H.R. 208, will provide the basic programs so necessary to upward mobility. The members of the Honolulu Cosow are proud that this landmark legislation has been introduced by its own Patsy T. Mink, Member of Congress.

Mary Ellen Swanton, chairman, Honolulu County Committee on the Status of Women.

I would like to share in all of the observations that you have made and the various reports that you have submitted from the various commissions on status of women, and indicate my great enthusiasm and appreciation for the tremendous work that I know the commissions and the various States and local communities have been making in this total area of equal rights for women, and more particularly in their current efforts to focus their attention on the problems in education specifically.

Your statement here today is an excellent one and certainly highlights the purposes and goals that we are attempting to achieve through this legislation.

The suggestion I believe that you put forward as a recommendation of the Idaho commission regarding the block grant concept to the status commissions throughout the country I think is one that should be further studied. In view of the various statements that have been made—and I know my views are shared by Mrs. Chisholm—of the very different needs and very special needs of minority women in particular, and the necessity to make sure that when this legislation becomes law that their particular needs are addressed, I have just one question:

I would like to know what the percentage makeup of minority women is in the various Status Commissions in the States.

Ms. SIMONSON. Of course, I do not have figures because we do not keep records in that way. But I can say that at both our second and third national conferences the question of the role of minority women in individual Commissions and in the Interstate Association was very prominently discussed and considered.

Both years we took formal cognizance of the importance of having a real cross-section membership. We passed resolutions recommending to all Commissions that they insure that their own membership and the membership of any committees and task forces which they set up be really representative of all women of all racial and socioeconomic and age levels.

We have found that Commissions, I suppose because they are made up of established types, tend to not have enough young women; so we suggested they get students and young women, and to be particularly conscious about the appropriate racial distribution.

We went further and we had one of our most lively workshops, entitled "Double Jeopardy, Special Women," and it discussed frankly and in depth the additional problems faced by black women, Chicanos, Indians, Orientals, and so forth, and also older women.

The older women raised quite a point that they are a "minority within a minority" that has perhaps not been sufficiently recognized within the women's movement, let alone within society.

As a result of this special double jeopardy workshop, we had several resolutions come to the floor which were enthusiastically adopted, recommending that in future conferences and in future committees, and so on, of the Interstate Association we include attention to the problem of racism along with sexism in every one of our activities. So we have bound ourselves to do that.

From my personal acquaintance with the makeup of Commissions, I would say it varies as you would rather expect around the country. In the District of Columbia, which is the Commission I have worked on, our chairman for the last 4 years was a distinguished black physician, Dr. Dorothy Ferebee.

I have not counted them, but the majority of our members are black, as you would expect and hope for, in the District of Columbia. In other Commissions there are minority women, but small numbers of them. I am happy to say in Mississippi they have the first black women appointed to a Commission in Mississippi. So we are definitely making progress.

Mrs. Mink. Are most of these commissions established by law or simply voluntary decisions on the part of the Governors and mayors of these communities?

Ms. Simonson. There are some of each. The trend, however, in the last few years has been more and more toward statutory commissions. We debated among ourselves as to which is the preferable route. There are advantages to each.

Originally, the commissions were set up by executive order of the Governors, but more and more of them now have a statutory base; and along with that, fortunately, has been the matter of appropriations, and more and more commissions are getting budgets. Some of them are very small, but they are getting funds.

Now the thing is the development of commissions at city and county levels. So far, I know of only one or two that have come by, you might say, ordinance of the local city council. The others are by executive order of the mayor.

Mrs. Chisholm. I have one or two questions. Are these commissions primarily investigatory and/or research groups, or are they really action groups?

Ms. Simonson. I would say they are much more action. They have done limited amounts of research, and they have had hearings—one of the reports I submitted was on the basis of hearings that the New Hampshire commission had.

We recommended at our last meeting that commissions which have not done so go out to their communities and hold public hearings. So you could say they are investigating in that sense, but it is investigations aimed at action.

They have pushed for legislation at the State level and supported national legislation. They have pushed for appointments of women and for remediation of a variety of kinds of discrimination.

Mrs. Chisholm. Do these commissions have the power to use such instruments as deadlines if certain groups are dragging their feet? Do they have that kind of power inherent in their responsibilities?

Ms. SIMONSON. It is not written down in anybody's enabling act that I know of. I think it depends on how they rate in the State hierarchy. Some commissions stand very well in their State governments and apparently carry quite a bit of weight. Others are much more on the outside trying to get in and don't carry that kind of weight.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. With respect to H.R. 208, do you feel that there is any place in this legislation where we can give teeth to these commissions?

Ms. SIMONSON. Certainly the funding possibilities. Even if the block grant idea is not adopted, I would imagine the commissions will come in with worthwhile projects, and if they can be funded, this will give them more ability to accomplish things.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I have no further questions.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much. We appreciate your testimony and thank you very much for your participation.

[Ms. Simonson submitted the following material for the record:]

SEPTEMBER 5, 1972.

Subject: Sexism in education.

To: Chief school administrators, intermediate unit exeutive directors.

From: John C. Pittenger, Secretary of Education, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

In accordance with the intent of the Amendment to Article One of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania which prohibits the denial or abridgement of rights because of sex, and in keeping with the policy of Governor Milton J. Shapp, as set forth in Executive Directive 13, which states, in part, "A major effort will be exerted to end discrimination against all minority groups and women . . .," I hereby commit the Department of Education to making the elimination of sexism in education a priority.

The policies which I have established and upon which the public schools in the Commonwealth will be evaluated are that:

1. Sex-segregated and sex-stereotyped classes, programs, activities, and courses of study be eliminated.
2. Feminist literature be included in school libraries and efforts be made to secure instructional materials, including textbooks, which favorably portray women in non-traditional roles.
3. All students be counseled to consider a variety of career opportunities, not only those traditionally entered by persons of their sex.
4. Job placement practices assure students of employment opportunities without restriction because of sex.
5. Annual goals be set for hiring, training and promoting women of all races at every level of employment.
6. The role of women becomes an integral part of the school curriculum.

I recommend you develop programs, if you have not already done so, such as the following to support these policies:

1. Sensitize all staff to sexism and to what are degrading and discriminatory practices.
2. Eliminate sex-stereotyped roles in all school publications.
3. Eliminate assignments by sex in all job classes and student positions.
4. Seek the establishment of child care/development programs for children of staff, faculty and students, with costs according to ability to pay. These programs can be used for training the students in child care and family relationships.
5. Provide before and after school programs especially for children whose parents work.
6. Provide a sex education course in human growth and development which includes emotional and physical growth and interpersonal relationships.

I have directed the staff of the Department of Education to consider the elimination of sexism an important part of their responsibilities. They will provide you with technical assistance and advisory services.

All such programs hinge on a satisfactory evaluation system. Therefore, I assure you that the Deparement will fulfill its evaluation responsibilities in accord with procedures which will be clearly stated.

I seek your cooperation in meeting our joint responsibility to eliminate discriminatory practices in the school of the Commonwealth.

## STATEMENT OF COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The, Pennsylvania Commission on the Status of Women urges the House Education and Labor Committee Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity to strongly support House Resolution 208, the Women's Education Equity Act, introduced by Representative Patsy Mink.

In 1940, 33 years ago, women held 45 percent of all professional and technical positions. Today women hold only 26 percent.

Quota systems and outmoded educational counselling steer women students into "acceptable" auxiliary roles, rather than into law, medicine, and science. The result is that women represent only 9 percent of all scientists, only 7 percent of all physicians, only 3 percent of lawyers, and only one percent of engineers.

This, despite the fact that 43 percent of bachelor's degrees and 40 percent of master's degrees are granted to women.

For this reason, we would suggest that the bill be strengthened to place more emphasis on improving those areas in which the greatest discrimination against women has been most prevalent, such as law and medical schools.

We are including with this testimony a copy of a study done at the request of the Pennsylvania Department of Education, "Training Women to Know Her Place." This study outlines the many ways in which women students are prevented from participating in the kinds of educational opportunities which are relevant to today's world.

There is an urgent need for the development of new and improved curriculums from kindergarten through programs of higher education, and for guidance counseling which is geared to aiding women students to adequately prepare for the future.

In Pennsylvania, the Department of Education has issued a Directive, a copy of which is attached, as a result of a survey done by a task force on Sexism in Education in the Commonwealth's schools. It outlines a number of changes which must be made if women students are to have equality of opportunity and highlights the need for legislation on the federal level to guarantee such opportunity to women students throughout the nation. Our Commission has been requested to assist Education with its implementation.

During the past decade much important legislation has been enacted by Congress guaranteeing equal opportunity in employment.

House Resolution 208 will be an essential adjunct to that legislation by establishing programs needed to help women attain the skills needed to participate fully in the labor force in jobs which are meaningful and financially rewarding.

For those women who have devoted years of their lives to the raising of children, programs should be available to enable them to re-enter the labor market in satisfying positions. Too often, these women who have accepted the American ideal of the role of wife and mother find when they later wish to return to work that prospective employers refuse to hire them and they are forced to accept dead end, low paying jobs.

Programs to enable these women to re-evaluate their skills and to plan for "second careers" are essential, particularly in view of the fact that the average married women today works twenty-five years of her life. That is too long a time to spend in unrewarding employment, both financially and psychologically, which is forced upon women who do not pursue full time careers throughout their lives.

And for the numerous young women who marry early and do not prepare for careers before marriage, programs should be available on a part-time basis in their communities so that they can further their education or attain new skills if they so desire.

There is also a need for national acceptance and utilization of college level examination programs so that college credit can be granted for life experience.

This type of program has been initiated and is being used by some colleges and universities throughout the country. It should be expanded and encouraged so that women and men do not have to spend needless time and financial resources gaining college credits for subjects in which they have already accumulated equivalent knowledge and expertise.

In our society today, when one out of three marriages ends in divorce, and many women with dependent children are forced to seek public assistance to survive, such programs should be available and could even prove to be a saving to the taxpayer.

The provisions of HR 208 will help aid in the education of women to make full use of their talents and training; and in the education of the community to make full use of its trained and talented women.

The results of inadequate educational preparation for women do not affect only individuals, but their families and the community as well. The loss in thwarted potential and in economic deprivation to both is enormous.

We must develop programs to insure that minority women, who have been tiwce deprived in educational opportunities, are provided with the chance to attain the skills and knowledge necessary to be full participants in our economy.

In too many cases, it has been the minority woman who has suffered the greatest deprivation in educational opportunity and as a consequence in the labor market.

This is particularly significant in view of the fact that 57 percent of minority families living in poverty are headed by women.

The noted historian, H. G. Wells once said, "Education is a race between civilization and catastrophe." We cannot afford to continue to neglect to provide educational opportunity for 52 percent of the population.

The Pennsylvania Commission on the Status of Women, therefore, urges this Committee to release HR 208 with its strong recommendation for passage by the entire Congress.

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## GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, STATE CAPITOL, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

High school senior girls surveyed last spring rejected by a small majority (51.2%) the idea that most executive jobs can be handled better by men than women but 75 percent of the senior boys in the survey believed the opposite: that men can do a better job.

This was one of many points related to working women on which the girls and boys had different views in a survey done of 765 seniors (603 girls and 162 boys in fourteen Arkansas high schools last May. The study was conducted by the task force on education and counseling of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.

Other points on which the girls and boys disagreed:

1. Women should stick to "women's" jobs such as teaching, nursing, secretarial work and not compete with men. The girls said a resounding "no" by 70 percent; the boys were divided with 54 percent no, 45 percent yes.

2. College education is more important for men than women. The girls said no by 64 percent; the boys by only 52 percent.

3. Most jobs are sexless and can be done by women as well as men. The girls agreed with this by a 60 percent margin; the boys by only 51 percent.

More boys than girls think that the employment of mothers will lead to juvenile delinquency and that women would rather work for men than other women.

Overall, two-thirds of the girls had positive attitudes toward working women as measured by the scale as compared with one-half the boys.

Girls rated getting married as their most important goal while boys rated a full-time career first; girls, interestingly enough, rated this second for themselves. The boys rated, after a career, owning a home, getting married and leisure and recreation time, in that order. Girls rated owning a home, holding a part-time job and rearing children after getting married and having a career.

Keeping house and leisure and recreation were last. The boys put rearing children and keeping house last.

The majority of the students, both girls and boys, identified school superintendent, engineer, forester and coach as male occupations and librarian as female. They split on the identification of lawyer, with girls saying both and boys designating it as male.

Girls by considerably larger margins than the boys felt that a woman can be successful in what she undertakes and that she can combine homemaking and rearing a family with a career.

When asked if sex discrimination existed in their schools, the girls listed such examples as athletics, course stereotyping, dress code, student leadership positions, bus driving (smoking, ROTC, pregnant girls expelled, married students, teacher partiality, punishment policies and Neighborhood Youth Corps jobs. They proved to be much more aware of such discrimination than the boys, who listed only athletics, teacher partiality and punishment policies.

Student comments on this survey showed that while some girls feel that woman's role is changing, many others have completely traditional views of a woman's role. Of particular concern to Commission surveyors is the apparent failure of these students to foresee that most women (9 out of 10) will work at some period during their lives and that many will be required to work to support themselves and frequently a family as well.

Recommendations made by the Education Task Force include:

1. That the state textbook approval committees and the Arkansas Bookman's Association be made aware that the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women opposes the choice of textbooks which stereotype sex roles, especially children's readers, and the use of other children's books which present a distorted view of the potential of women.

2. That as career education is added, an effort be made to present girls as well as boys with a wide variety of career options which do not place limitations on their potential.

3. That counselors and teachers be given materials and information about increased career awareness for women so that they can do a better job in helping young girls choose the careers and training which suit their talents.

4. That more thought be given to realistic life planning for women in all phases of education. Excellent materials are available and some model programs are underway. It is extremely important that all Arkansas schoolgirls be exposed to education and counseling which reflects both the new possibilities and the perplexing new decisions they will experience after high school graduation.

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## STATEMENT OF CRISTINE WILSON, CHAIRPERSON, STATE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, DES MOINES, IOWA

The State Commission on the Status of Women is strongly in support of providing quality physical education classes and extra-curricular athletic programs for all students in the Des Moines Public Schools. There is no doubt that athletics can represent a vital part of the educational process. The joy of participation and inner satisfaction of an all-out effort at a high level of skill are indisputable. Everyone must have an opportunity to actively participate in competitive sports and to reach his or her potential.

Practically speaking, however, our athletic programs have not worked as intended. In some cases there has seemed to develop a serious gap between the philosophy and theory of sport and athletic participation and actual practices. Influences of commercialism and professionalism have crept into our programs and in some cases have resulted in the individual participant in effect being exploited for ulterior motives or for the perpetuation of vested interests. It appears that these influences are altering our athletic programs from what might be considered ideal models.

Thus part of the difficulty in resolving the problem of unequal opportunities for athletic participation for girls is that our standard for comparison when citing discrimination against girls has been the current athletic programs for boys. This raises some questions regarding the *quality* of programs desired, and with no universally accepted standards for programs, the issue of equal quantity and equal quality of programs becomes difficult to resolve.

The arriving at a philosophical position and the administering of a sports program are for professional physical education teachers, athletic directors, coaches, and school systems to determine and carry-out. There is no way for us as a Commission on the Status of Women to resolve these highly complex and controversial professional problems. It seems most appropriate for us as a Commission on the Status of Women to call attention to what appears to be discriminatory practices and to practices that may reduce the quality of physical education programs, and then let you, the professionals correct the practices and resolve the philosophical differences in such a way as to *insure quality* sports and athletic programs with comparable opportunities for participation for all.

The first questions I wish to raise are about the nature of participation. How many students participate in extra-curricular, interscholastic athletic programs? How many students "go out" for a sport at the beginning of the season but do not complete the season? Why? Has the number of those who initially try out for a team each year decreased? Why? Is it because we are not providing enough facilities, coaches, equipment, etc. to accommodate all who wish to participate? Is it because student bodies are growing lazier, less competitive, less ambitious? Or is it because of the nautre of school athletic programs? Is the intention to let all participate or to produce a winning team?

Secondly I want to raise questions about the relationship of athletics to the educational process. How many students really *are* kept in school by a desire to participate in athletic programs? And the reverse: how many students fail to complete their education due to a feeling of non-success in everything—including athletics? How is the proposed increased number of coaches going to affect the quality of the teaching staff? Are more and more teachers going to be required to coach? Is this going to mean that more teacher-coaches will pay less attention to their classes? Or will coaching suffer because teachers will not devote enough time to their team?

Thirdly I ask you to consider the effect of increased interscholastic athletic activities on physical education classes and intramural programs. Are gym classes going to suffer (or perhaps continue to suffer) as more and more emphasis is put on athletics and athletic competition? Are we going to see the further decline and then the elimination of intramural programs—because there is no time to use the gym except at 7:45 in the morning, or because the gym teacher-coach won't have time or energy to devote to intramural games, or because the students themselves will see intramurals as "nothing" compared to the excitement of a game against another school?

And fourth, I call to your attention the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution that guarantees equal protection of he laws; that guarantee may well require boards of all tax-supported schools to equalize *per pupil* expenditures for physical education, recreational and intramural sports programs, and interscholastic sports programs. School boards may be under a constitutional obligation to eliminate the disparities and inequities in sports programs, both in terms of quantity *and* quality.

In addition, recent cases strongly indicate that discrimination on the basis of sex in non-contact competitive sports is unconstitutional. In golf, tennis, archery, and other such teams, qualified students ought to have the option of competing with others of equal skill and ability without regard to whether they are male or female.

It may be concluded, then, that simple equality is not the answer to this problem of inequality. There are grave problems within the existing athletic programs offered to boys in the Des Moines Public Schools. And I fear that, in effect, by simply extending existing boys' athletic programs to comparable programs for girls without questioning the existing programs is to only further the creation of a nation of spectators. Participating sports are becoming a thing for the few. Students who do not receive adequate physical education don't do well in school. In my opinion a strenous physical education class needs to be offered to every student every day. Very few people get enough exercise and that bad habit begins very young. There is at least one high school that provides gym class daily; another one, I understand, recently discontinued this policy due to cries of "equality." Girls, who had gym classes every day, wanted their program to be equal to the alternating gym class schedule that the boys have. Anyone who has worked in the field of civil rights should know that a basic principle by which equalizing policies must be measured is that you do not *lower* the higher standard of pay, opportunity, physical well-being or whatever to the level of the lower standard. Instead you raise the lower standard to meet the high standard.

I urge you to thus re-examine your standards for physical activity for *all* students—both boys and girls—in the Des Moines Public Schools and then to determine how these standards best can be met. The issue is an extremely complex one with far-reaching ramifications. As a State Commission on the Status of Women, we demand that you provide quality as well as quantity physical education and athletic programs for girls in the Des Moines Public Schools, so that they may share fully *both* in the benefits of good, sound physical education classes and in the rewards of participation in competitive sports.

I suggest, therefore, that you postpone your decision on expanding junior high and high school athletic programs, and recommend that you establish a study committee, composed of students, parents, and teachers, to examine the points I have raised.

Thank you.

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CEDAR RAPIDS COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

EDUCATIONAL SERVICE CENTER

MARCH 9, 1973.

To: Dr. Craig Currie, superintendent of schools.
From: PTSA reconsideration committee.
Subject: Challenge to Scott-Foresman reading series.

We have received and considered a complaint about the Scott-Foresman Reading Series, presently in use in our schools, from Mrs. Rita Huber. Mrs. Huber contends that an intensive and extensive sexist bias permeates this series and that steps should be taken to eliminate instructional material which conveys discriminatory sexual stereotypes. She concedes that (1) no suitable alternative to the Scott-Foresman Series is presently available and that (2) the solution to this problem will take time. The *Committee concurs with Mrs. Hubert in her contention regarding the material in question* and appreciates her awareness of the size of the task confronting us in correcting this situation.

In order to move purposefully to eliminate sexist bias in instructional material, the Committee recommends that the following steps be taken:

(1) The immediate tactics be developed to raise the awareness level of all teachers regarding sex bias in instructional material;

(2) that a committee or task group be appointed to develop appropriate criteria relating to sex roles in basal and supplementary material used in schools, and that this group search for basal readers which meet criteria relating to our knowledge about the teaching of reading in addition to various steretoyping criteria;

(3) as an interim step, that a group of elementary teachers identify specific stereotypical situations in the Scott-Foresman Series and devise compensatory strategies, activities and statements (this could be done through the in-service program);

(4) that a committee be assembled to identify suitable compensatory material to supplement basal readers in the area of sex role stereotyping and, additionally, to make suggestions for the incorporation of acceptable material presently available into teaching units (this could be an extended assignment project for summer 1973);

(5) that the recommendations above be refined insofar as possible to facilitate conducting a pre-service session on this topic with all elementary teachers in August 1973;

(6) that an in-depth in-service program in the area of sex roles be developed and offered to teachers. We must be prepared to offer an adequate number of sections of this course.

These recommendations provide for an awareness component, a compensatory component, for the development of criteria and for the identification of appropriate instructional material. If you support these recommendations, it is the further suggestion of the PTSA Reconsideration Committee that the Family Life Education Project Leader coordinate the above activities with advice from the Community Advisory Committee for Family Life Education. (The Community Advisory Committee for Family Life Education would be expanded to include representation from the Cedar Rapids Women's Caucus.)

ROBERT FOLEY,
*Director, Media and Materials.*

I concur, with the above modification(s).

CRAIG H. CURRIE,
*Superintendent of Schools.*

City of Seattle,
Office of Women's Rights,
*Seattle, Wash., July 18, 1973.*

Ms. Joy Simonson,
*Employment Security Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

Dear Ms. Simonson: The Women's Commission of the City of Seattle strongly supports H.R. 208 and wishes this to be conveyed to the House Education and Labor Committee Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity.

Members of the Commission are deeply involved with the problem of sex stereotyping in education. This past year the Commission reviewed several children's textbooks and met with the Seattle Board of Education on this problem. Although the Board of Education expressed concern, the Seattle Women's Commission does not have enough staff or funds to fully review all textbooks, recommend innovative projects and curriculums, present workshops for educational personnel, or provide the Board of Education with the necessary information to insure implementation of our recommendations. Without a concentrated effort to eliminate sex stereotypes at all levels of education, the results will be piecemeal at best. Yet if sex stereotypes are allowed to persist in our schools, women of all ages will continue to be hindered by an inequitable educational system. Federal assistance is needed not only in the area of sex stereotyping but to insure that women are placed in higher positions and trained for these positions.

This bill will provide for the implementation of projects and curriculum which will encourage women's full participation in American society. It is an essential piece of legislation and is greatly needed, especially in the Seattle area. We feel it must be passed.

We would appreciate being kept informed on the status of ths piece of legislation and are available if any further help is needed.

Sincerely,

Shirley Bridge,
*President, Seattle Women's Commission.*

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## ELIMINATING SEX BIAS IN EDUCATION

### Minnesota State Board of Education

### FOREWORD

The State of Minnesota is committed to providing equal educational and employment opportunities for women. Despite some progress in assuring women equal protection under state and federal laws, there is still deep-rooted discrimination against women in our society.

In this position paper by the Minnesota State Board of Education, adopted September 11, 1972, affirmative action is proposed to provide equal opportunity for women and to eliminate sex-biased practices in our education system. The board's proposals focus on recruitment and promotion of women in professional and managerial positions in education; ending sexual stereotyping in the elementary and secondary schools through changes in instructional material, in-service training of educational personnel, and assuring that there will be equal programs available for both boys and girls; and providing equal opportunity for women as students and faculty members in higher education.

I join with the State Board of Education in urging the educational community in Minnesota to take the initiative now to extend to women their full share of educational and employment opportunities.

Howard B. Casmey,
*Minnesota State Commissioner of Education.*

### Eliminating Sex Bias in Education

The State Board of Education believes that our educational system has helped perpetuate the division of the sexes into predetermined roles and has failed to provide freedom from discrimination because of sex and marital status.

The practice of stereotyping and socializing men and women into "masculine", "feminine" roles has resulted in prejudice, dominance, discrimination and segregation harmful to the human development of both sexes.

While there is awareness among many people of racism and its debilitating effects on our society in the wastage of human potential, there is not the same awareness of the harmful effects and the extent of discrimination and stereotyping due to prejudices concerning gender.

The State Board of Education asks the Department and the public schools to assume leadership in eliminating bias and discrimination so that the many practices based on sexual stereotyping can be ended and the assumptions changed with evolvement of new values.

To implement this policy, the State Board of Education requests the Commissioner and the Department to act as follows:

Consider including a component on sex bias in the Human Relations Certification Regulation (Edu 520–521). Human relations training should include a study of the effects of sexual bias.

The State Board of Education is concerned about four areas in particular: discrimination in hiring and promoting, sex requirements for boys and girls to participate in sports and extra-curricular activities, sex bias in curricular and teaching materials, and providing in-service training for administrators and teachers to overcome the habits and practices of teaching stereotyped social roles.

Discrimination in hiring and promoting on the basis of sex and marital status has been a damaging and long-standing practice in Minnesota's educational system. Although women teachers still outnumber men, the number of women has been steadily declining for several years.

Promotion bias against females shows in the low number of women who are principals or superintendents. In 1971, only 24.6% of the elementary principals were women, .5% of the secondary principals, and there were no women superintendents in Minnesota.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Review all Department job descriptions and eliminate all sex-based requirements for employment or promotion.

Develop a program within the Department which provides equal opportunity for promotion to higher level positions regardless of sex or marital status.

The State Board requests local boards to:

Provide equal opportunities for employment and promotion regardless of sex or marital status.

Make known to hiring officials and local personnel committees the pertinent laws on sex discrimination and to assure adherence to these laws.

Extra-curricular activities have too long been typed as masculine and feminine, resulting in exclusion of female students from the majority of sports activities. Certain courses are also presented as being for males or females, limiting the educational opportunities and destroying the motivation of all students for gaining a full education.

School counselors should encourage students to consider careers in accordance with their interests and abilities regardless of the traditional roles or careers.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Review all State Board rules and regulations and take steps to eliminate all sex-based requirements for courses and extra-curricular activities for students.

The State Board requests local school boards and administrators to:

Provide equal access for all pupils to local school facilities, programs, equipment, staff services, and financial resources.

Some textbooks now used reflect stereotyped concepts of masculine and feminine roles. Some elementary textbooks show male adult roles as fireman, policeman, milkman or predominantly, a man in a business suit and tie who returns home to a wife who has spent the day doing dishes and housework.

These stereotypes lead children to believe that their parents are somehow unusual, because the majority of men in the state are not businessmen and many women work and support a family.

Boys in these books are shown as inventive, adventurous and capable while girls are shown as passive, negative influences who are preparing for a life in their hoped-for future household. These stereotypes discourage young girls from developing their basic personal potential and withholds them from the motivation gained from outside reinforcement that is granted to males.

The State Board requests local school boards and administrators to:

Select books which promote elimination of sex bias.

Books and other materials for raising consciousness of the patterns of existing bias and containing information on employment and promotion should be available to all people in the school system.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Arrange a collection of appropriate books, materials and media on sex bias to be available in the State Department Professional Library and to inform staff of available information.

Arrange for preparation of an annotated bibliography on sex bias to be distributed to all school districts in the state.

Career education programs are now being developed in elementary grades and junior high. In these programs and in existing senior high programs, the careers must be presented as available for both male and female students.

Though programs are nominally open to both, the large part of young women presently in post-secondary vocational training take clerical, secretarial or practical nursing courses, showing that little consideration has been given to less tradition roles. Girls should be encouraged to explore non-traditional courses in line with their particular interests.

The State Board requests the local boards and administrators to:

Develop career education programs for all students which recognize the need for equality of opportunity in career choice regardless of sex.

The fourth major concern of the State Board of Education is to provide inservice training for teachers, counselors and administrative and supervisory personnel to help them recognize practices of stereotyping and prejudice and readjust their teaching methods and values to end the harmful practices.

The State Board requests the State Department to:

Arrange staff meetings to raise the level of awareness of all staff members.

Include components on sex bias in education in the conferences and workshops sponsored for local administrators and school board members.

Encourage teacher-preparing institutions to include information about sex bias in pre-service and in-service programs and courses.

The State Board requests local school boards and administrators to:

Provide in-service training for professional and supporting staff members on elimination of sex bias.

The State Board of Education hopes these steps will bring Minnesota's schools closer to the goal of equal education and employment opportunities for all.

Adopted by the Minnesota State Board of Education, September 11, 1972.

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IDAHO COMMISSION ON WOMEN'S PROGRAMS,
*Boise, Idaho, July 16, 1973.*

Ms. JOY R. SIMONSON,
*Employment Security Building,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MS. SIMONSON: On October 14, 1972 the Idaho Commission on Women's Programs adopted the following:

> That the Commission support the proposal presented by Dr. Trump regarding Rep. Mink's Bill No. 14451 on special education programs for women, and which contains a plan for use of funds under this legislation . . . with the recommendation that funding be in the form of block grants to State Women's Commissions, which shall be responsible for the approval of projects and awarding of funds.

I am also enclosing a copy of the Annual Report of the Idaho Commission on Women's Programs, which includes this resolution on page 9 and a proposal for a state plan for Women's Programs under the Women's Education Act on pages 26 and 27.

I hope this will be of help to you.

Sincerely,

MARJORIE RUTH MOON,
*Chairman, Idaho Commission on Women's Programs.*

Enclosure

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## EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF THE IDAHO COMMISSION ON WOMEN'S PROGRAMS

### COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

### EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CAREER CHOICES

That the Commission supports U.S. Rep. Patsy Mink's Bill No. 14451 on special education programs for women, and recommends that the funding under this bill be in the form of block grants to State Women's Commissions, which shall be responsible for the approval of projects and awarding of funds.

## APPENDIX F

### A PROPOSAL FOR A STATE PLAN FOR WOMEN'S PROGRAMS UNDER THE "WOMEN'S EDUCATION ACT OF 1972"—H.R. 14451

1.0 Submission of State Plan to National Advisory Council as provided in the Act.

2.0 Administrative Information

Supervision of the Administration of the State Plan is the:

Idaho Commission on Women's Programs
State House
Boise, Idaho 83707

3.0 Policies and Procedures for selection of Projects and Programs

In accomplishing this, the Commission will consult with and consider applications from the following types of organizations:

1. Colleges and Universities.
2. State Agencies having special information and experience in identifying women's problems.
3. Poverty agencies.
4. Chambers of Commerce.
5. Religious organizations.
6. Civil rights organizations.
7. Women's clubs, group organizations, etc.

3.1 The Commission will annually write an Amendment to the original State plan specifying priority areas to which project proposals should be directed. Priorities will be determined by a comprehensive needs/wants Statewide Survey.

3.2 The procedures to be followed in the selection of programs to be funded will be:

3.21 Development of project proposal by the Agency and institution(s) and/or community(s) etc.
3.22 Submission of Proposed Project to Women's Commission
3.23 Review and approval of Women's Commission
3.24 Funding of the Approved Program
3.25 Program implementation
3.26 Progress reports to Commission at Quarterly Meetings
3.27 Final Report to Commission
3.28 Evaluation of Program by appropriate task force of Women's Commission
3.29 Dissemination of information regarding Project

### SUMMARY

Many additional details would necessarily be worked out in due time. Mrs. Mink's bill remains in committee at this writing and no hope is forecast for it emerging in this session for House consideration. To carry out such a plan would require a full-time Executive Director for the Commission funded (hopefully) by Congresswoman Mink's legislation.

## APPENDIX G

### EDUCATIONAL TASK FORCE

During the 1971–72 year the Educational Task Force has had four meetings and a number of recommendations and programs have been presented to the Women's Commission.

In February, the Task Force requested the Commission to ask the Human Rights Commission to investigate hiring practices regarding women with reference to recruitment, employment, promotion, dismissal, salaries, tenure, and institutional policy within the schools of higher learning and salaries and promotional opportunities in elementary, junior high and senior high schools, including the opportunity to move from teaching to administrative rank.

As a result of this recommendation, two representatives of the Commission were appointed to joint committee composed of the Women's Commission, the Human Rights Commission and the Idaho Education Association to investigate such discrimination.

Three members of the Task Force were appointed to serve with the Human Rights Commission and the Idaho Education Association to study textbooks for discrimination against Chicanos, blacks, Indians, and women.

The Task Force recommended that the Commission chairman be authorized to write Idaho Congressmen in support of H.B. 14451 which provides for special education programs for women. This was done.

A brief report on letters from University and College presidents in response to an inquiry regarding hiring practices, tenure, salary, and promotion practices indicated that in every instance salaries were lower, the percentage of women employed by universities and colleges is smaller and the academic and administrative ranks are lower for women than for men.

The Task Force was authorized by the Commission to conduct a study on student programs and development.

The Educational Task Force met September 8, 1972 and set up the goals and identified problems as follows:

1. Indentify problems in education.
2. Evaluate existing programs.
3. On the basis of the above, develop action programs for the Task Force and the Commission.

Problems identified are:

1. Financing education. All sources of income must be studied. Awareness of differences in school personnel must be given increased consideration. The existing formula for distribution of federal funds must be studied with the objective of providing more funds for states such as Idaho. The geographical and sparcity factors must be included to provide additional financial assistance.
2. The need for career planning during elementary and secondary schools and the desperate need for socialization (including career education) for victims of drugs and other types of problems.

At the regular meeting of the commission, proposals were presented by the Education Task Force, as shown on Page 9.

The central problem the Task Force will study in the future is, "The Stereotyped sex roles" instilled in youth through educational experiences and programs including: curriculum, textbooks, Counseling, and sex identified courses.

Mrs. Mink. Our next witnes is Bernice Frieder, chairman, Education Task Force, National Council of Jewish Women.

## STATEMENT OF BERNICE FRIEDER, CHAIRMAN, EDUCATION TASK FORCE, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

Ms. Frieder. I am Bernice Frieder, chairman of the Education Task Force and national board member of the National Council of Jewish Women. The NCJW, founded in 1893, with a current membership of 100,000 women located in almost 200 communities across the country, is an organization dedicated to community service, education, and social action.

For 80 years council members have been activists in the cause of social justice and in the promotion of equal rights and opportunities for all. We are pleased to have the opportunity to express our views on H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act.

NCJW resolutions, which were reaffirmed at our biennial convention in April 1973 state: "The National Council of Jewish Women believes that the freedom, dignity, and security of the individual are basic to American democracy . . . and that any erosion of (individual) liberties or discrimination against any person undermines that society. It therefore resolves to work for and support measures which insure equal opportunity and legal equal rights for women."

At the same convention, council women also reaffirmed another basic council resolution: "The NCJW believes that American democracy depends on a strong system of public education to develop the highest potential of the individual. Equal access to quality educational services is a fundamental right for all individuals."

Since 1964, the National Council of Jewish Women has been an active participant in the WICS program (Women in Community Service), wherein council volunteers have joined women volunteers from other organizations to recruit and screen tens of thousands of young women, 16–21 years of age, for the Job Corps.

We have also helped those girls who were not accepted for the Corps, as well as those returning from training to their home communities. This involvement has shown us most forcefully the serious inadequacies in the education and training available to these young women.

Our first-hand experience with the plight of undereducated, poorly-trained women was further strengthened and extended by the recent NCJW national study on day care needs, published under the title, "Windows on Day Care." Here we found women trapped in poverty, not only by their lack of educational and marketable skills, but also by the absence of adequate child care services for their families.

For decades, council women have spoken out strongly for legislation to guarantee equal opportunities for all, to provide better education programs for the disadvantaged, for comprehensive child care services, for better health care, and for a whole host of other programs designed to help people. We see H.R. 208, "The Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973" as dealing with another important aspect of the continuing struggle to attain social justice for all, and we are happy to add our voice to those who support it.

In preparation for today's testimony, we circularized members of the NCJW Education Task Force for their reactions to the proposed legislation. Without exception, all respondents answered "Yes" to our query, "Should NCJW support this bill?"

Some typical comments follow: "Isn't it about time that all restrictions on women's activities, education, employment, wages, and so forth, be lifted?" (this from a member in North Carolina); "The facts are very persuasive" (from New York); "It is in keeping with our concept of equality of the sexes and of quality education for all" (from New Jersey); "It is very important that the Congress continue to pass individual pieces of legislation helpful to women" (from a member in Utah). So, as you can see, our testimony reflects the study and thinking of a representative group of council women.

This bill as presently constituted addresses itself to a broad spectrum of programs and activities. It lists 16 major activities for which funds may be appropriated, and it further provides that programs cover students from preschool through higher and adult education.

We do not doubt that every program listed in the act is important and needed if the stated goals are to be achieved; however, we must observe that the legislation might be more effective if the purpose and scope of the suggested activities were somewhat limited, and were couched in more modest and realistic terms.

Certainly the amount of money requested would suggest a limited undertaking, at least in the beginning. Although we would agree that legislative flexibility is essential if innovative practices and new directions are to emerge, we regard the scatter-gun approaches often confusing or even counterproductive.

We hope that these hearings will result in modifications of the legislation to sharpen its focus. The National Council of Jewish Women would recommend the following three program areas for initial emphasis: (1) The development, demonstration, evaluation, and dissemination of new and improved curriculums and materials, (2) appropriate training for those who will use the new materials, and (3) education of the public through the preparation and dissemination of materials for use in the mass media and other public forums.

The National Council of Jewish Women is pleased to note that relevant programs of nonprofit agencies and organizations may be funded under t[illegible]. The potential of the private voluntarly organization to change attitudes and contribute positively to solutions should not be overlooked nor underestimated. Similarly, we strongly approve of the active citizen participation as contemplated in the composition of the proposed policymaking Council on Women's Educational Programs. This is in consonance with our resolution which pledges NCJW members "to support greater community participation in educational affairs."

When the Women's Education Act of 1972 was introduced on April 18, 1972, Representative Mink called for a reordering of national priorities, and went on to say, "I suggest that education is the first place to start in a reexamination of our national goals."

The NCJW agrees absolutely, because we, too, believe that education is essential in any attempt to effect social change. We are therefore somewhat concerned to see that whereas the 1972 version of H.R. 208 placed responsibility for the program with the Commissioner of Education and the Secretary of HEW, the 1973 version appears to eliminate the role of the Commissioner.

All responsibility for the program is placed with the Secretary of HEW, even though the act provides in section 3(a) that the Council on Women's Educational Programs is to be established in the Office of Education. We question the logic and the practicability of this arrangement, and foresee the possibility of serious administrative problems arising from this apparent ambiguity.

In the same section 3, subsection (b) provides that the Council Chairman, to be appointed by the President, shall be a salaried official, whereas subsection (c) states, "The remaining 20 members of the Council shall serve without compensation."

Based on my personal experience as an elected member of the Colorado State Board of Education for 12 years, and as a member of the National Advisory Council to title III of the Higher Education Act for more than 3 years, I would suggest that either all Council members be paid, or that none be paid.

The present proposal appears to establish two classes of Council membership, with one "more equal" than the other. Perhaps what should be considered is a nonpaid 21-member Council working with a salaried Executive Director.

We would also raise questions about section 7(a) which authorizes the Secretary of HEW "to make grants, not to exceed $15,000 annually per grant, for innovative approaches to women's educational programs."

First, we note that the bill sets no limits on the total amount which can be distributed under this provision. Theoretically, with the present wording, the entire appropriation could be disbursed under this section.

Secondly, while we wish to encourage the widest possible participation in the effort to find new and better techniques and programs, it has been my experience that small grant programs sometimes serve as a device to distribute moneys on a political or geographical basis in order that every State, or every congressional district, will have a share of the program.

Too often the results achieved from this kind of a grant program are negligible—hardly enough to justify the amount of paperwork required to process and maintain it. At the same time, however, I would like to see this bill contain "an innovative" small grants program which is designed to achieve the desired results.

Finally, the NCJW heartily approves those sections of the act which: (1) Provide for much-needed coordination of women's educational program activities within the Federal Government, (2) state that the funds granted shall supplement, not supplant, present funding of projects and programs, and (3) provides for an annual review of the projects assisted.

We would underscore the necessity for ongoing and realistic evaluation of programs. Particularly in this program, which is of such tremendous importance to every woman, it is essential that projects funded be productive and meritorious in every way.

In conclusion, we wish to thank the committee for inviting us to make these few observations. Over many years, NCJW members have demonstrated by word and deed their opposition to any form of discrimination and their strong commitment to equality of opportunity for all. We, therefore, support the concept of the Educational Equity Act, and hope to see the adoption of appropriate legislation.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much. We appreciate your testimony, and most specifically the items that you have called our attention to in the legislation I think will be most helpful in the final deliberations on this bill.

To clarify the differences in the bill that was offered in the last session and this session as to the matter of responsibility for the program, I would like to say that the reason the change was made was because at the beginning of this session there was a reorganization in HEW with the Assistant Secretary of Education being named and the responsibilities for education placed at a different level. I did not want to ignore that particular organizational change and, therefore, made that change also in any legislation to conform to it.

Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I have one question. On page 3 of your testimony, you indicated the three areas that you would like to see initial emphasis placed upon. In these three areas, you did not include anything pertaining to the attitudes or the orientation of those who will have the responsibility for implementing the program.

Perhaps you do not feel that is of equal importance.

Ms. FRIEDER. Yes, I do. I considered that as being part of my second—I said appropriate training and the word, "appropriate"—I used that word advisedly to cover the very thing you have in mind.

It is not just the attitude of those who will use the new materials or who are responsible for it, but I think it is the education, the attitude of the public, and I would start with the attitude of women themselves.

I feel very strongly about that. That is why I included the third part. I think we would see that as a very important part.

I remarked in our most recent convention, which was held in April in Miami, on the increasing number of young women who are very active in our organization now, all of whom seem to appear to be deeply committed, very much aware and deeply committed to the principles in your bill. They have a great deal to do to educate some of their own neighbors to the realities of the situation because they are not aware of the situation. They have not even thought about it.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you. That is all I have.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you.

In the recommendations you made for emphasis, three areas of emphasis, were you speaking specifically of elementary education, secondary, higher, adult, or are the three recommendations you make applicable to all levels of education?

Ms. FRIEDER. They are applicable to all. I would hope that we do give consideration to the elementary and secondary levels. I think the tendency has been to emphasize at the college level, and I think the attitudes begin really in the home and I would like to see it begin in the elementary school.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much for your testimony.

I appreciate very much your taking the time to present the views of the Council.

Our next witness is Ellen Morgan, Coordinator of the Task Force on University Compliance, National Organization for Women.

We welcome you to the committee. We have your statement, which will be inserted in the record in full.

You may proceed any way you wish.

[The prepared statement follows:]

### STATEMENT OF ELLEN MORGAN, COORDINATOR, TASK FORCE ON UNIVERSITY COMPLIANCE, PRINCETON, N.J.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify for the National Organization for Women concerning the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973. My name is Ellen Morgan. I attended primary and secondary schools in the United States and have earned bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in U.S. universities; thus it seems fair to say I have sampled a reasonably large chunk of the U.S. educational system. And I think it is important to say that it is the experiences I have had in that system, as a female student and as a female faculty member, which, together with a strong commitment to the academic ideal, have motivated me to publish several articles on equal educational opportunity for women and on women in my field, literature, and to serve as coordinator of NOW's national Task Force on University Compliance. My testimony today will report on some of NOW's thinking and activities in pursuit of equal opportunity for girls and women at the various levels of education, and in some specialized areas, such as athletics, continuing education, and women's studies.

Let me begin with the activities of our national Task Force on Elementary and Secondary Education Discrimination. headed by Ms. Anne Grant, 617 49th Street, Brooklyn, New York 11220. As Ms. Grant can attest, NOW is one of the organizations currently documenting elementary and secondary school sex discrimination at the local level. Many of our over 500 chapters are studying the problems of prejudice in early education, children's television, toys, textbooks, and audio-visuals. They are developing non-discriminatory models for athletic programs, vocational training, and courses in shop, home economics, history, and literature. They are conducting in-service courses on the Women's Movement for teachers and counselors. They are developing programs for pregnant students and for older women who need a second start. They are studying patterns of discrimination in the licensing, evaluation, and promotion of teachers, and in the operation of teachers' unions. In short, our chapters are providing a tedious and costly service which we believe to be the public responsibility of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, not of a volunteer organization like NOW. Since we have a perception of the problem and a commitment to see it solved, we hope that our abilities and those of others who have demonstrated the same concern will be utilized by HEW. But on our own, we have neither the power to elicit essential information from the schools, nor the funding to expedite our work or publicize our findings.

By way of demonstrating the kind of materials that can be produced with funding, this Task Force calls your attention to the documentary, our North American Foremothers, which was presented by our New York City chapter and which received widespread coverage—from the Austrian press to the Chicago Tribune and the New York Times, and from the Militant to Family Circle. (I have brought with me two posters displaying some of the press clippings, and will leave them with you for the record.) Though there was clearly a wide public interest in this work, it could not travel outside New York State since the show was funded by the State's Council on the Arts. We need federal funding, not only to produce but to distribute to a wide audience such materials as this documentary and the first report on sex bias in the public schools, which now published in 1971, and which received from parents, educators, the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and Congress a most gratifying and enthusiastic response. (The original report was read into the Congressional Record 117:109, pp. E7742 ff: July 14, 1971.)

As for the national Task Force on University Compliance, of which I (28 Cranbury Road, Princeton Junction, New Jersey 08550) am coordinator, we are attempting, on the local level, with the help of regional offices of HEW, the EEOC, and the Dept. of Labor's Wage & Hour Division, to obtain the compliance of various colleges and universities with existing anti-discrimination legislation. In connection with this activity, we are constantly being asked for information on discrimination by these enforcement agencies. With the recent extension of their jurisdiction to faculty personnel in particular have come a number of rather thorny problems. The agencies need to have documented information on what standards or criteria peculiar to the academic setting and used in hiring or setting university salaries and ranks have an invidious or disparate effect on women. For example, publications in reputable journals have long been considered a ranking criterion in academe, but many academic women complain that the most prestigious academic journals accept a larger proportion of the articles submitted by men than by women, although the women's work is not of inferior quality. The Task Force would like to do the needed study to determine the proportion of articles such journals publish by women in comparison to proportion submitted, and try to test whether the journals have a bias against materials by women which are demonstrably equivalent (or superior) in quality to the articles by men which they are printing. There are also many other criteria which need examining.

We are also interested in: developing affirmative action plans to change the conditions I have described below in the section on Women's Studies, exploring sex-bias in the composition and scoring of standardized tests such as the College Boards and the Graduate Record Examinations; seeing that grant-making foundations either are persuaded to stop discriminating against women in hiring, promotion, and selection of award recipients (Ms. Franziska P. Hosken, 187 Grant Street, Lexington, Mass. 02173, has already testified on NOW's behalf before the House Ways & Means Committee on this issue) or lose their tax-exempt status; analyzing and confronting the tactics, including charges for reverse discrimination, with which some academic personnel are now attacking the whole concept of affirmative action; looking into the status of women in professional schools; and holding conferences or symposia to stimulate thinking, especially that of women, on the question of what a truly humanistic, and therefore egalitarian, higher education would be like—in terms of what would be taught with what texts, by what eachers, to what students, with what goals in mind. How would the educational institution relate to all the people involved with or touched by it—faculty, students, administration, support staff, trustees, alumna and alumni, faculty wives, community, and society? How would it be tied into the economic, political, and other structures of the larger society? What facilities would it offer?

What would it ask of and give to each of its component sectors? Women have so far had little chance to participate in determining the character and features of the higher education system their taxes support; such a symposium could give them a chance to offer their insights and suggestions in an atmosphere receptive to their contributions. Such a symposium could also examine how anti-feminist and other biases are embedded in the assumptions of each discipline. But more importantly, the participants could address themselves to creating a concrete, positive image toward which universities could, at their individual discretion, work. It is hard for people to strive for ideals when they have no clear idea what their application would mean in concrete, practical terms. But a thoughtful consideration of our current concepts of higher education and academic practices could help professors and other academic personnel to understand how the universities and individual fields are presently limited by biases. And by helping them to identify these biases, such a consideration could give them alternatives which could ultimately bring us all closer to the humanistic ideal the academy has traditionally cherished.

One of our other dreams is the estbalishment of an institute for study relating to women's problems and perspectives. Such an institute could serve a number of much-needed functions, all closely allied with the fostering of educational equity for women. On the service level, it could be a clearinghouse for information on the innumerable projects concerning women now being done. While Pascal may have found the pleasure in the chase rather than in the capture, anyone who has ever tried to track down bibliography and other resources in this area knows more than she or he wishes to know about the delights of making endless phone calls and writing unwieldy numbers of postcards and letters to places across the country and even around the world. There is something admittedly agreeable about having to know everybody in order to know anything, but there is a veritable renaissance of creative thinking and scholarly and artistic production and other such activities going on in the wake of the women's movement today, and it is obvious that a sizable segment of our country's population, including both females and males, is eager to learn about and share in this development, and cannot do so on this charming person-to-person basis.

Secondly—and this is the beautiful, magic part of our dream—such an institute could provide work space and facilities and a supportive climate to some of the various people who *are* the renaissance. There is, at present, no place, no *space*, in our society where women can go to think, to wrestle with their demons, to create; all the "think tanks" and institutes for research and study we have are places which are, candidly speaking, male-dominated, male-supervised, and male in terms of financial aid, member selection, traditions, and outlook. What is needed is not a place from which men who are interested in this work are excluded, but a place where women are not the "others" or the "*co-eds*," the "alsos" or the tokens, where they are permitted the psychological and physical autonomy our society has never before offered them. Virginia Woolf summed it up with a down-to-earthness that may sock us in the solar plexus of our romantic notions about artists, but is well-calculated to disembarrass us of any illusions about the ability of the creative woman to be productive in a non-supportive climate. Speaking of the female as creator, Woolf said flatly: "a woman must have money and a room of her own."

Some of the work which would immediately be initiated at such an institute would be, without a doubt, social research. Tremendous changes are taking place in attitudes toward women and sex-roles in our society, but the traditional reseach organizations are proving unable to describe and measure these changes because their personnel do not know how to eliminate their own largely unconscious sex biases from their research tools and methods. In consequence, sociology and other academic disciplines remain unable to incorporate into their purview much important new information, and to analyze its significance. Highly qualified feminist researchers are avalable and eager to do this research, but are not being hired by the traditional organizations and, besides, do not wish to subject themselves to supervision by people who, while they may be of the heartiest good will, are nevertheless inclined by their own stereotypes and convictions to limit the potential of this type of research.

In all the academic disciplines and in pedagogical theory, we need what might be called "the other side of the story." In the discussion of the need for women's studies which appears below, I have tried to describe the sexual monocularism which at present characterizes much of our educational system because many traditional assumptions in each discipline, and in pedagogical thinking and practice, reflect our cultural sex biases and stereotypes. Scholars at the institute would find the freedom to scrutinize these assumptions and to try to revise, correct, balance, and complete them; the freedom to do this is simply *not* available within traditional academic institutions at present, in terms of either financial or psychological support.

We envision this Room of One's Own as a place where scholars, thinkers, artists, and other people interested in women's problems and perspectives could come for limited periods of time to work on specific projects and research of their own design, and where various types of symposia and other gatherings could be held to generate and stimulate further work. And we envision it as a place where other people, including both the general public and academic and governmental personnel, could turn for bibliographical and other information, suggestions of consultants, and help in identifying and solving problems related to sex discrimination in education and the myriad related sectors of our society. Nobody else has ever tried just such an experiment, to our knowledge, in the history of civilization, but we are undaunted. For we North Americans tend to pride ourselves on what we call the frontier spirit, and our educational system from its inceptions has striven, however many times it may have quite dismally failed, to embody democratic and egalitarian principles. If, as Jefferson said, "the purse of the people is the real seat of sensibility," then the institute should soon be a reality.

For all of these projects and proposals of the Task Force on University Compliance, we can provide willing, talented, and dedicated workers and resource people. But for all we need funding.

The recently formed NOW national Task Force on Women and Sports, the chairone of which is Ms. Judy Wenning, 510 E. 82nd Street, New York, New York 10028, is likewise initiating many kinds of innovative research and other activities, but is severely hampered by lack of funds. Among the projects which it is planning and for which funding is needed are the initiation, in conjunction with Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, of a research institute to study attitudes towards women in sports, and the conducting of a National Sports Symposium for Women. Plans for the Symposium call for gathering together women from a large number of sports and professional organizations and sharing with them both news of research presently being carried out and the designing of additional research and action projects. A number of grants are needed, in addition, to conduct mini-research institutes on physical education, athletics, and recreation in various sections of the country.

Within NOW also exists an ad hoc committee called "Project Second Start: Continuing Education for Mature Women." The group is chaired [illegible] Eleanor Kramer, 208 Thompson Street, New York, New York 10012. Members state that the plight of the woman who, because of societal patterns and pressures (including racism, poverty—which particularly affects women in our society—and the belief that women's place is in the home and therefore that men should be educated in preference to, or to the exclusion of women) either has not gone to college or has not completed a degree, has not been the focus of nearly enough study and consideration. This woman, by the age of 25 or so, frequently is on welfare, or, if employed, earning crushingly low wages. She is not unlikely to be the sole support of herself and her family. Often she cannot possibly afford to pay for her own education. But without the education, she cannot qualify for a decently-paying job. In addition, existing programs requiring her to work full-time while going to school because they do not provide sufficient subsidies, take her so long to complete even if she can afford to matriculate, that she cannot qualify for a good job until she is much older than her competition, and therefore, less likely to be hired. Existing programs likewise are generally inadequate in terms of child-care and of the kind of flexibility of design which would recognize the home responsibilities which she has no alternative but to fulfill.

The ad hoc committee has two projects in the planning stages. One is a national directory to inform women about all opportunities across the country for their continuing education. The directory would alert women to programs which encourage them to apply but then do not grant them the credit needed for degrees and better jobs. It would inform them about the various entrance qualifications, deadlines, financial and academic requirements, facilities, and regulations they will meet, thereby enabling them to prepare realistically and to save time and energy better spent studying than charting a round-about course through the choppy waters of institutional protocol. A second project the committee recommends is the training of counseling personnel so that mature women wishing to obtain an education, or in the process of doing so, will have informed and capable people to whom to turn for advice, support, and information. Such projects, together with a thorough consideration of barriers to women's continuing education, are urgently needed, and call for immediate attention and financial support.

Now also has a National Committee to Promote Woman's Studies, chaired by Ms. Sarah Slavin Schramm, 8715 Bridgeport Avenue, St. Louis, Mo. 63144. The Committee, in recognition of the appropriateness of Woman's Studies to NOW's goals, is an appendage to the national Task Force on Elementary and Secondary Education Discrimination, and maintains liaison with the Task Force on University Compliance. It was established to help interested people in setting up woman's studies courses. Some of its objectives are to help to put woman's accomplishments into proper perspective and to disseminate valuable, and heretofore ignored, information and resources on women. The Committee will soon publish a resource booklet entitled "Do It Yourself Woman's Studies," which will list resources by field.

As I am an educator interested in curriculum reform, and was, until within the past year, still a student, let me try to convince you of the absolutely critical need for funding women's studies and personnel retraining. Maybe I can give you a little of the flavor of what is happening in our educational system, and shadow in what needs to be done to improve it.

During all these years while I have been in school and college, I saw no women in our history textbooks except a few suffragists described as "suffragettes" in perhaps a paragraph or so, and made to seem ridiculous and unwomanly, and it has been hard not to conclude that women have not contributed much to civilization. I did not realize that history as we know it is not at all what it purports to be—a reasonable record of the known activities of the human race—but rather, a record of what historians have so far thought it important to mention—the wars, conquests, and technological developments that were the business of a powerful and privileged, but not necessarily more gifted or more worthy, few, virtually all, like the historians themselves, male.

No one talked about the fact that women, subject not only to uncontrolled and often dangerous childbearing, but more importantly to oppressive legal, economic, educational, and other disadvantages, were not permitted to engage in these activities. Nor did anyone talk about the many activities in which women and other powerless people—a majority of humankind—did engage, and the achievements they managed to accomplish despite enormous handicaps. We were deprived of our heroines, and only now (as in the aforementioned documentary on our formothers) are we beginning to reclaim them, and with them the models of excellence and courage and large-hearted humanity they offer us all, women and men alike. It is imperative, before any more damage is done to women's self-esteem, and before any more contempt is substituted for the truth, that new, more objective texts be written, new research done and communicated to the public, and that funds be provided to make this work possible.

Our college psychology and sociology textbooks were full of sex-role stereotypes which insulted and shamed my sister-students and me. According to these disciplines, a female was not "normal" unless she was passive, narcissistic, masochistic, and found complete fulfillment in playing a subordinate role within the confines of her husband's home. How many boys would go on to become doctors, lawyers, etc., if we told them it was unmasculine to achieve or to participate actively in the world outside the home? How many would find it easy to respect themselves if we told them that by nature they were characterized by traits which our society despises—like timidity, dependence, etc.? I heard in my classes nothing about conditioning, or about the characteristics which all people who are under the control of other people—slaves, courtiers, lower-ranking soldiers, women—adopt in order to survive. I heard nothing about how people, if kept down long enough, are deeply affected by society's estimate of their capabilities and its narrow expectations of them, and consequently have low levels of self-esteem and self-confidence, and aspirations which are incongruous with their true potentials. It is imperative that a new psychology and sociology af women be developed and taught before any more hurt is done, any more wounds inflicted. And money is needed to support the research and its dissemination.

Art courses dealt with works by men, conveying the message that women weren't capable of being great and creative artists, and contributing, by showing the male artist's perspective only, to the stereotyping of women as functions of male fantasies. The fact that women have excelled in all the art forms permitted them was completely bypassed. We did not learn that women were rarely allowed to be apprentices in the great studios, where their male counterparts received their training, or to draw from live models, as their brother artists did. Nor did we learn that, for all that women's art, like their lives, was tied to the serving of their families' needs, the tapestries, lace, and numerous other things they made for use in their homes were not one whit less beautiful or valuable in terms of skill than the statues and paintings which their brothers made for display in museums and public squares. Nor did we hear how the woman artist who *did* create statues or paintings was, and is still today, criticized according to pejorative sex stereotypes and rarely able to convince museums and public officials to display her work.

Even our mathematics and science textbooks reflected the negative cultural stereotype of women. They contained implicit and explicit pejoratives aimed at women, and still do; one enterprising ninth grader from a public school in Montgomery County, Maryland, has just recently analyzed her algebra textbook and found it unsatisfactory. In a memo to her principal, she explained that in word problems involving large sums of money, the subjects were male, and that the only problems with female subjects dealt with weight, age, or hair color. The male subjects were, moreover, distributed among many occupations and engaged in exciting activities, whereas the female subjects always were housewives or club members and invariably immersed in the sewing of clothes or other stereotyped activities.

And in my own field, literature, as in all the others, there was strong evidence that professors and anthologists and critics often viewed women as a variant and inferior form of human being. Women's works were rarely read, and criticism of the few works that were studied was full of sex stereotypes. We did not learn that plenty of "normal" women were bored, restless, and often desperately angy about, and hurt by the demeaning restrictions placed upon their freedom and the lack of challenging and fulfilling opportunities offered to them, because we did not read the journals, letters, and other works they wrote while being actively discouraged from writing poetry, drama, etc. We did not learn that huge quantities of both esoteric and popular literature have been devoted for centuries to tirades against women, and to claims that they are inferior and even evil human beings. We did not consider how such misogyny must have discouraged many genuinely talented women from trying to use their talents outside the prescribed female sphere, nor did we consider the consequences of the fact that much literature today exhibits the same misogyny. We did not study the images which writers have projected of women in terms of the stereotypes by which these writers were obviously influenced. Finally, we did not examine the medium of the art of literature—language—and thus were not made aware of the male orientation's skewing of our perceptions of women and men and the world we share.

And what about the advisors and teachers who are still telling young women, as one of mine told me, "You have a wonderful mind, it's too bad you'll just get married"? The fact that these men are often superb scholars and gifted teachers and warm, sincerely concerned mentors only makes their views the more convincing, the less easy to dismiss, although, in the end, perhaps, what they teach us of independent thought and humanistic ideals enables us to waken to the truth and act. But surely many of the people in positions of such responsibility and power need training and guidance in order that they be made aware of the bias they project and its deleterious effects.

And add to all these foregoing details the facts that: the sports which were supported throughout our education were those in which males excel, so that we were left unaware of our own athletic potentials and cheated of proper physical conditioning; that the teachers and administrators who were hired, promoted, and tenured were overwhelmingly made, and therefore, not sufficiently useful to us as role models; that there were quotas completely unrelated to merit for the admission of women students, especially at the so-called "best" schools; that guidance and placement counselors discouraged in us signs of commitment to our own autonomous development; that scholarship and other funds went mainly to males, despite individual merits, that child-care and routine medical services, non-punitive materity policies, and equal opportunity for obtaining housing, and even equal pension and insurance coverage, were not provided to female faculty and staff, or parental child-rearing leaves to anyone; that anti-nepotism rules constituted *de facto* discrimination because they resulted in failure to hire wives; and that, as the reports I am getting from all over the country all too depressingly indicate, very little has really changed even in the past year or so. And then let me ask you to consider for a moment a wise thing Nietzsche (who said a number of decidely unkind things about women) once said about education: "Better know nothing than half-know many things." It seems to me that it is no exaggeration to say that our whole educational system, as it exists today, from early childhood through graduate levels, and from the playing field to the counselor's office to the classroom and its texts and tests, teaches both women and men to half-know, to know only the male half of the story, and thus dangerously and hurtfully distorts our perceptions and renders women less able to approach the potentials within themselves and to share with men the burden and preciousness of our common humanity and our problematic society. It is overwhelmingly obvious that what we need is across-the-board and deep-through-the-heart reform, and that to make possible educational equity for women, we must fully support and fund the work which lies ahead.

Now let me address myself to the question why the federal government should fund this effort.

As I have mentioned, there are a few studies which have been done for which adequate funding was obtained, studies which therefore have been as intensive and painstaking as is desirable. Besides the documentary of which I have spoken, there is a study of a kind of which we need many more, a study of the treatment of women in high school textbooks, entitled "You Won't Do": What Textbooks on U.S. Government Teach High School Girls. Done by Dr. Jennifer S. Macleod and Ms. Sandra T. Silverman under a grant from the Eagleton Institute of Politics, it will be published this fall by KNOW, Inc., in Pittsburgh. But other similarly important studies, when it has been possible to conduct them at all due to lack of funding, have taken far longer than they should have and/or have been less thorough than desirable. Lack of funds has meant lack of facilities, and the necessary reliance on totally volunteer labor. Most studies done under such conditions have not received the wide publication that the importance of their content deserves, partly again for lack of funds, but also because access is frequently blocked to the scholarly journals and other media; almost all of these are under the editorial control of people who do not recognize the significance of the subject matter, or who are critical of the lack of scholarly thoroughness that was the result of lack of financial support. Some very good studies have been published only in very abbreviated form, in periodicals that have very limited circulation; others are available, often only in mimeographed form, from the authors themselves. Examples of studies in these categories are:

Frisof, Jamie Kelem, "Textbooks and Channeling," a study of five social studies textbooks, published in abbreviated form in *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, Fall 1969.

Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools, "Report of the Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks," "Report of the Task Force on Personnel," "Report of the Task Force on Physical Education/Athletics," "Report of the Task Force on Vocational Education," "Report of the Task Force on Student Oriented Concerns," "Report of the Task Force on Selected Subjects," published privately and available only by mail.

Women on Words & Images, *Dick and June as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers*, published privately and available only by mail from the authors; this study has been widely acclaimed, but at no time was funding forthcoming.

Schmidt, Earl Robert, and Dolores Barracano Schmidt, "An Analysis, Quantitative and Qualitative, of 29 Textbooks Designed for College Survey Courses in American History," an informal, unpublished paper.

Committee to Eliminate Sexual Discrimination in the (Ann Arbor) Public Schools, *Let them Aspire—a Plea and Proposal for Equality of Opportunity for Males and Females in the Ann Arbor Public Schools*, a detailed analysis of sexism in schools, available only in mimeographed form and by mail.

It should be clear, then, that when nobody funds this work, the work suffers in terms of distribution and/or quality. And numerous important studies remain in proposal form only, due to the inability of their designers to obtain funding. Inventive projects such as one being conducted by the Women's Rights Task Force on Education in New Jersey (under Ms. Jean Ambrose, 549 Lenox Avenue, Westfield, New Jersey 07090) are unable to expand and be publicized to the extent they deserve and need to be. This Task Force is setting up a directory of women in non-sex-stereotyped occupations, women who are willing to visit high schools and talk about their work, women whom students may call to discuss the prospects of women in that field, and even visit at their place of work.

But what about funding from the foundations and other such grant-making bodies, you may ask. Over and over again, these institutions have been approached, and repeatedly they have declined to fund our studies, giving reasons along the lines of the following: "We don't have any department into which this study fits; we don't have any category of funds for this, since it does not relate to minorities; studies such as this must be approved by the department head, or the head of the institute, and he doesn't think the subject matter is important or suitable for study." Here are descriptions of several studies not being conducted, because of inability to obtain the necessary funding:

A $15,000 research study of the effects of the "generic" use of masculine terms in elementary and high school textbooks, a grant request turned down by a major foundation on the grounds that in the opinion of the grant officer, the continual use of terms such as "he," "him," "man" in textbooks *has* no effect because female as well as male students "undoubtedly" understand that the terms refer to females "equally" with males.

A $15,000 research study of the effects of sex-stereotyped children's stories on elementary school children, the grant request turned down by a major foundation on the grounds of the grant officer's belief that sex-stereotyped stories *have* no effects on the children.

A 2-year, $100,000 community study of the ways in which community institutions—schools, township government, police department, charitable institutions, Girl and Boy Scouts, etc.—perpetuate and enforce sexism, and the ways in which community groups can successfully bring about desirable change, a grant request denied on the grounds that such a study would not aid other communities across the country, because *they* would not have the financial support provided in the demonstration community.

Finally, let me stress for your special consideration the fact that, for lack of adequate funding, the creation of new, non-sexist textbooks is being neglected. Most textbook publishers have, thus far, shown very little receptivity to the idea of financing the preparation of such texts; other funds are not as yet forthcoming. Under Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 (Higher Education Act), many textbooks may soon be declared unacceptable, but there are no new textbooks available to replace them, and so until this work is done, part of the good intentions of Congress in passing the law will be frustrated.

Let me at this point alert you to another very compelling reason why the work of groups such as ours must, through federal funding, be integrated into the context of the overall effort, supported by the federal government, to end sex discrimination simultaneously on every front. Recently we have begun to notice a very sinister development: other groups have discovered our research and are using it to justify discrimination! Ironically, we have been asked to serve as consultants to corporate employers who use our findings in order to explain to the Department of Labor why they cannot locate qualified women executives as the law requires them to do! The public schools, they argue, for example, have not prepared women for high-level responsibility. If our activities are seen as an element in the total federally-supported program of combatting sex discrimination, rather than as isolated studies done without federal support and without reference to a federal commitment to equal opportunity in every sphere, the discrimination we expose, instead of being used to keep women back on employment and other fronts, will be seen as just one facet of an overall effort to identify and solve the problem of discrimination against women in our society.

In addition, it must be said that Congress' very commendable efforts to root out discrimination against women in education by creating equal opportunity legislation need to be supplemented by just such activities as we are engaged in and would be able and eager to carry out on a much larger scale with adequate funding. Anti-discrimination laws cannot in every instance be depended upon to yield redress. For instance, although last year Congress outlawed discrimination in publicly-funded educational programs under title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Higher Education Act), this law is not yet in force due to HEW's failure to publish regulations, and the charges we have filed against schools that stand in violation of the law are yet to be investigated. And, of course both enforcement agencies and citizens are more likely to cooperate with laws, thus reducing the costs and problems of enforcement, when they have enough of the kind of information NOW and other groups are working to provide, to enable them to understand and respect the intent of the laws.

Before closing, let me state for the record that it is NOW's contention that equal educational opportunity cannot be assured to all U.S. citizens until both the extent and nature of sex discrimination on every level of education are clearly documented. (And let us never forget that to deprive women of equal educational opportunity is to so deprive half of every minority group.) Only the Office of Education has the power and capacity to accomplish this momentous task. NOW requests that you urge that the Office of Education follow the recommendation of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights & Responsibilities, as stated in the report issued 13 December 1969, and conduct a "survey of discrimination because of sex, not only in practices with respect to students but also in employment of faculty and administration members"; such a survey, if of a scope and depth to reveal the significant patterns and problems, will enable those who are working in the vanguard of reform to match with improved efficiency and accuracy of perspective their initiative, inventiveness, and dedication.

We in NOW applaud the constructive spirit of the Women's Educational Equity Act, and urge each of the honorable members of this Subcommittee to support it; the day that public funds are authorized for such corrective measures as we have attempted to show are necessary, (and as we guarantee there are willing and knowledgeable people to design and carry out), will be the day we begin to counteract with the vigor and spirit of our highest ideals this country's two-hundred-year heritage of inadequacy in educating the female half of its people.

## STATEMENT OF ELLEN MORGAN, COORDINATOR, TASK FORCE ON UNIVERSITY COMPLIANCE, NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN, PRINCETON, N.J.

Ms. MORGAN. Thank you.

My name is Ellen Morgan and I serve as coordinator of NOW's National Task Force on University Compliance. I joined NOW one day while studying for my Ph. D. exams; that day every book I read in preparation for the exams put down women.

As you know, NOW is a civil rights action organization committed to bringing women into full participation in the mainstream of American society, exercising full rights and sharing responsibilities in partnership with men.

Most simply stated, our basic goals in the educational sphere are eliminating all forms of discrimination against women at all levels of education, and the reorientation of the educational system to fairly represent the contributions and accomplishments of women, and to encourage the full development of women as well as men.

Accordingly, we have set up within NOW several task forces and committees which work for educational equity for women. Our full statement, which I have brought for the record, was prepared from material submitted by each of these groups. If that has made you envision with a shudder the proverbial camel which resulted when the committee tried to put together a horse, let me say a brief word in behalf of camels, and thus encourage you to consider the full report rather than only this summary, which cannot but inadequately represent NOW's thinking and activities in the area of educational equity.

Camels, let us admit, are better at getting people across long stretches of desert in record time than any other known living beast. And if that remarks helps to concretize for you, as we have all tried to do, the fact that the U.S. educational system has a climate which scorches women on their journey through it and is a terrain ungenerous in springs to quench the female traveler's thirst, then I hope you will forgive me for having committed the impropriety of introducing a camel into this august chamber.

Our full report covers the activities of our National Task Forces on Elementary and Secondary Education Discrimination on University Compliance, and on Women and Sports, and of our Ad Hoc Committee on Continuing Education and our National Committee to Promote Woman's Studies.

The report deals in some detail with the various projects in which our people are engaged. I shall not here present a list of their activities, for its length would only try your concentration and obscure the dramatic excitement of their commitment and conviction, the energy talent and astonishing inventiveness which they bring to their work.

But to give you an idea of the scope and importance of their efforts, I will mention briefly that they are studying and documenting bias in children's television, toys, textbooks, and audiovisuals, and examining patterns of discrimination in the licensing, evaluation, and promotion of teachers and operation of teachers' unions.

Members of these groups, located throughout the country in our over 500 local chapters, are developing nondiscriminatory models for athletic programs and vocational training; they are trying to obtain compliance with antidiscrimination legislation from school systems, colleges and universities, most of which are inexcusably recalcitrant and uncooperative.

They are working on the creation of sound and effective affirmative action plans. They are analyzing bias in standardized tests. They are developing resources to assist mature women to obtain the education without which they cannot qualify for decent jobs. And they have plans for symposia and institutes to consider how to modify our whole educational system so as to bring it into line with the democratic and egalitarian ideals it teaches, but which do not govern its treatment of females.

In the section of the report dealing with curricular reform we have tried to give a picture of what the atmosphere actually is in our educational institutions and how the texts, pedagogical and counseling practices and other factors scar both female and male students with contempt for females and discourage female students from believing in their capabilities and respecting themselves.

We have commented on the unfair hiring, promotion, antinepotism, tenure, and financial aid practices, the admissions quotas based on sex rather than merit, and the de facto discrimination resulting from inadequate child care, medical services, maternity provisions, and from unequal provision of housing, fringe benefits, et cetera; all of which help to make our educational system alien and harsh territory for the female student, teacher and administrator, and serve to demonstrate the overwhelming necessity for radical change of the kind toward which we are working.

Now is providing these costly services which we believe to be the public responsibility of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, not of a volunteer organization.

Since we have a clear perception of the problems and a strong commitment to see them solved, we hope that our abilities and those of others who have demonstrated the same concern will be utilized by HEW. But on our own, we have neither the power to elicit essential information nor the funding to expedite our work or publicize our findings.

And that is where you, and the Women's Educational Equity Act, come in.

Our full report contains information on the unquestionable success and acknowledged value of the few projects we have done for which we were able to obtain adequate funding. I have brought two poster-displays to show the worldwide recognition accorded our documentary, "Our North American Foremothers."

Also I brought with me and gave to the committee some copies of a pamphlet, "Dick and Jane As Victims; Sex Stereotypes in Public Schools." I thought the committee would be interested in that.

But most similar projects, when it has been possible to conduct them at all, due to lack of funding, have taken far longer than they should have and sometimes have been less thorough than desirable. Lack of funds has meant lack of facilities, and reliance on totally volunteer labor.

Most studies done under such conditions have not received the wide publication that the importance of their content deserves, partly again for lack of funds, but also because access is frequently blocked to the scholarly journals and other media; almost all of these are under the editorial control of people who do not recognize the significance of the subject matter or who are critical of the lack of scholarly thoroughness that was the result of lack of financial support.

Some of the most important studies, then, get published only in very abbreviated form, in periodicals that have very limited circulation; others are available, often only in mimeographed form, only from the authors.

Thus, when nobody funds the work, the work suffers in terms of distribution, and sometimes of quality. And numerous important studies remain in proposal form. I have given you a list of some that I think are important that so far cannot be done for lack of funding.

But what about foundation funding, you may ask. Over and over again, these institutions have been approached, and have repeatedly declined to fund these projects, giving reasons like: "We don't have any department into which this study fits," or "Studies such as this must be approved by the department head, and he doesn't think the subject matter is important or suitable for study."

And so the Federal Government is our only hope and, we believe, the rightful source of funding for several reasons.

First, because Federal agencies which enforce antidiscrimination legislation have often asked us to provide them with information—as, for instance, on which criteria peculiar to the academic scene and used in hiring or setting university salaries and ranks have an invidious or disparate effect on women.

We would be happy to do the necessary studies, but not only are funds needed but the Federal Government's power to obtain institutional statistics and other records.

Secondly, both enforcement agencies and educational institutions are more likely to cooperate with the antidiscrimination laws Congress has passed, thus reducing costs and problems of enforcement, when their personnel have enough of the kinds of information NOW and other groups are working to provide, because the information will enable them to understand and respect the intent of the laws and the need for them.

And, of course, these laws cannot always be depended upon in themselves to yield redress. Although last year Congress outlawed discrimination in publicly funded educational programs under title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, as has been mentioned, this law is not yet in force due to HEW's failure to publish regulations.

An interesting sidelight in connection with title IX is that, for lack of adequate funding, the creation of new, non-sexist textbooks is being neglected. Most textbook publishers have shown very little interest in financing their preparation, and other funding has not been forthcoming.

And, so, when title IX is enforced and many of the present textbooks are declared unacceptable under its provisions, there will be no new textbooks available to replace them. Thus, unless textbook revision is funded now, a significant part of the good intentions of Congress in passing the law will be frustrated.

Lastly, there is another very compelling reason why the work of groups such as ours must, through Federal funding, be integrated into the context of the overall effort, supported by the Federal Government, to end sex discrimination simultaneously on every front. Recently we have begun to notice a very sinister development: other groups have discovered our research and are using it to justify discrimination.

Ironically, we have been asked to serve as consultants to corporate employers who use our findings in order to explain to the Department of Labor why they cannot locate qualified women executives as the law requires them to do. The public schools, they argue, for example, have not prepared women for high-level responsibility.

If our activities are seen as an element in the total federally supported program of combating sex discrimination, rather than as isolated studies done without Federal support and without reference to a Federal commitment to equal opportunity in every sphere, then the discrimination we expose, instead of being used to keep women back on employment and other fronts, will be seen as just one facet of an overall effort to identify and solve the problem of discrimination against women in our society.

Before closing, let me state for the record that NOW believes that equal educational opportunity cannot be assured to all U.S. citizens until both the extent and nature of sex discrimination at every level are clearly documented.

We ask you to urge that the Office of Education do the survey recommended in the 1969 report of the President's Task Force on Women's Right and Responsibilities. If possible, I should like this letter from NOW, dated October 10, 1971, to Hon. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., requesting this study, to be introduced into the record.

Mrs. MINK. It will be inserted without objection at the end of your statement.

Ms. MORGAN. We in NOW applaud the constructive spirit of the Women's Educational Equity Act.

I think our feeling is the leader should be chosen by the working members who will have to operate under that leadership, and that in their selection concerned groups be consulted—groups which have demonstrated their support for this bill and for activities of this type.

I also would like to suggest that if we don't compensate the entire group, it is putting at least some of them back in the role of the women volunteer who is doing work that is very necessary to society without compensation.

We urge each of the honorable members of this subcommittee to support the Women's Educational Equity Act. For our part, we guarantee you willing, knowledgeable people who, with Federal funding and support, will do everything in their power to end our country's 200-year history of inadequacy in educating the female half of its people.

Thank you.

[The letter referred to follows:]

OCTOBER 10, 1971.

Hon. SIDNEY P. MARLAND, Jr.,
*U.S. Commissioner of Education,*
*Office of Education,*
*Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR COMMISSIONER MARLAND: The National Organization for Women is grateful for the chance to have met with you, and for your statement that the Office of Education should participate as a leader in the area of equal educational and employment opportunity for women, in the light of your Office's obvious and special responsibility to women in society.

On December 13, 1969, President Nixon's Task Force on Women's Rights and Repsonsibilities released its report, which alleged:

Discrimination in education is one of the most damaging injustices women suffer. It denies them equal education and equal employment oportunity, contributing to a second class self image . . .

Section 402 of Title VII, passed in 1964, required the Commissioner of Education to conduct a survey of the extent of discrimination because of race, religion, color, or national origin. Title IV should be amended to require a similar survey of discrimination because of sex, not only in practices with respect to students but also in employment of faculty and administration members.

Under its enabling legislation, however, the National Center for Educational Statistics can conduct such a survey *without Title IV's being amended.*

It is NOW's contention that equal educational opportunity cannot be assured to all Americans until both the extent and nature of sex discrimination on every level of education are clearly documented. To deprive equal education to women is to deprive half of every minority. Only the Office of Education has the power and capability to accomplish this momentous task. Therefore NOW requests from the Office of Education a commitment consistent with its posture on equal opportunity for women that the recomendation of the President's Task Force will be honored.

The President's Task Force had a further recommendation for the Office of Education; I quote in part:

As a result of the testimony of numerous witnesses, which provided convincing evidence of discrimination against women as students and as faculty and which included many specific suggestions for governmental leadership action, the Task Force concluded that the Office of Education should have a women's unit, whose director would report to the Commissioner, to give leadership to public and private efforts to eliminate discrimination in education.

The Report, a copy of which I include, contains many specific suggestions for the functions of the unit.

NOW feels that the present women's unit established in the Office of Education does not fulfill the terms of this recommendation, as it is concerned not with women's educational rights, but with their employment rights only within the Office of Education. As such, it is simply the Office of Education's implementation of its required affirmative action program.

NOW, however, is concerned with the power of the Office of Education to assure the women of America the right to equal *educational* opportunity for their tax dollar, from their first day in school, to the awarding of the doctorate.

Since it is newly within the province of the Commissioner of Education to appoint such advisory committees as he deems necessary without having to wait for Congressional authorization, NOW feels that the recommendation of the President's Task Force can best be served by the preliminary and surely minimal step of the Commissioner's appointing a public advisory committee on Educational Opportunity for Women on the same basis as the public advisory committees he now has for racial and ethnic groups, minorities. It's first task should be to draw up a plan for the establishment of the women's unit described by the Task Force.

This Committee, however, will not serve its purpose unless it is composed of representatives of feminist organizations whose major focus is equal rights for women, especially in education. Examples of such organizations are the American Association of University Women, Women's Equity Action League, Human Rights for Women, Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and of course, the National Organization for Women.

We shall hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

ANN SCOTT.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you for your excellent statement.

I trust that having been invited to serve as consultants to these corporations, you declined such invitations?

Ms. MORGAN. We have.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. This is an excellent presentation, a very scholarly document that really gets to the heart of many of the difficulties.

As I listen to you, there is just one basic question that comes running through my mind, because I believe we have covered so many of the other problems with the other witnesses. That is, if this act is implemented, what are we really going to do with respect to the corporate world, the banking world, all of the business institutions and many of our educational institutions that are headed up by men who have ingrained attitudes toward women?

I am beginning to wonder as I listen to this testimony, today being the second day, if perhaps there is not some place in the bill for the injection of a short-term program for those persons in the world of work who are going to be giving the opportunities on a much broader basis once this act becomes law.

I would like to get your reaction on this matter. Even if we pass the law, if we do not have all the funds to implement the law—you know what happens when you get these bills before the different committees here in Congress responsible for the funding—the women who are trying to enter the world of work on an equal level still will not have a fair chance unless those who have the power understand what we are trying to do in 1973.

I would like to get some suggestions from you, some ideas with respect to this issue. It is bothering me a little.

Ms. MORGAN. It seems to me the section of the bill that covers training of people out in the world, so to speak, might be helpful here. But perhaps there is also one more suggestion that could be made, and that is that, in my opinion, any group of people, whether it be an educational institution or a business which has a contract with the Government—perhaps that is the "open sesame" there.

One of the things you have to do with regard to affirmative action is get training, and if there was a program that we could develop under this act specifically for adressing the problems in the work force, an attitudinal training program, then that could be made part of their affirmative action programs. That would be the only suggestion that comes to mind at the moment.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. That is the only question I have.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you for your testimony.

Our next witness is Dr. Charles L. Lewis, executive director, American Personnel and Guidance Association. He is accompanied by Dr. Elaine House, National Vocational Guidance Association.

Proceed, if you will, Dr. Lewis.

## STATEMENT OF DR. CHARLES L. LEWIS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, WASHINGTON, D.C., ACCOMPANIED BY DR. ELAINE HOUSE, NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

Dr. LEWIS. Mrs. Chairwoman and members of the subcommittee, I am Charles Lewis, executive director of the American Personnel and Guidance Association. Testifying with me this morning on the Women's Education Equity Act of 1973 is Dr. Elaine House, chairman of the university department of undergraduate teacher education at Rutgers University.

As representatives of the American Personnel and Guidance Association we appreciate this opportunity to provide the subcommittee with reactions to this bill.

Let me digress to say that as one of the rare male testifiers I want to acknowledge input from Miss Jane McCormick and Dr. Janet Head who helped me in putting this together, and my colleague, Alice Fins, who checked it for sexism.

I would like to spend a few minutes describing the purpose of our organization and some of the work we have done in the area of counseling with girls and women.

Dr. House will focus more specifically on the bill and discuss the critical need for a national commitment to meeting the unique concerns of girls and women as they move through the educational system and into the world of work and their full lifespan development of a career.

The American Personnel and Guidance Association has a membership of 32,000 members. We have 10 divisions and 52 State branches to service the professional needs of counseling and guidance work at all educational levels and in community agencies, Government, business and industry.

On our membership form survey item on sex and race is optional. As a result, it is impossible to give a precise number of female members, but we do know that of 20,776 members completing the item last year, 9,899 or nearly half were women.

Our concern for facilitating the development of women extends far beyond a consideration of our membership base. As a professional organization composed of counselors and guidance personnel who work in diverse settings, we have a deep commitment to helping the people with whom we work to be knowledgeable of alternatives and options open to them for leading useful and satisfying lives. We serve an important role in assisting them to learn to take advantage of these personal options.

In order to facilitate this developmental process in girls and women, APGA has tried to do as much as possible to sensitize its members to the unique concerns of girls and women and to provide professional counselors with materials that will improve their competency and help them communicate effectively with consumers of their services.

At the present time we have a commission on women directly affiliated with APGA. Three of our 10 divisions have task forces and commissions on women. The oldest, a part of the National Vocational Guidance Association, has been in existence since 1968.

Among other activities, they sponsored two major conferences structured to identify career counseling needs of girls and women and to generate concrete suggestions for meeting these needs. I have furnished each of you with a copy of their monograph "counseling girls and women over the life span," which summarizes the results of the first conference.

The most recent one was held 2 weeks ago at Appalachia State University in Boone, N.C., and in joint sponsorship with the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction and the North Carolina Commission on the Education and Employment of Women, and my colleagues will be able to tell you more about the outcomes of that conference in her remarks today.

Our major journal, the Personnel and Guidance Journal, frequently includes articles about counseling girls and women. In October 1972 we devoted an entire issue to this area and I have provided your committee with several copies of this publication.

I hope that these two publications will help you understand the critical need for more effective counseling with girls and women.

At our national conventions many of the workshops and papers presented focus on new techniques being developed for counseling with girls and women. The research reports in such areas as girls' vocational aspirations and the effect of sex role stereotyping on males and females are disseminated to thousands of our colleagues at sessions and in subsequent publications.

Indeed, we were honored by the presence and presentation of the Honorable Congresswoman Mink at one of our conventions this year, and Mrs. Chisholm addressed us in Atlantic City.

We have recently developed two films entitled "Assertive Training for Women." These films present simulated situations of problems women frequently encounter, such as job discrimination, the difficulties of combining managing a household and working outside of the home, and pressure to respond to situations when faced with sexual stereotyping.

These are available for the use of counselors and others at a nominal rental charge for group counseling and guidance with women.

Another service offered to our members is the National Career Information Center which provides a monthly newsletter, Inform, dealing with information on career opportunities and vocational guidance activities. Several issues of Inform have been devoted exclusively to the concerns of girls and women in career exploration. I have included samples of these for your use. Bibliographies of informational and service resources for vocational guidance are also provided for users of the service.

Recently the National Career Information Center undertook a project to emphasize career awareness in conjunction with the Business and Professional Women's Foundation. This will soon provide materials for schools and community groups to cooperate in fostering the career exploration of individual students, male and female, across the country.

The aim is to have school counselors and community workers join together to assist young people with career exploration. With this particular sponsor it is obvious we are assuming improved attention to the developmental needs of both sexes.

In addition to these practical services giving impetus to improved counseling with girls and women, our national governing body has taken a stand on professional and societal issues that directly affect women.

For example, our Senate in March 1972 passed a resolution indicating that separate male and female forms of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, the two most frequently used instruments to assess personal interests, were discriminatory and of limited use in helping females reach sound career decisions.

It also authorized members to petition and negotiate with the SVIB publishers to revise their instruments, manuals and normative groups to eliminate sexual discrimination.

In February 1973 our Senate again passed several resolutions calling for affirmative action against discrimination based on race, color, creed, sex, sexual orientation, life style, or age within our association and all of its State divisions and branches.

They also voted to refrain from using sexually discriminatory language and sexually derogatory references in all association publications. We have additionally consistently recorded our support of the ratification of the equal rights amendment.

I have tried to highlight our history of support in assisting counselors to do all they can to facilitate the maximum personal and vocational development of girls and women.

To accelerate needed changes in our schools and society, a broadened effort will be required.

For this reason, the American Personnel and Guidance Association supports H.R. 208.

We believe a commitment by the Federal Government to work toward reducing the inadequacy of educational programs as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups will enable more women to know of opportunities and to take advantage of them.

What you are considering is an opportunity to place women more completely in control of their own futures to the benefit of men and women, and I know our membership lauds and endorses your efforts.

I have included a copy of the resolutions mentioned in my testimony. I would request they be inserted.

Mrs. MINK. Without objection, those resolutions will be inserted in the record.

[The documents referred to follows:]

AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION,
*September 6, 1973.*

Hon. PATSY T. MINK,
*House of Representatives, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

MY DEAR MRS. MINK: After testimony before the House Committee recently concerning the Women's Equity Education Act, I learned that by oversight we did not submit a copy of a resolution developed by a group of our members assembled in a conference on the topic of women's concerns. Dr. Thelma C. Lennon was cochairman of that conference; she has submitted to me and I in turn am transmitting it to your committee. I do hope it may be entered in the record and assembled with other materials pertaining to this important topic. With personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES L. LEWIS,
*Executive Director.*

**Department of Public Instruction,**
**State of North Carolina,**
*Raleigh, August 29, 1973.*

Dr. Charles Lewis,
*Executive Director, American Personnel and Guidance Association, Washington, D.C.*

Dear Dr. Lewis: The workshop, "Facilitating Career Development for Girls and Women," was a tremendous success. We had programmed for this kind of positive result but the workshop far exceeded our expectations.

It was during the second week of the workshop that Dr. Norman Feingold announced the Bill to be presented by Senator Martha Griffiths. It was at that time that a group of participants organized and formulated the enclosed resolution. We are pleased to furnish your office with a copy.

Sincerely,

Thelma C. Lennon,
*Director, Division of Pupil Personnel Services.*

Enclosure.

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## STATEMENT OF THELMA C. LENNON, CHAIRMAN, COMMISSION ON THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF WOMEN, NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

Participants attending the conference "Facilitating Career Development for Girls and Women" of the National Vocational Guidance Association's Commission on the Occupational Status of Women, held at the Center for Continuing Education, Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, July 8 through 19, 1973, as professional counselors coming from 23 states and who serve millions of students and adults, respond affirmatively to the news release of Congresswoman Martha Griffiths dated June 17, 1973, on the Economic Problems of Women.

Sex stereotyping exists throughout our society. It is perpetuated by governmental agencies, industry, mass media, and educational institutions, and is one of the major factors in the underutilization of women in the labor force. Participants offer the following specific recommendations to be considered in the formulation of governmental policy in order to begin the equalization and enhancement of women's economic status.

Educational materials and curricula used from pre-school through continuing education, particularly those provided by federal agencies, should expand rather than limit career opportunities for women. It is our unanimous opinion as professional counselors that unless immediate corrective measures are taken, women will not become fully contributing members of society.

Educators and counselors in all work settings must expand their expertise in the area of life career development and opportunities for women. Immediate appropriations and funding are required to provide training and upgrading of skills for educators to expand their awareness in this critical area.

Civil rights legislation, particularly as related to the economic rights of women, must be enforced. Women are handicapped in their career development by discriminatory insurance practices, federal income tax legislation, estate and gift tax laws, social security and private pension plans, unemployment insurance benefits, veterans and public assistance programs.

Sex stereotyping and economic discrimination against women create problems for individuals, families, and society. Specific economic implications include the failure to fully utilize women's capabilities and contributions to the labor force.

The recommendations stated above are minimal first steps with which the federal government may begin to maximize the economic status and productivity of this country's 51% minority. In addition to these pressing economic considerations, we as counselors constantly see the tremendous costs in human dignity and individual development resulting from discriminatory attitudes and practices. Therefore, we charge you as legislators and representatives to take immediate remedial and constructive action.

## American Personnel and Guidance Association

### SENATE RESOLUTIONS FOR 1972 AND 1973 REGARDING WOMEN'S CONCERNS—APGA SENATE—MARCH 26–29, 1972

*Strong vocational interest blanks*

Whereas, the Strong Vocational Interest Blanks (SVIB) provide different occupational scores for men and women: that is, women cannot be scored on occupations like Certified Public Accountant, purchasing agent, public administrator, and men cannot be scored on occupations such as medical technologist, recreation leader, physical education teacher; and

Whereas, when the same person takes both forms of the SVIB, the profiles turn out differently: for example, one woman scored high as a dental assistant, physical therapist, occupational therapist on the woman's profile, and physician, phychiatrist, and psychologist on the man's form; and

Whereas, the SVIB manual states "Many young women do not appear to have strong occupational interests, and they may score high only in certain 'Pre-marital' occupations; elementary schoolteacher, office worker, stenographer-secretary. Such a finding is disappointing to many college women, since they are likely to consider themselves career-oriented. In such cases, the selection of an area of training or an occupation should probably be based upon practical considerations, fields providing backgrounds that might be helpful to a wife and mother, occupations that can be pursued part time, are easily resumed after periods of nonemployment, and are readily available in different locales." (Campbell, revised, p. 13, 1966); therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That APGA commission duty authorized members to petition and negotiate with the SVIB publishers to revise their instruments, manuals and norm groups so as to eliminate discrimination; and be it further

*Resolved*, That this duly authorized commission develop with the test publishers an explanatory paper to circulate among all purchasers of SVIB materials including answer sheets a statement which outlines the possible limitations inherent in the currrent SVIB with suggestions for ways to minimize the harm; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the commission in cooperation with the test publisher set a deadline for the new forms to be published and distributed.

*American personnel and guidance association commission on women*

Whereas, there is clear and undeniable evidence that girls and women suffer from personal and institutional discrimination, that they are, by sociological definition, and oppressed minority; that they are denied equality in educational opportunities, occupations, advancement, salary, prestige, and representation in decision and policy making areas; and

Whereas, concern for the welfare of all human beings is an integral part of counseling and guidance; and

Whereas, the American Personnel and Guidance Association is the major professional organization in counseling and guidance; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That APGA support all efforts to seek, as a minimum, full and uniform compliance with Executive Order 11246 as amended by Order 11375, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex by any agency holding Federal contracts; and be it further

*Resolved*, That APGA establish and fund as a regular part of the budget, a permanent Commission on Women, composed of a majority of women, including at least one representative of the Women's Caucus of APGA and one from the Women's Commission of any APGA division which has established such a commission, i.e. ACES and NVGA (Commission on the Occupational Status of Women); and be it further

*Resolved*, That the initial year be budgeted up to $2,500.00; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Commission be charged with: (a) investigating and reporting the status of women in the American Personnel and Guidance Association; (b) formulating recommendations for further action based on findings; and (c) contributing to the leadership and development of affirmative action programs within the American Personnel and Guidance Association and its Divisions and State Branches.

### APGA Senate—February 9–12, 1973

*Discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, sex, sexual orientation, life style or age*

Whereas, equal rights for all is a basic value in our culture; and

Whereas, discrimination has been proved to have adverse effects upon the self-concepts of individuals which affects their total functioning; and

Whereas, counselors strive to build self-concepts in the regular course of their work; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association membership actively resist any discrimination against any individual on the basis of race, color, creed, sex, sexual orientation, life style, or age; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association membership actively support affirmative action against such discrimination and urge each Division and State Branch to make known this stand in its newsletter or other media and include information on this position in materials going to legislative workshops.

*Sexist terminology in APGA publications*

Whereas, language is an important symbolic indicator of attitudes; and

Whereas, the APGA publications of its Branches and Divisions are the major professional journals in the field of guidance, counseling, and personnel work; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the APGA refrain from using sexually discriminatory language and sexually derogatory references in the publications sponsored by the Association and its Branches and Divisions.

*Support for ratification of equal rights amendment*

Whereas, concern for the welfare of all human beings is an integral part of counseling and guidance; and

Whereas, the American Personnel and Guidance Association is the major professional organization in counseling and guidance; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the American Personnel and Guidance Association go on record as supporting the Equal Rights Amendment and that this official position be made known immediately to all state coordinators and to the legislatures of their particular states.

Mrs. MINK. Dr. House.

Dr. HOUSE. Mrs. Chairwoman and members of the committee:

I am Elaine House, chairman of the department of undergraduate teacher education at Rutgers University. I have been eastern regional chairman of the National Vocational Guidance Association Commission on the Occupational Status of Women and assumed the national chairmanship of the commission on July 1, 1973.

This commission has been enthusiastically supported by the National Vocational Guidance Association's board of trustees. As Dr. Lewis has indicated, the American Personnel and Guidance Association has a long history of support for women's concerns.

At this point I might add my advanced degree is in vocational education and my permanent appointment at Rutgers is as a trade and industrial teacher-educator, which is a somewhat unusual field for a woman.

I have just returned from the second national workshop held by the Commission. It was sponsored by the National Vocational Guidance Association, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, and the North Carolina Commission on the Education and Employment of Women.

The 73 participants from 21 States attended this 10-day conference entitled "Facilitating Career Development for Girls and Women." Many of the concerns expressed by participants and presenters are addressed by the bill under consideration.

If you are interested, I can include the entire program, because we had a great variety of speakers.

Dr. Margaret Hunt, a political scientist and chairwoman of the North Carolina Commission on the Education and Employment of Women, stated:

> In fact, the available evidence suggests that the sex role stereotyping has increased significantly in the past quarter century and that the educational system is one of the social institutions which has reflected this trend boh in curriculum and personal practices.

Dr. Hunt later discussed the special challenge presented by the mature woman seeking additional training and either initial entry or reentry into the labor market.

> Certainly the experience of counselors working with such women demonstrates the need for more intensive and sensitive counseling with clients who are in fact modifying their roles and changing their style of life.

In order for counselors to work successfully with girls and women over the lifespan, they must first be well informed and reexamine their own biases and concepts of the occupational role of women.

Dr. William Bingham, professor of educational psychology in the Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University, reported on a study, supported by the Commission, on the extent to which counselors are accurately informed about women and work, and their attitudes toward workingwomen.

The data indicated that some counselors are misinformed and that there are notable sex differences in information. Generally, the counselors in the study expressed more positive than negative attitudes toward women and work. Dr. Bingham said:

> In some respects, their attitudes were less clearly defined than was expected. Such lack of definition may leave some clients, especially girls, with feelings of uncertainty about where they stand with their counselors.

The study highlighted the need for inservice training for counselors, training which the Women's Educational Equity Act could make available. Data now being collected by Dr. Bingham and me from counselor educators may suggest whether counselor attitudes are influenced by their teachers. Similar data collected from students in a large suburban high school and an area vocational-technical high school are now being analyzed.

Certainly a larger funding base than can be provided by the limited resources of the National Vocational Guidance Association would help researchers in this area gather and disseminate the information that is now lacking.

Ms. Lura Tally, a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, presented a paper on "The Changing Role of Women and Women in Politics." I might say Ms. Tally remained with us for an entire week.

Although women have not traditionally participated in politics to any great extent, Ms. Tally urged counselors to encourage females to enter politics. Here I would like the record corrected, because the following sentences are a direct quote, and I quote:

In this comparatively new role, women have to meet many challenges. First, a woman must have a message. Second, a woman must have a reason for wanting to enter the political world. The same factors make for success in the political sphere as in other occupations: Determination, education, perseverance, timing, and a little bit of luck. Most of all, however, preparation is needed.

Counselors can play a vital role in encouraging girls to consider a career in politics, as well as in other occupations not presently attracting female participation.

Another presentation was the preliminary report by Grace Bingham, a learning disabilities specialist from New Jersey, and myself, of data gathered at a workshop sponsored by the National Vocational Guidance Association Commission in March 1972. At this workshop, elementary teachers and administrators met with Commission members to discuss ways information about the development of occupational stereotypes in elementary school children could be collected.

In May, the group reassembled and the teachers brought back the data they had gathered. There was a clear indication that sex-biased preferences exist as early as the kindergarten to grade 2 levels. Even at that age, girls are thinking of themselves as future teachers, nurses, and housewives.

This workshop cost $500 and is one example of what careful planning and cooperation among various groups of educators can accomplish. Much data were generated from a sample of over 300 urban and suburban racially mixed children.

A more comprehensive research proposal outlined by the keynote speaker was funded by the vocational division of the New Jersey State Department of Education. This research project has already generated three doctoral dissertations. The participants examined their own occupational stereotypes. We believe this has had a direct impact on their approach to the occupational role of girls and women.

H.R. 208 would make it possible for workshops such as this to be conducted on a national basis.

At a time when Federal and State legislation is paving the road with new options for women in the labor force, many women do not have the consciousness, predilection, or self-confidence to even consider new possibilities. While an increasing number of women are entering the labor force, they are often overcrowding traditional women's fields in nursing or teaching.

Women who want to enter new realms of the economy, a euphemistic way of saying "men's work," are severely handicapped by doubts as to whether they could be, or even want to be, successful.

Some of the problems which handicap women as they strive to move into nontraditional roles, are lack of training, resistance from family, conflict of values, and geographic immobility.

The most disturbing of these handicaps is that many of them are emotional problems of women, such as lack of motivation, fear of failure, and lack of confidence. What is even more disturbing is that this self-defeating behavior is developed in girls at a young age.

Our research suggests that by kindergarten, girls are beginning to view themselves in terms of sexually stereotyped occupations with limited vocational aspirations. At the other end of the spectrum are bored and frustrated housewives who, once their children are raised and are independent individuals, are at a loss for meaning in their lives.

Several specific aspects of H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, particularly encourage me as I view the possibility for the Federal Government's assuming a more affirmative stance in revising the educational programs that affect women and upgrading training of professionals in education who work with women.

The comprehensiveness of the bill is one of the strong aspects of the legislation. While the focus of the bill is specific, it can be implemented in many ways. Innovative approaches are possible and indeed encouraged.

In order to improve the inadequate educational programs as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups, a comprehensive approach that allows all segments of the educational community to try out new ideas is essential. This broad approach must include research as well as demonstration and pilot activities.

While we are beginning to see where specific projects can be effective in improving educational programs for girls and women, there are also critical areas in which more research is needed before moving into program implementation. This is where the Council on Women's Educational programs can be effective in advising the Secretary of HEW on funding priorities.

I am pleased to note the explicit mention of dissemination of an annual independent report of programs and activities under this act by the Council on Women's Educational programs. This section should be strengthened in the legislation and final guidelines.

To benefit from the work of people in women's programs there must be an information dissemination network that allows counselors to use successful aspects of previous programs and learn from the mistakes of these programs. The same holds for research activities.

As counselors we would alo like to emphasize the importance of inservice work for counselors, along with other educational professionals. Before counselors, both male and female, can begin to help girls and women learn to break out of sexual stereotypes and make full use of the opportunities open to them, counselors must examine their own sexual stereotypes that may hinder the students and clients they are trying to assist.

I am certain you have heard from other witnesses that the money authorized under this bill, $15 million for fiscal year 1975, $25 million for fiscal year 1976, and $40 million for fiscal year 1977, is not enough to accomplish the many tasks that remain to be done in improving educational programs for women.

While I cannot disagree with this position, I do feel that our first concern is the passage of this legislation at whatever funding level we are able to effect, because it does seem to me like landmark legislation.

At a time when the administration is calling for a cutback in categorical programs, H.R. 208 can be viewed as broadbased legislation that crosscuts educational activities. Since women represent over half of the population of the United States, a program such as H.R. 208 seems the least that the Government can do to help women reach their potential.

In closing, I would like to quote one of your subcommittee members, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, writing on "Sexism and Racism: One Battle to Fight," in the Personnel and Guidance Journal—October 1972:

**We must work to create a climate in which it will not be unusual or novel for a black or an Indian or a woman to run for a national office or advance to a high executive position. We must work to create a climate in which Americans are allowed to move up in the system solely on the basis of their intellect, perseverance, and physical ability.**

This bill, if passed, will help those of us in counseling and guidance to create the climate Congresswoman Chisholm seeks.

On behalf of the American Personnel and Guidance Association and the National Vocational Guidance Association, I express my appreciation for the opportunity of testifying before you today. Both Dr. Lewis and I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Mrs. CHISHOLM [presiding]. Thank you very much. I have questions to ask of both of you.

First, Dr. Lewis, in view of the fact that there will be limited funding in the bill for some of the things that we desire to see carried out in this act, would you feel that perhaps we should give some kind of stress to the institutions themselves in terms of reversing their entire guidance programs?

I mention that because so often in speaking with young people they indicate there is still this kind of built-in bias on the part of many of the counselors, not because the counselors are themselves that biased, but because they are victims of an educational system that has prepared them to handle counseling problems in this way.

Since you represent the American Personnel and Guidance Association, I was wondering whether or not guidance counselors have expressed the need for reevaluation and restructuring of guidance counseling courses in universities.

Dr. LEWIS. We have somewhat the problems as counselors that I believe Miss McDonald testified to earlier, of getting to the curriculum developers who really control the policies. We are constantly working through our committee structures and our divisions in this matter of defining the role of the counselor in the school.

You know some of the problems there. We work on the role definitions; but we also have a commission on the preparation of counselors under our division that is concerned with counselor education, trying to define and redefine the education needed by counselors. We are working on that.

It is a slow process. Our work force is basically volunteers who are busy earning a livelihood in their own life. It is a slow process.

It is needed. Your suggestion that there is need for revision is very definitely correct.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Dr. House, I would like to put this question to you:

I have been saying that as I have been listening to this testimony for the past 2 days, there are additional concerns that arise in my mind as I hear different individuals testify. I am wondering what it is that we can do, if we can do anything legislatively, to create the atmosphere that would help me, husbands, fathers, to understand what it is when we talk about the individuality or humanity of a woman who, after having raised her children, desires to go back into the field of work.

Again I constantly worry about having the legislation passed into law, but then not being able to create the attitudes or atmosphere that is going to make the legislation effective. We have lots of laws on the books in this country, but so often the laws are only on the books—so what?

Can you give any suggestions as to how we are going to help men in the society?

Dr. HOUSE. It is a question I have had myself, and I struggled with it myself for a long period of time. I feel lucky that I did not have that particular problem myself. Perhaps if I had had it, I would be able to come up with a better answer for you.

However, it did come up a good deal at this workshop. We had both male and female participants and speakers. This was one of the questions that did come up.

The best answer that I seemed to hear that came out of all of our work groups is that every single body involved in the counseling of women and girls has to tackle this aspect of the problem. No one group alone can do it. We all have to work on it.

There are beginning to be evidences that girls whose mothers work form a very positive feeling about women working, so this may slowly take over so the girls will have this attitude and they will just come into marriage with it.

Of course, continuing education does do an awful lot to support women's feeling of inadequacy. We are concerned, too that they just won't go out and try.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I daresay many of them don't go out and try because of the prescribed roles society has placed on women.

Dr. HOUSE. I am hoping that one of my Commission members for the next 2 years will take on as a project to study underemployed women. We do not know enough about them.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Is there any kind of special orientation or education going on among the guidance counselors with respect to reversal of counseling to minority persons who for a long time were shunted in certain directions?

Dr. HOUSE. I don't know if I can answer that because I am not presently working either as a counselor, which I have been, or as a counselor-educator. Of course, in working where we have such a large nonwhite population, we take all this for granted in good part as a matter of our work.

I wish I could answer that, but I am afraid I can't.

Dr. LEWIS. There has been heavy commitment and development in this level at the collegiate level; the establishment of special offices for minority concerns designed and managed by minorities. The women's element, even that to my knowledge has not had great stress at this time, the exception being at some of the undergraduate and graduate organization levels we found specialized attention occurring to the needs of women. It has not been as pronounced for minorities at elementary and secondary levels.

Mrs. MINK [presiding]. The whole problem of counseling, I think, is one that requires a great deal of concern and attention. The many people with whom I have discussed this legislation very often single out the counseling profession as the one area which more than any other separated from the actual classroom experience contributes more to the perpetuation of stereotype roles for men and women.

I would appreciate your comments with respect to this general view that most people have who work in this field who place this burden on the shoulders of counselors and guidance personnel.

Do you agree with that general observation, or do you take issue with it?

Dr. LEWIS. May I get very angry? I hear this charge so frequently, and it angers me. So let me relieve myself a bit on that point, if I may.

The counseling ratio in America is 1 to 450 in secondary schools. That is a terrible burden. The roles and directions of counselors' efforts are controlled by administrative staff and board of education.

We take responsibility for some of our failures in these areas. We seek your help in improving our lot. The elementary school, where we know quite a bit of sex stereotyping occurs, only 25 percent of elementary kids have a counselor.

We find some of the better developments in counseling to be with teams of teachers.

At collegiate level, it is 1 to 1,500, professional counselors available for student use.

We want to help. We are the kind of people who come into this business. We are committed. But we cannot assume all the responsibility for the direction of lives. We are pushed aggressively by professional societies: "Why can't we get more young people moving in our direction to become trained in our area? Will you help us with declining enrollments in foreign languages?"

We say the young people have to decide their own lives. We have to provide information and assistance.

We don't plead guilty. We don't defend bad practice. We have a committee on ethics. Excuse my emotionalism, but I feel strongly.

Dr. HOUSE. I feel we made a lot of progress within the last 5 years. I would say that, within the last 5 years, the type of article that we are even printing in our journals has very much changed. I feel as though your charges would be much more able to have been supported than they are at present.

Obviously, Bill Bingham and I did have this same question or we would not have bothered to start this research. And we would not have done it if it were already available. We were encouraged from what we found in the young women counselors. They were well informed, and they had very positive attitudes toward women working, but it was in the difference between men and women counselors that did strike us in some aspects of this work.

Mrs. MINK. In the training and education and professional experience which is required for one to become a guidance counselor, is it the general practice now for the universities to require courses in the specific area of sex roles and sex stereotypes and subjects of that nature so that when they do obtain their degrees, they are sensitized to this problem?

Dr. HOUSE. I can only speak for Rutgers University. Perhaps Dr. Lewis can speak from a broader basis. But it is included in our counselor preparation.

Mrs. MINK. How many individual subjects, or is it integrated generally throughout?

Dr. HOUSE. It goes through coursework.

Mrs. MINK. One particular course?

Dr. HOUSE. No, the various courses. And I am sure this is in part because Dr. Bingham is interested in this aspect and he is director of programs.

Mrs. MINK. Could you comment on that, Dr. Lewis, generally, in terms of your experience?

Dr. LEWIS. I cannot get into that effectively. I would prefer not to answer rather than run the risk of providing misinformation. I suspect it is not moving as rapidly as would be preferred.

Mrs. MINK. In your view, in dealing with the membership of your respective organizations, since you feel that, as you have stated, Dr. Lewis, that the counselors have been put upon as having to shoulder the effects of sex roles which have been inculcated since early education; where do you place the burden? What particular area of education, or is it just all pervasive throughout the system?

Can you say that it is the textbook or is it the teacher? Where is the real root of our problem?

Dr. LEWIS. I cannot pinpoint it on any of those things. I believe the textbooks contribute greatly to this. I think the attitudes are a major part of it. I am not as optimistic as some of the testifiers this morning on changing attitudes.

The research on conversion of attitudes does not say that is an easy task. I think attitudes are a strong part of this. I think parental influence is an important part.

If I may personalize, I said to Topsy coming in today that I was in the ninth grade before I had a male teacher. My own development—there was a period in our history when we went in the other direction. When I decided to leave engineering to become an educator, my father was a railroad engineer, and he took a sad view of my going into that feminine profession.

These attitudes are pretty complex. In the school, I think it is curriculum, built-in attitudes on the part of educators and counselors themselves and previous experience of those being educated.

It will be a massive effort. The bill is starting in the right direction, but it has a long way to go.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much.

Both of you have been very helpful in the testimony you have presented, and I thank you very much for participating this morning.

Dr. LEWIS. Thank you.

Mrs. MINK. Our last witness is Jennifer Ryan, representing National Student Lobby.

We have your statement which will be inserted in full in the record, together with the tables which you have supplied the committee.

If you will, proceed in any manner you wish.

[The prepared statement and tables follow:]

### STATEMENT OF JENNIFER RYAN, REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL STUDENT LOBBY

My name is Jennifer Ryan. I am here today representing the National Student Lobby. NSL is composed of colleges and universities around the country. We represent over 1.5 million students. I thank you for the opportunity to appear before this Subcommittee.

The National Student Lobby strongly supports Representative Mink's Women's Educational Equity Act (HR 208). We believe it has the potential to cause great strides to be taken towards an equitable society where women as well as men can fully participate in every institution.

In the last weeks I have carefully studied a number of programs both on and off campuses whose purpose is to improve the position of American women and girls. My findings revealed that although the quantity of such programs is frightfully low some very unusual innovative and productive programs have been developed. I feel that with these programs already in existence as models, HR 208 should be used to increase their number and expand their scope.

I will take this time to elaborate on programs which could be covered by HR 208 and ways in which the bill could effectively work to remedy and eliminate sex based inequality. I make this presentation as a student myself and in the attempt to present the student perspective.

Over the last three years, a phenomenon known most commonly as women's or female studies has appeared on many college and university compuses. Female studies programs have included courses of a wide variety. Some are general or interdisciplinary in nature, such as "History and Social Life of Women" (Susan Kleinberg—History, Univ. of Pittsburgh), and "Women and Applied Ecology" (Susan Grant—Continuing Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst). Other are more specific and very academic ranging from "Women as the Subject and Object in English and American Literature" (Frances Barasch—English, CUNY, Baruch College) to "Linguistic Behavior of Male and Female" (Mary Ray Retchie—English, University of California at Irvine).[1] In all cases these courses have examined topics about women, which, in the past have not merited academic attention.

By the end of the academic year 1972–73, over 900 women's studies courses had been created on college campuses. However, despite the mushrooming speed of development, the women's studies courses are still in the infant stages. Few campuses have any female studies coordination. Rather, a hodge podge of courses often changing from term to term may be found.[2] College administrations and departments have been skeptical of women's studies courses. Staff available for female studies has been mainly of graduate students and junior faculty.[3] Funds, on the rare occasions when they have been available, have been inadequate.

Fewer than two dozen campuses (out of 2,500 colleges and universities in the U.S.) have developed women's studies programs, a program being any coordination of effort which calls itself such. Most commonly these programs where they do exist consist of people in various departments who come together and attempt to attain some official recognition. Upon receipt of campus sanction, they proceed to expand the program in various ways, for example by creating new courses, establishing women's centers, developing academic women's studies majors and minors, setting up graduate programs in women's studies. In a few isolated cases programs have received faculty position specifically for women's studies.[4]

However, far more common is the situation described to me in a letter from Marian Swoboda, Assistant to the President for Affirmative Action for Women at the University of Wisconsin. She says, "I surely wish we had a well developed women's studies program in the University of Wisconsin System but the truth is we do not." (See Appendix A.)

Although the way has been difficult, both women's studies programs and courses, once they have gotten underway, have enjoyed an impressive success. Many touch on non-traditional subjects which do much to enliven departmental offering. Some have drawn students in the hundreds. Most people come away from women's studies courses with a feeling of raised-consciousness of the problems faced by both women and men as a result of a sex-roled society.

Clearly such courses and programs could make an overwhelming impact in the move to understand and remedy sexual inequity.

If the situation at colleges is bad, the pre-college situation is terrible. Almost no women's studies courses exist on elementary and secondary campuses. Although as a rule, most elementary and secondary schools teach studies of a general nature, increasingly schools are including more specific college-type courses, particularly on the high school level. Courses such as "Women in American History" and "Women in Literature" are wholly appropriate. Where they have been instituted they have been met with the enthusiasm of faculty, parents and students. Even on the elementary level, units with emphasis on the female should be developed on a massive scale. Under HR 208, funds would be available to programs as well as to educational institutions to initiate and develop women's studies curriculum.

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[1] Florence Howe and Carol Ahlum, *Female Studies III*, Modern Language Association, Commission on the Status of Women.

[2] Florence Howe and Carol Ahlum, "Women's Studies and Social Change," *Academic Women on the Move*, SUNY, Old Westbury, 1972, p. 1–3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 39–41.

Even more important than development of women's studies courses is the task of revising curricula to eliminate the sex-role tracking which begins before children start kindergarten. All materials in the educational system should be reviewed to determine what sex bias appears, if any, and then revised or eliminated where sex bias exists. A study of texts used in colleges by Earl Robert Schmidt and Dolores Barracano Schmidt made me aware of the appalling under representation of females in textbooks. I have reproduced the study here (see Appendix B). The survey of the twenty-seven leading textbooks which account for 99% of the total market of texts used in college American History survey courses tabulated all references to women, comparing them to the total number of pages and the number of illustrations of women comparing them to the total number of illustration. This survey also noted references to three prominent American women, one in each century, Anne Hutchinson, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Eleanor Roosevelt. The results were incredible. Only seven texts made reference to all three of these women and in only three instances (of a possible 81) was as much as a page written about any of them. The range of the proportion of pages referring to women ran from .05% to 2.0% of the total number of pages; illustrations ranged from 0% to 6%.[5] In all probability the situation in other educational materials is equally disgraceful.

Since all children by the time they reach school age have had sex roles instilled in their minds, remedial programs are necessary on every level. Special programs should be developed to give children the chance to learn skills commonly typed as male or female. A teacher in one pre-school noticed that the girls were excluded and made fun of by the boys whenever they attempted to work at the carpentry table. This embarrassed the girls both because of the boys mocking and because of their lack of skill with the tools. The teacher decided to set up male and female periods at the table. Within a few months the girls gained skill, the boys ceased their mocking and all the children worked together.[6] By training teachers to be sensitive to areas of sex discrimination in the classroom as this one teacher was, and by providing ways to counteract such discrimination, one could eliminate many children's sex-stereotype ideas.

Non-sexist counseling should play an important role in our school systems. Strong influences are necessary to counter the early sexist influences. Programs which present to children the numerous possibilities for them without distinguishing roles of male and female could help effect this. By contrast, improper and inadequate counseling can severely limit the options open to an individual For example, in a study conducted of freshmen students at the University of California at Berkeley, it was discovered that females had taken substantially less high school mathematics than males. (See Appendix C.) At the University of California, without a fourth year of high school math, it is impossible to enter engineering, computer science, economics, business, mathematics or any of the sciences. Only 8% of the females graduated high school with four years of math compared to 57% of the males.[7] Thus, females are effectively excluded from many fields before they enter the University.

Another important area which could be covered by HR 208's program is that of continuing education. Life-long education must be to be recognized as an intregal part of the university's role. Continuing education programs attract many mature women and have provided experiences ranging from leisure skills such as pottery making to the reeducation of professionals. Unfortunately, women interested in continuing their education have only limited options. As was noted in the Report of the Women's Action Program of HEW, "returning women are shunted into underdeveloped continuing education programs, which are extraneous extensions of the sponsoring institution, and granted degrees of lower prestige. Minimal effort is made to provide recruiting and counseling services for women to discuss careers, to define their goals and to learn how to utilize the institutions' resources most effectively for their purposes."[8] Mature women have little knowledge of the fellowships and internships available. Of the 480 Fulbright-Hays grantees in 1971-2 only 29 were women. Of the 136 White House fellows to date only 11 have been women. Much of this low female representation is due to the low number of female applications,[9] a result of the inadequate, inappropriate or lack of counseling.

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[5] Earl Robert Schmidt and Dolores Barranco Schmidt, "An Analysis, Quantitative and Qualitative, of Twenty-seven Textbooks Designed for College Survey Courses in American History," in *American Women and American Studies*, by Betty E. Chmaj, pp. 240–243.

[6] "Women's Studies Newsletter" No. 2 Winter 1972, p. 5.

[7] Lucy Sells, "Pilot Test of Sex Differences in High School Mathematics Preparation." (Appendix C.)

[8] "Report of Women's Action Program," HEW, January 1972, pp. 65–66.

Special training and counseling centers could be established to make women aware of these and other educational opportunities. Such centers could provide counseling in other areas as well. Actually the list of services such women's centers could provide is endless. In the Bay Area of California a women's general health collective is operating. Although some of their services extend well beyond the confines of this bill, they do provide services which are educational in nature. Non-profit creative publications could give people valuable experience in many areas. Management and leadership trainee courses could be offered, as could intern placement services.

Clearly, if enacted, the Women's Educational Equality Act would benefit large numbers of Americans in valuable and diverse ways.

Before closing, I would like to make several specific recommendations to the subcommittee:

1. Increase the level of funding of the program.
2. In this or in a separate bill, delegate to the Office of Education the task of reviewing all texts used by federally funded institutions, and require that within three years of passage of the act that all discriminatory books be removed from use as texts.
3. Include a sense of Congress provision encouraging all educational institutions to review all their educational materials and to phase out all discriminatory materials within three years. Provide federal funds for such review.
4. Specify that both youth and students should be represented in several seats on the Commission established by the Act.
5. Change the clause of H.R. 208 which places Commission chairman appointment with the President to appointment by the committee members.

I thank you, Chairman Hawkins, for the opportunity to have been here today and welcome any questions the Members may wish to ask.

## APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SYSTEM,
*Madison, Wis., July 23, 1973.*

MS. JENNIFER RYAN,
*National Student Lobby,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MS. RYAN: In reply to your letter of July 13 I surely wish we had a well developed women's studies program in the University of Wisconsin System but the truth is we do not. We are well on our way to completing written affirmative action programs in compliance with Revised Order #4 which deals only with employment. We are now only at the stage of trying to define what women's studies consists of, what our objectives are and how best the goals can be accomplished. The Women's Education Equity Act on which you are going to testify I believe would also provide funds for counseling women. We are beginning to get started in this area too. I am not sure what other programs the Act would cover, but possibly grants could be considered for programs to achieve equity for women in competitive sports and provide additional financial aid support. There undoubtedly is a great need for grants to research the problems women encounter in higher education both from the attitudinal and behavioral viewpoints.

I am sorry we do not have any published materials we can send you for your needed research. Good luck in your testimony.

Sincerely,

MARIAN J. SWOBODA,
*Assistant to the President for*
*Affirmative Action for Women.*

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[9] Dr. Ruth Olman, "Selected List of Professional Training Programs and Internships," American Association of University Women, November 1972.

## APPENDIX B

### WOMEN IN U.S. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

| Title, author(s), and publisher | Pages on women/ total pages | Illustrations on women/ total illustrations | Anne Hutchinson | Harriet Beecher Stowe | Eleanor Roosevelt |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Survey of Am Hist, Baldwin-Kelley, American Book Co. | ½/515 | 0 | 0 | Mention | 0. |
| American Civ, Boyd, Worcester, Allyn & Bacon. | 2/787 | 0 | Mention | 0 | 0. |
| Empire for Lib, Malone, Rauch, Appleton, Century. | 3/2, 290 | 0 | ½ p | Mention | 2 sentences. |
| Am Pol & Soc Hist, Faulkner, Appleton, Century. | 5/1, 100 | 0/42 | Sentence | 0 | 0. |
| Basic Hist of US, C. & M. Beard, Doubleday, Doran. | 9/504 | 0 | Mention | Paragraph | 0. |
| The Am Pageant, Bailey, Heath | 3/1, 047 | 2/285 | Paragraph | 3 sentences | 0. |
| American Profile, Bordon et al, D.C. Heath | ½/372 | 0 | 0 | 2 sentences | Mention. |
| New Hist of US, Miller, Dell-Laurel | ½/[illegible]26 | 0 | 2 sentences | Sentence | 0. |
| The Nat'l Exp. Blum et al, Harcourt, Brace | 2/908 | 2/210 | ½ p | Paragraph | Picture. |
| The Am Nation, Garraty, Harper, Row | 2/976 | 1/300 | Paragraph | Page | Sentence. |
| America—A Hist, Handlin, Holt, Rinehart | 10/1, 098 | 11/337 | do | 2 sentences | 0. |
| Hist of Am Democ, Hicks et al, Houghton Mifflin. | 3/915 | 2/197 | do | Paragraph | Mention. |
| Hist of US, Williams, Current; Alfred Knopf | 9/1, 688 | 10/414 | do | 2 par | Do. |
| USA—A Hist, Parks, Alfred Knopf | 3/831 | 0/22 | do | 2 sentences | 0. |
| Hist of Am People, Carmen et al, Alfred Knopf. | 4/1, 658 | 1/265 | ½ par | do | 0. |
| Out of the Past, Gawrenski, Glencoe Press | ¼/430 | 0 | 2 sentences | 0 | 0. |
| The USA, Perkins, Van Deusen, MacMillan | 6/1, 711 | 5/21[illegible] | 0 | Page | 0. |
| Hist of the US, Graebner et al, McGraw | 8/1, 405 | 33/504 | Paragraph | Paragraph | Sentence. |
| Soc & Thought, Wish, McKay | 19/1, 256 | 7/112 | ½ p | Page | 0. |
| Hist of Am People, Morrison, Oxford | 6/1, 830 | 4/76 | 0 | 0 | Sentence. |
| Birth & Growth of US, Nye, Moepurge; Pelican. | 4/766 |  | 0 | Sentence | 0. |
| Am Republic, Hofstadter et al, Prentice-Hall | 9/1, 445 | 4/314 | ½ par | Mention | Sentence. |
| Synopsis of Am Hist, Sellers, Rand McNally | ¼/448 | 0 | 0 | do | 0. |
| USA—Hist of Nations, Greenleaf, Morris; Rand McNally. | 11/1, 949 | 15/255 | Page | 2 par | Paragraph. |
| Democ Exp, Wright et al, Scott, Foresman | 2/536 | 9/139 | 0 | 2 sentences | 0. |
| Living America, Lumian, Van Nostrand | 4/538 | 5/183 | 0 | ½ p | Paragraph. |
| Stream of Am Hist, Baldwin, Van Nostrand | 2/397 | 2/162 | 0 | Paragraph | 2 sentences. |

## APPENDIX C

### PILOT TEST OF SEX DIFFERENCES IN HIGH SCHOOL MATHEMATICS PREPARATION

This pilot study was conducted to test the investigator's long standing contention that inadequate preparation in mathematics presents a serious constraint in choice of undergraduate major in college. It was hypothesized that girls applying for admission at Berkeley would be less likely to have taken advanced mathematics than boys.

A systematic random sample of names was drawn from the applicants for admission as Freshmen at Berkeley for the Fall of 1972. The folders were pulled from the files, and coded by sex and number of years of high school mathematics taken by the applicant. Some students take only the minimum entrance requirement of two years, some take three years, and some take four years. The distribution is presented below:

YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL MATH BY SEX, 1972—BERKELEY APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION AS FRESHMEN

[In percent]

| Mathematics | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 yrs | 7 | 36 | 21 |
| 3 yrs | 36 | 56 | 46 |
| 4 yrs | 57 | 8 | 33 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Number | 42 | 39 | 81 |

Source: Berkeley Admissions Office.

The difference of forty-nine percentage points between boys and girls among those who took four years of mathematics is striking, and statistically significant at the .001 level. $x^2=19.942$ with two degrees of freedom.

## STATEMENT OF JENNIFER RYAN, REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL STUDENT LOBBY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. RYAN. I think I will just summarize the major points.

I am here today representing the National Student Lobby. The Student Lobby is a federation of student governments, State student organizations, as well as students around the country. Student Lobby represents 1.5 million students.

NSL has taken a strong position supporting the Women's Educational Equity Act. We believe it has potential to cause great strides to be taken toward an equitable society where women as well as men can fully participate in every institution.

In recent weeks I have studied many programs on campuses as well as off campuses which have the purpose of improving the lot of American women and girls. Although there are only very few programs actually in existence, some of the programs have developed very unusual and innovative programs.

I feel these can be used as models for some of the things that H.R. 208 intends to do, and that by increasing the number of programs and expanding the scope of those already in existence we can take great strides in eliminating some of the sex discrimination that exists.

I would like to focus on four areas. These are: female studies, textbooks and educational materials, continuing education and counseling. I hope I can present the student perspective on some of these areas.

Over the last few years, I think most people know that there has been a phenomenon occurring on campuses known as women's or female studies programs. The programs have a wide variety. Some are general or interdisciplinary; others are very specific.

For example, there are general courses such as "Women in Sociology" or "Women in Society," but specific courses like, at the University of California, a course called "Linguistic Behavior of Male and Female."

By the end of the last academic year, over 900 courses on women's studies have been created on college campuses.

Two dozen approximately cohesive programs have been developed, a program being any kind of coordinated effort among the various courses.

Although these programs and courses only represent a start, they have enjoyed impressive success where they have been developed. They have touched on non-traditional subjects; some have drawn students in the hundreds. Most people who have taken women's studies courses come away with a feeling of raised consciousness to the problems faced by both women and men as a result of a sex-roled society.

Clearly these types of courses can offer people the opportunity to overcome sex biases. They are almost non-existent, however, on elementary and secondary campuses.

In recent years elementary and secondary schools have moved away from the trends of former years of offering only general-type courses and have come to offer more specific college-type courses. Therefore, I feel it is wholly appropriate that high schools institute courses such as "History of American Women" or "Women in Literature," courses like that.

I think even on the elementary level units with emphasis placed on females should be instituted on a massive scale.

Second, I think revising of curricula is one of the vital priorities. I feel that all educational material should be reviewed for sex bias.

A number of people have dealt in great depth with the subject of textbooks, and I also have come upon an interesting study which has appalling consequences. A recent study was made by two students in California, graduate students at California State College, on women in American history textbooks, a survey of courses used in colleges across the country. These texts, 27 of them, represent 99 percent of the total text market for the American history survey courses. The results were incredible.

They tabulated the number of references to women and the ranges ran from 0.05 percent of the pages making reference to women to 2 percent of the pages making references to women.

I think probably in other educational materials, certainly other textbooks, the situation is equally as bad. Therefore, it is vital that this be a priority area in reviewing textbooks and other educational materials.

Third, I am concerned with establishing nonsexist counseling throughout all educational institutions in this country, beginning from earliest levels. There is a tremendous lack of counseling on the elementary level, and given the sexist nature of the society, it is vital that children recognize the multiplicity of options open to them at a very early age. Improper and inadequate counseling limits the options open to an individual.

At the University of California at Berkeley, it was discovered that a very small ratio of females have the fourth year of high school mathematics when they enter the university. They have taken substantially less mathematics than males. Only 8 percent of the females have taken 4 years of mathematics compared to 57 percent of the males.

At the University of California without a fourth year of high school mathematics it is impossible to enter engineering, computer science, economics, business, mathematics, or any of the sciences. Therefore, 92 percent of the females are effectively excluded from these fields before they even enter the university.

The fourth area I am concerned with is the continuing education. Lifelong education must be seen as an integral part of the university's role. Continuing education programs are increasingly attracting mature women and providing them with experiences ranging from courses in leisure skills such as potterymaking to very elaborate reeducation courses to train professionals.

These continuing education courses can open new possibilities to older women who have previously been directed into very limited roles in our society. This gives them new options.

A problem related here is giving these women, these mature women, the opportunity to be aware of the internship programs, fellowship programs, grant programs available to them. People who have been out of school really have no way of knowing where these programs exist.

Testimony to that fact is the low number of females that receive some of the Federal grants. Of the 480 Fulbright-Hays grantees in 1971–72, only 29 were women. This may be due to a number of factors, but one of the factors is the low number of applications from women, which is the result of the fact that women are not aware of the options open to them in this area.

So I would recommend that special training and counseling centers could be opened for women specifically in the areas of education. Certainly such centers could provide many additional services to women and to all people in society.

Clearly, the Women's Educational Equity Act can provide to many people in all facets of society diverse and valuable experiences. Therefore, I would recommend strongly that the committee report this bill to the full committee and then out to the floor.

I have several further recommendations.

One is that the level of funding of the program be increased.

Secondly, I would like to see either in the bill or perhaps in a separate bill the duty of reviewing all books used in all federally funded institutions reviewed on a national basis—I think that could be done through the Office of Education, perhaps a commission or special office set up for that purpose—and make a specific recommendation or requirement that within 3 years of passage of the act, all discriminatory books be removed from use in the educational system.

Obviously that would mean that numerous supplementary materials would have to be developed for interim use. You cannot take all the books out of the educational system.

Thirdly, I recommend a sense-of-Congress clause included in the bill encouraging all educational institutions to review all educational material that they use and to phase out discriminatory materials on the local level; and provide such Federal funds for programs for school districts to use to do that review.

Also I would like to recommend that on the Commission established by the act there be seats specified to be held by students and youth. I think it is something that often happens in commissions that are established—and a commission of this nature certainly deals definitely with students and youth— that students and youth are the ones that are not ever included at all. And as a student and a representative of the National Student Lobby, I would like to make that recommendation.

Fifth, something that has come up in questions that have been asked is how the selection of the chairperson of the committee should take place. I would like to recommend that the chairperson be selected by the committee, appointed or elected after the committee is established, perhaps a one-month date could be set.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify, and I would be willing to answer any questions you might have.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much. Your testimony has been most illuminating. I can already envision a bill called The National Discriminatory Materials Replacement Act providing funds for any school system upon finding discriminatory textbooks could replace them by applying for Federal funds for such replacement. That is an excellent suggestion.

I wondered if you could tell us, within your peer group, within the student groups that you deal with, whether you find among them victims or captives or however you want to describe them, of sex stereotypes.

Ms. RYAN. Absolutely. I don't really think that my peer group is any freer of sex stereotypes than any other group. Perhaps slightly, because in university environment there is great exchange of ideas, so people are forced to be aware of it and it is something that is brought to the surface every day.

Mrs. MINK. To what degree are men participating in these women's studies programs that you describe?

Ms. RYAN. They certainly do not represent a majority of the class. In most universities males are in the majority of the overall university registration. They range in some schools from no participation whatever to very large participation.

One course I attended last winter was a course on Women and Prostitution, and I would say probably one-third of the class was male. I am not going to say whether that is because of the subject matter.

Mrs. MINK. It was probably subject stereotype.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. I do a great deal of traveling to college campuses over this country and many of the women on these campuses are not participating in many of the women's studies courses. In talking with them, I happen to believe that they feel so innately inferior because of what society has done to them that they do not even recognize how important it is for them to get into these courses which would help them in terms of their overall development.

But I want to be the devil's advocate for the moment. I want to say that in looking over the entire range of courses pertaining to women's studies in all kinds of universities in this country, I can see why they would not want to register in some of these courses. I feel that many of the courses do not include some kind of preliminary orientation for women who have been so insecure, who have been so uptight about many things in this society that they won't even go into these broadened courses.

I was wondering if on the college campuses something could be done to have some kind of effect on those who are implementing the courses.

Ms. RYAN. One problem I see very obviously is no one feels they are sexist. No one feels they themselves have the problem of sex sterotyping or have been subjected to sex role tracking. Even for the most part I think people that do get enthusiastically involved especially in a number of these courses, are the people that need them the least.

I think probably one real possibility is integrating women's studies into all courses in all facets of the educational system; having these kinds of things integrated into textbooks that are used in regular courses, like standard American history courses, for example—approaching it that way rather than trying to move people who do not want to get into women's studies courses into them, or trying to somehow hit people who are not willing to be hit.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. It is very interesting to me—one has to say sometimes that women are their own worst enemies. I have noticed on several campuses that I have gone to—and this was a shock to me—that many more men enrolled in some of these courses than women. I think it is precisely because of what society has done to women. So this is why I am very much interested in seeing how we integrate, how we begin to get women to develop the confidence that they need so desperately: how do we get them to feel more secure?

I just wonder what needs to be done until we can integrate women's studies into the various aspects of the curriculum. Maybe we need to have some kind of preliminary courses that will help them to get to that step.

Ms. RYAN. You are thinking in terms of the high school level of courses that would be standard, mandatory courses?

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Yes.

Ms. RYAN. I think that has real merit. It is clear everybody by the time they reach high school level has been sex stereotyped, and I see no reason why things like that could not be instituted, particularly on the high school level where institution of a new course is not too much of a big deal.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much. We appreciate your testimony and thank you very much for participating.

This concludes the hearing of the subcommittee.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

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[The following documents were submitted for the record:]

## STATEMENT OF TERRY HERNDON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The National Education Association is pleased to present this statement in support of the principles contained in H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973.

H.R. 208 provides a declaration of many of the inequities which have been present in the education of women and girls in the United States. It recognizes realistically that sex discrimination has indeed existed but recognizes also that now, in a time of increased awareness of women's capabilities, aspirations, and prerogatives as human beings, at least some of the continuing discrimination can be attributed to simple—and correctable—ignorance rather than to deliberate bad faith.

More important, though, than the acknowledgement of past ills and of current progress is H.R. 208's attempt to provide simple, workable procedures to alleviate many of the problems which confront those people, both women and men, who are trying in their own lives and careers to end sex discrimination. The bill provides mechanisms and resources designed to solve problems early in the otherwise-lengthy legal processes. Hopefully such mechanisms could lessen the antagonism between parties which can so often occur when legal actions are long, drawn out, and abrasive.

H.R. 208 can assist educational institutions in developing programs to eradicate discrimination in school practices and policies and in making all concerned aware of subtle forms of discrimination. It will significantly help those school governing bodies which genuinely desire to provide equality of educational opportunity for women and girls, particularly since it provides some additional financial assistance to develop anti-discrimination programs without cutting into the regular school budget. It will also provide a remedy which challenging individuals or groups can suggest to help eliminate discriminatory practices and policies perpetuated by those school governing bodies which are unwilling to begin developing programs without legal prodding.

The Council on Women's Educational Programs will provide assistance in coordinating national efforts to eliminate discrimination and assure consistency of effort on a national basis. Its dissemination of reports on programs developed under the Act can assist others in instituting tested programs and will serve to eliminate duplication of effort.

There is no question that education associations, women's organizations, and individual women will be increasingly pressuring educational institutions for change. Many of these groups are already challenging educational programs. As they become more and more aware of the legal tools to fight discrimination, more and more challenges will result. H.R. 208 will do much to eliminate the agony of disputes over whether or not a program can or will be developed under the regular school budget. It will also assist women's groups, education associations, and school administrations to institute programs, and will make available advice on program design and implementation. There is little question that the program and policy changes will be instituted, and H.R. 208 will be of great value in implementing change with a minimum of antagonism.

NEA policy, reaffirmed at our annual convention just last month in Portland. Oregon, calls for a guarantee that women teachers will have equal opportunity for advancement to administrative positions. Clearly this means more than the trite phrase, 'equal pay for equal work.' Clearly also, such truly equal advancement opportunities would be in the best interests of not just the individual woman who is promoted, but of the entire education system by opening up a previously overlooked pool of talent, resources, and commitment. We are pleased to note that H.R. 208 would encourage such opportunity for advancement.

Another goal sought by NEA policy is maternity leave taken at the discretion of the woman teacher and her doctor and taken without loss of job, tenure, status, and so forth—in other words, maternity leave that is administratively treated just like some other prolonged isability such as a broken leg. H.R. 208 clearly would permit such leave policies to be incorporated into teacher contracts.

School programs in sports and physical education have long distinguished between boys and girls. We all know that the money for equipment, transportation, and personnel goes into boys' programs. Often, indeed, the (men) football or baseball coaches are paid for their extracurricular duties—and relieved of lunchroom or busloading supervision—while the (women) golf, tennis, and swimming coaches must donate their time and fight the administration for the money needed for incidental expenses. We feel that H.R. 208 would do a great deal to dispel the atmosphere which has historically made this true, and could result in increased attention being paid—and resources being allocated—to girls' sports.

Women clearly have many legal tools to fight discriminatory programs and policies under the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, and the Executive Orders which require affirmative action programs by government contractors. All of these provide a means of recourse for past discriminatory practices. H.R. 208 will, of course, supplement existing legislation and orders. But H.R. 208 has a more positive value—it encourages and funds efforts to end discrimination before instances of discrimination become entangled in complicated legal proceedings.

We do not view H.R. 208 as a panacea. However, we do see it as a good first step which may begin to really equalize opportunities for boys and girls, men and women. We commend its sponsor, and stand ready to do whatever possible to ensure its adoption.

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CONNECTICUT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,
*Hartford, Conn., July 23, 1973.*

Hon. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
*Chairman, Sub-Committee on Equal Opportunity, House Education and Labor Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: On behalf of HR 208, Women's Education Equity Act, I would like to submit the enclosed testimony. The statement is a draft of an article to be released in the October 1973 issue of *Phi Delta Kappan*. Also enclosed is a copy of the booklet *51% Minority*, which I edited from the proceedings of a conference on the status of women in education held by our association last year. Publication of the booklet was made possible by a grant from the Office of Education, HEW. Proceedings from a second conference held in May of 1973 will be published next fall.

One of the recent accomplishments of the women in Connecticut has been the establishment of a Status of Women Commission. Signed into law on June 18, 1973 by Governor Thomas J. Meskill, the commission will have 17 members, each of whom will have subpoena powers and responsibility to manage a $35,000 annual budget. We are hopeful of making some strong recommendations and changes to improve the status of women in education as well as other areas.

In February of 1973 a Status of Women Committee was formd by the Commission of Higher Education to represent each one of the 19 public colleges and universities in Connecticut. The committee is chaired by Gail Shea, former assistant provost of the University of Connecticut. It is significant that her position at the University was recently terminated and a suit charging violations of the first and fourteenth amendment has been filed in the federal district court. Additional legal action is underway with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Connecticut Human Rights and Opportunities Commission. Much more work on the status of women in higher education in Connecticut remains to be done, as most of the existing discrimination goes deeper and deeper underground.

The status of discrimination in K through 12 education in Connecticut is equally invidious and even more unknown than in higher education. Few Connecticut educators seem to be aware of the meaning and intent of Title IX of the Higher Education Act. The Women's Education Equity Act can go further and be a more compelling reason for causing school systems to end discrimination in curriculum, admissions, sports, extra-curriculum activities, salaries, and job opportunities.

Nonetheless the women of Connecticut are organizing to form Women's Caucuses, to enact state legislation, and have in fact succeeded in getting the Connecticut Legislature to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment this past February. Prospects for reform are bright, but not immediate. As long as the power structures in education are male dominated changes to provide equal opportunity for women will be gained at a snail's pace.

On final point not made in the attached statement concerns the degree of opportunities being denied women in HEW by the federal government. A May 1973 HEW Federal Women's Program entitled, "Positive Indicators in Employment for Women in HEW," is extremely distorted. The report attempts to make the few numbers of highly paid women compare favorably to other branches of the federal government and the U.S. work force. In fact the raw data indicates just how few women are utilized as anything but support staff. If you are discriminated against, it is not better to be less so in one place than another. Any discrimination is equally wrong. Sitting in the middle of the bus may be as distasteful as the back of the bus. Much more affirmative action is needed within the federal government's own Office of Education.

Many women in Connecticut would welcome the opportunity to provide personal testimony to the variety of sex-discrimination and the denial of equal educational opportunity which exists in Connecticut schools. If the sub-committee conducts additional hearings I would urge them to hold a hearing in Connecticut. I am sure that either Congressman Ronald Sarasin or Robert Steele would be most happy to assist in making arrangements for such a future hearing in Connecticut.

If the committee has further questions or needs additional evidence I would be most happy to cooperate in an further requests.

Suzanne S. Taylor,
*Coordinator of Research.*

## Statement of Suzanne S. Taylor, Coordinator of Research, Connecticut Education Association

### EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: A MALE DOMAIN?

Although the recent increases in the proportion of men elementary teachers in the lower grades may be healthy, there has not been adequate concern over the sexual imbalance in educational leadership.

One advocate of more women educational leaders suggests that the fault may lie with the women themselves. In fact, Sandford Reitman has produced an etiology of passivity to explain the lack of women leaders. As a remedy he urges women to become less docile and more assertive.[1] Unfortunately, our economic and cultural patterns mitigate against such a solution according to Matina Horner, president of Radcliffe College. She points out that although women are not inherently docile they are conditioned to avoid success.[2] Horner and many other researchers also have presented evidence that women tend to perform significantly higher than men in many academic areas until they reach adolescence.[3] Subsequently girls learn that society has other expectations for women and deference is rendered to men. There is no evidence that women are born with passive genes. Perhaps if our society encouraged more individualism and freedom among both men and women, it would permit more women to assert the aggressiveness and independence needed for leadership roles.

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[1] Sandford Reitman, "An Evaluation of the Reconstructist Conception of the School's Capacity to Make Sociocultural Changes" (unpublished doctoral dissertation Case Western University, 1969).

[2] Matina S. Horner, "A Basic Inconsistency", *Feminine Personality and Conflict* (Edited by Bardwick, Donovan, Horner, and Gutmann) Belmont, California; Brooks Cole Publishing Company, 1970, Chapter 3.

The economic sanctions which have inhibited women in the work force are just beginning to be analyzed. A recent article by Sheilia Tobias discusses the myth of Rosie the Riveter as a happy retiree explaining how Rosie was forced back into the home by both management and labor unions.[4] During the depression of the thirties married women were frequently not allowed to teach. Until 1972, pregnant women usually were forced out of teaching. Court action and federal and state legislation are currently being utilized to protect the rights of pregnant women to teach. Even at this writing the Supreme Court has before it a test case on the rights of pregnant women to teach. Two favorable decisions and one unfavorable decision have been rendered by lower courts on this issue. Whatever the explanations the extent of the exclusion of women from educational leadership is enormous. The accompanying chart reveals the declining proportion of women teachers. In secondary schools men teachers outnumber women and when combined with elementary teachers, men constitute 33 percent of the total teaching profession. Yet 97 percent of the secondary principals and more than 99 percent of the superintendents are men. Even though most teachers are women, very few women fill educational leadership positions. In fact the percentage of women elementary principals (21 percent) is actually lower today than it was in past decades. All other educational leadership positions traditionally have been and are held by a majority of men.

The causes for male dominance were inherent in the development of our educational system, as historically women have played a subservient role. When the first schools were established, female teachers were considered fit only to teach young boys. More advanced training would be under the tutelage of males. The 17th century "dame schools" actually excluded girls, for fear that they would learn to write and forge their husbands' signature. Later, girls were permitted to attend school only to fill up unused spaces. Female academies, where girls were trained separately but not equally, finally developed and prospered during the 18th and 19th centuries. After the Civil War, women, who had become the majority in teaching, were displaced as teachers, except in the early grades where they were prevailed upon once more to prepare students for more advanced training under male tutelage.

Today, women are again being displaced in the elementary schools. The proportion of men elementary teachers has increased at the alarming rate of 39 percent during the last decade.[5] The proportion of women principals has declined from 37 percent in 1960 to 21 percent in 1970. The actual number of women superintendents in the nation has declined from 90 to 84 of the 13,000 in 1972. Moreover, only two state, Montana and Wisconsin, have a woman as state superintendent of instruction in this summer of 1973.

Federal and state departments of education appear to be no exception to this over-whelming pattern of male leadership. Recent USOE statistics show that as of October 30, 1972, no women were among the four persons holding Grade 18 positions in the US Office of Education. Only two of the 13 Grade 17 positions were held by women and only one of the 35 grade 16 positions was held by a woman. The average grade for women was GS 7, for men, GS 14.[6] At the Connecticut State Department of Education 17 percent of the professional, but 84 percent of the nonprofessional staff, were women as of April 1973. The situation in state departments in Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Maryland, Indiana, Florida, and many other states is similarly depressing according to my sister colleagues from these states. Although in Pennsylvania a proposal to attack sex discrimination in the state schools is being implemented by John C. Pittenger, State Commisioner of Education.

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[3] Grace M. Burton, "Variations in the Ontogeny of Linear Patterns Among Young Children" (unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Connecticut, 1973). Chapter 2.

[4] Sheilia Tobias and Lisa Anderson, "Whatever Happened to Rosie the Riveter?" MS. (June 1973) pp. 92–95.

[5] Research Division, National Education Association, *Estimates of School Statistics*, 1971–72, pp. 12–15.

[6] United States Office of Education Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women, "A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW."

The discrimination against women in education is reflected in a lack of opportunity to enter the higher paying positions as well as less opportunity to gain advanced training to qualify for higher degrees and thus earn a higher rate of pay. In teacher salary schedules, the rate of pay is determined on experience and training, not by sex. Teachers with the same number of years experience and level of training generally earn the same pay. Nonetheless the average salary of men teachers was $2,000 higher than for women teachers in 1970–71.[7] The reasons for this differential are subtle and require more probing.

Census data points up additional disparities in administrative salaries for men and women. The average salary for the 80,000 male school administrators was $13,625 in 1970. Contrarily the average salary for the 18,000 female administrators was almost $5,000 less. The Bureau of Census also noted that 37 percent of the men, but only 16 percent of the women, earned more than $15,000.

Men not only advance further and earn more money than women in education, but they also get ahead faster. In 1971, the average age was 33 for men teachers and 37 for women teachers.[8] One conclusion drawn by Jacqueline Clement is that women in administration are older and are being replaced by younger men.[9] Her research indicates that in every age group women outnumber men and have more teaching experience than men. Inasmuch as the natural resource is there, why isn't it tapped? Of course, some women leave teaching for marriage or child care, but Clement's data pose an unanswered question: Why aren't more women becoming leaders?

Two other reasons why not remain to be considered: preparation and preference. A large number of women do receive advanced training. Therefore, lack of formal qualification does not seem to be a factor. A recent study by Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) indicates that more than 20 percent of the doctorates in education have been granted to women. Some 13 percent of these advanced degrees were in educational administration and supervision. Since women earned only 12 percent of all the doctorates, the percent for education was higher than the average percent for all fields. Areas which had a higher proportion of women doctorates than education were Home Eoconomics (76%), Foreign Languages and Literature (29%), Library Science (27%), English and Journalism (24%), and Psychology (20%).

What about preference? Men are preferred to women. My doctoral thesis concerning attitudes towards women as administrators confirms this conclusion. My study showed that all other things being equal, superintendents (male) were not likely to hire women as administrators. Half of the school systems studied did not encourage women to train or apply for administrative positions. Moreover, even though there were no written policies precluding women from administrative appointments and very few school systems acknowledged unwritten policies, women were still not likely to be appointed principals or superintendents. In fact, analysis of the data revealed that the only factor which appeared to have any significance on the hiring process was that of sex. The other variables of age, type of position, length of experience, size of the school district or background did not have any valid correlation to the hiring process.[10]

Other research exists, however, which shows that women do indeed make good administrators, in many instances better than men. Apparently this research has been little publicized. The idea that both men and women do not like to work under feminine management is also questionable. Considerable research, including my own, suggests that those who had worked for a woman have the most favorable attitudes toward women administrators. Thus it could be concluded that working for a woman tends to be a positive experience, making that employee more inclined to hire a woman as administrator than someone who has never worked for a woman.

Several studies can be cited to support the elimination of discrimination against women administrators. Hemphill, Griffiths, and Frederiksen concluded that although men principals seem to be preferred by Boards of Education, the male principals did not demonstrate superior performance. In fact, women tended to outscore men in ability to work with teachers and outsiders; were more concerned with objectives; possessed greater knowledge of teaching methods and techniques, and were able to gain positive reactions from teachers and superiors.[11]

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[7] Research Division, National Education Association, *Status of Teachers and NEA Members*, September 1972.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Jacqueline Parker Clement, "The Dimensions of Sexual Discrimination in the Leadership of Elementary and Secondary Education and the Potential for Legal Redress" (Qualifying Paper for Harvard Graduate School of Education), May, 1973.

[10] Suzanne S. Taylor, "The Attitudes of Superintendents and Board of Education Members in Connecticut Toward the Employment and Effectiveness of Women As Public School Administrators" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1971).

The University of Florida-Kellog Leadership study team, composed almost entirely of men, attempted to identify and clarify good and poor principal behavior. The team concluded that women were more democratic than men, as well as outscoring men in the most effective responses to administrative practices.[12] A year later, the results of a similar study were so surprising that the researchers carefully rechecked their work, but the result remained favorable toward women. A third study conducted on a nationwide basis further substantiated the Florida findings that more women than men possessed significant leadership attributes.[13]

Other plus factors for women principals were indicated in a study by Helen Morsink. Her study revealed that men had more tolerance for freedom, but the women scored better in speaking and acting as a representative of the group, being persuasive in argument, emphasizing production, maintaining cordial relations with superiors and exerting influence and striving for higher status.[14]

Still men are preferred! Preferred not only as administrators, but in other leadership areas important to educational policy making. Men dominate teacher associations, school boards, research organizations, and related professional education associations. Men are the top leaders in both the National Education Association (1.3 million members strong) and the American Federation of Teachers, AFL–CIO (270,000 members). Recently each has become concerned with improving the role of women in policy making and leadership areas within their associations and with the profession itself.

The nature of the power structures in NEA and AFT makes it difficult to cite statistics for comparison. But with this disclaimer in mind, it is apparent that state organizations of both the Association and Federation are male dominated. In the 50 state associations, no one is run by a woman executive secretary, although of the elected leadership 33 percent of the state associations are presided over by women presidents, an increase from 20 percent in 1972. It should also be noted that 26 of the state associations are headed by full time presidents. In the AFT there are only 26 state federations who have elected presidents running their organizations. Of these only Minnesota and Tennessee have women presidents. Nonetheless, some of the large local AFT unions have women presidents. Mary Ellen Riordan of Detroit, who has run that power structure for the past 12 years, is one example.

Looking at the statistics nationally both NEA and AFT are run by male leaders: Terry Herndon succeeded Sam Lambert at the NEA and it appears certain that Al Shanker will unseat Dave Selden to run the AFT. For NEA things have changed radically as the alternating cycle of male and female national presidents was broken with the installation of Dr. Helen Wise of Pennsylvania last July as successor to Catherine Barrett of New York. Both have served as full time presidents. Women also serve in some second-string positions at NEA and AFT, as Sandy Feldman is deputy for Al Shanker, and Margaret Stevenson is Assistant Executive Secretary for Programs at NEA.

Differences in size as well as structure continue to make it difficult to compare the two organizations, but of the professional staff employed by NEA more than 25 percent are women (70 out of 300), compared to 16 percent (7 out of 42) on the Washington AFT staff. Percentages are roughly comparable for field staff, although numerically NEA has 33 times more women than are employed by AFT. Only 3 of the 22 AFT field staff are women; whereas, 100 out of 791 association staffs are women (excluding New York and California). According to the National Council of Women in Educational Administration servey in 1970 the state associations employed women in only 17 percent of the professional staff positions. Obviously the affirmative action plans have yet to be written for most state associations and federation.

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[11] John K. Hemphill, Daniel E. Griffiths, and Norman Frederiksen, *Administration, Performance and Personality* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962), p. 354.

[12] Hulda Grobmen and Vynce A. Hines, "What Makes a Good Principal?" *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, XL (November, 1966), pp. 5–16.

[13] Norman Q. Hare, "The Vanishing Woman Principal", *National Elementary Principal*, XLV (April, 1966), pp. 12–13.

[14] Helen M. Morsink, *Leader Behavior of Men and Women Secondary School Principals* (Washington, D.C., National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1969).

The dilution of women in the mix of NEA and AFT leadership roles is not the only problem in sex discrimination facing the two organizations. Each has gone on record in support of the Equal Rights Ammendment, but the committment to support the 27th ammendment to our constitution has created some degree of difficulty for the Federation. Support was at first rejected by their national convention and finally restored at the 1972 convention. NEA has, however, worked continuously, actively, and financially to support passage of the ERA. Its state affiliates have also waged vigorous campaigns to support the amendment. Notable among these in 1973 has been Molly Sample on the staff of the Florida Education Association, although Florida lost the adoption of the resolution by 4 votes. Other states where NEA state affiliates worked for passage of the ERA recently are Maine (where the ERA lost by one vote), Indiana, New Jersey, Ohio and Connecticut, where the ERA was passed by an overwhelming majority. As of this writing 8 more states need to ratify the 27th amendment to the Constitution for its passage.

If experience in Connecticut is any guide there is a substantial difference in the degree of support for ERA by the two organizations. On the one hand the Connecticut Education Association vigorously supported and lobbyied for the passage of ERA, whereas, on the other hand, the Connecticut Federation of Teachers, AFL–CIO, did little to elicit support for the ERA. On the night of the ERA public hearing in the hall of the house before national TV and press coverage, CEA's president elect and legislative chairwoman brought the official endorsement of its 27,000 members to the attention of the state legislators. Connecticut State Labor Council AFL–CIO's director of Committee on Political Education brought her organization's opposition to the attention of the legislators. CFT's president was notably absent from the debate, and no other member represented the public school teachers of the CFT. Yet the CFT–AFL–CIO had gone on record in support of the ERA.

Whether or not ERA is eventually ratified, women will become more involved in policy making roles of the national teacher groups due in large part to the feminist movement and the consciousness raising techniques of the NEA and AFT Women's Caucuses. In Connecticut the first state wide conference on the status of women, *the 51% Minority*, was held over a year ago. The proceedings have been published by NEA under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education.[15] A second conference held last spring in Connecticut became action oriented and called for several reforms in curriculum, government and hiring. Publication of these proceedings is scheduled for late fall.

Subsequent to the First Connecticut Conference on the Status of Women, a national conference, *Education for Survival*, was held by NEA last fall in Washington. Leaders who worked to inform the participants on how to eliminate sexism in education were praised by Gloria Steinem as she urged them to make the issue a major priority for education. The conference attracted over 300 men and women, black, white, Indian, and Chicano, from almost every state. Since that time numerous other state associations have been holding similar conferences and raising the consciousness of men and women. AFT's Marjorie Stern has also been working almost single handed to promote regional conferences on eliminating sexism in education.

## SCHOOL BOARDS

In many aspects school board leadership is similar to NEA and AFT with domination by men. As members of school boards women constitute only 20 percent of the national membership and hold only 12 percent of the state association presidents.[16] One bright note is that for the first time in many years, a woman president was elected for the National School Board Association. She is Barbara Reimers of Branford, Connecticut.

It would be helpful if more women were members of boards of education, for two reasons. First, evidence gathered in my doctoral research showed that female school board members evidenced the most favorable attitudes towards women administrators, and secondly, school boards have the final say in hiring administrators. For these reasons I believe that it would be easier to employ more women as superintendents and principals if there were more women board members.

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[15] Suzanne S. Taylor, ed., *51% Minority, Connecticut Conference on the Status of Women* National Education Association, USOE 0–72–2507.

[16] Girard D. Hottleman, "School Boards: Moneyed Men Governing the Poor", *The Massachusetts Teacher*, (January, 1973).

Not only is educational leadership the province of men in administration, teacher and school board associations, but in other professional associations as well, As a member of the American Education Research Association I have observed the field of educational research being dominated by and controlled for men's interests. At present AERA is run primarily by men, although attempts to provide more emphasis on women's role in education were made at the last national convention and will be expanded at next year's convention. A women's caucus has been convened, a task force on women in education formed, and a special interest group promoted for next year's convention. Moreover, AERA is to be commended for its vote to withdraw joint sponsorship from Phi Delta Kappa for the distinguished award for outstanding educational research until Phi Delta Kappa permits women as full-fledged members.

, Out of the 300 divisional programs held at the 1973 AERA conference only four focused on aspects of educational research which involved sex-bias. On the other hand, more than 16 programs were devoted to racial aspects of bias in education. The four sessions devoted to sexist issues were: Perspectives on Female Education; Sex-Role Development and Sexism; Racial, Ethnic, and Sexual Bias in College Admissions, and Distaff Feedback. AERA's apparent future commitment to assist and promote research about and for women should begin to allay many cultural myths.

Many other male dominated research concerns and organizations should also implement affirmative action in the utilization of women. Cronyism, where men refer other male associates to jobs, should be extended to women and could be if organizations like Phi Delta Kappa included women as members.

Exclusion of women from Phil Delta Kappa isolates women from the power centers of education. The full meaning of exclusion was revealed to me in this letter of invitation to speak before a PDK chapter:

"Phi Delta Kappa is a professional and honor society for men in education with chapters in many countries. It is the largest professional fraternity in the world. This membership is comprised of top leadership and outstanding professionals throughout the state. It is not unusual to have dozens of superintendents, principals, and other educational leaders from the public schools, and presidents, deans, and noted professors from higher education attending Phi Delta Kappa programs."

Research conducted by and for *Phi Delta Kappan* also continues to be biased as it reflects only the male point of view. Males do not appear to be aware of sexist discrimination as evidenced by this description of the school finance questionnaire procedure which appeared in the March 1973 *Kappan*.

"A random sample of 1,020 PDK's was drawn by computer from the PDK active membership matter file of 97,920 names. The ratio of 745 campus chapter members to 275 field chapter members was the same 3 to 1 ratio found in the total PDK population. The sample includes individuals born prior to 1900 and as recently as the 1945–49 period, the median age being 40. One quarter are 47 years of age or older and one quarter between ages 22 and 35. All other Kappans are in the middle-group, 36–46.

"Characteristics of the respondents were compared with those of the total sample of several variables, including age and type and length of PDK affiliation. Geographic distribution of the respondents was compared with that of the total membership. In only two cases were states identified in which the proportions differed by more than a single percentage point, and in these two cases it was less than two percentage points. It can be concluded that a no-response bias does not exist and that the finding of this opinion survey can be generalized to the total Phi Delta Kappa population."

Generalized to an all male population? Since females represent 63 percent of the teachers and 51 percent of the student population the opinions in the PDK questionnaire are not representative of either the teacher population, the student population, or for that matter the adult population. The question must be raised as to how well the opinions of leaders reflect the perception of the largely female group involved in education.

The question is being asked by many of my male colleagues and Kappans will have a chance this fall to provide their own Equal Rights Amendment by voting to allow women as members of the fraternity.

Discrimination does not belong in public education. Every person, regardless of race, social class, or sex should have equal opportunity for the pursuit of happiness under the United States Constitution. Thank you Mary Wollstonecraft, Emma Williard, Susan B. Anthony, Eleanor Roosevelt, my foremothers. Your role models as my foremothers are a ray of hope. May it be possible for my children to have as many famous foremothers as forefathers.

TABLE I.—PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AMONG ALL TEACHERS IN SELECTED YEARS

| | Elementary | Secondary | Elementary and secondary |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1957-58 | 87.2 | 49.6 | 73.2 |
| 1960-61 | 85.8 | 47.2 | 70.7 |
| 1963-64 | 85.5 | 46.1 | 68.9 |
| 1966-67 | 85.4 | 46.0 | 68.3 |
| 1970-71 | 84.7 | 45.9 | 67.2 |
| 1971-72 | 84.5 | 45.8 | 66.9 |

Source: National Education Association, Estimates of School Statistics, 1971-72. Research Report, 1971-73.

## AASA Supports Women for Administrative Positions

### RESOLUTION NO. 37

Women have historically played an important part in the education of the young, yet their areas of responsibility are still severely limited. The higher an administrative position is in responsibility, prestige and salary, the less likely it is to be held by a woman.

AASA urges that school systems make continuous efforts to identify women on their staffs who are potential educational leaders. We urge, too, that AASA and other related educational organizations continue efforts to recognize the leadership potential of women in their governance structure. Women should be encouraged and assisted to develop the skills requisite for administrative positions. School boards in school districts of all sizes should develop and implement policies which exclude sex as a criterion, explicit or implicit, for administrative positions. Whenever two or more applicants for any position are "equal" in background, training, and the ability to give strong leadership, sex should not be a factor in the selection.

AASA recommends that institutions preparing school administrators actively seek out promising potential administrators among women.

## Feminist vs. Principals; Result: A Draw at NAESP Convention[1]

*Riddle:* What do you get when you cross a feminist author with a roomful of male principals?

*Answer:* A mild-mannered confrontation that ends up in frustration all the way around.

*Myra Sadker, assistant professor at the U. of Wisconsin-Parkside and author of a brand-new book* called *Sexism in School and Society,* came with all the facts and figures. She cited study after study to show how little girls are discriminated against in curriculum materials, by teachers and by schools in general—discrimination which not only hinders them from reaching their full potential, but may also "thwart the process of learning." She showed that the problem also extends to adults in schools where "women are becoming extinct as principals." In 1928, she said, 55% of elementary school principals were women according to an NAESP study, but in 1971 the figure had dropped to only 22%. And in secondary schools, the figure is a mere 3%. As a result, particularly in elementary schools, there are mostly female teachers taking their orders from mostly male bosses.

*But the male principals, in general, did not seem too impressed.* They shot back with a different side of the story: "It's only little boys who fail first grade." "Girls get better grades." "Women aren't applying to be principals." "Women would rather work with kids than be administrators." "Women teachers prefer to work for a male principal." "Are we trying to make boys and girls who are identical?" Ms. Sadker answered the questions—but not to the satisfaction of most of the questioners, it appeared. And she clearly was not happy about the questions—and attitudes they represented.

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[1] Appeared in *NAESP Convention Reporter,* "Highlights of the 1973 National Convention of the National Association of Elementary School Principals, April, 1973, prepared by the Editors of *Education USA.*

FEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL WOMEN,
*Washington, D.C., July 30, 1973.*

Representative AUGUST F. HAWKINS,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HAWKINS: As chairperson of the legislation and policy committee of the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women I wish to reply to your request for testimony on H.R. 208, the Women's Education Equity Act. The Federation is an umbrella organization of 24 groups representing women in a number of professions. They include the American Association of University Women, Association of Women in Science, American Medical Women's Association, Intercollegiate Association of Women Students, and the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, among others. All of these groups are increasingly concerned that equal opportunity be provided for women in the professions they represent and in all phases of American life.

Women who have succeeded in surviving discrimination and have achieved professional status are disturbed in particular by the failure of our educational institutions to play their proper role in the achievement of our national goal of equality for women. At at time when local, state and national laws have been put into operation to penalize the practitioners of sex discrimination, school systems on every level continue to project and practice age-old concepts which are in direct conflict with the universally endorsed aim of equal opportunity for all.

Women in the professions have particular reason to appreciate the limitation thus placed upon the full participation of qualified individuals in our society. They have attempted through their organizations to right these wrongs but their efforts have been puny in comparison with the task that lies ahead. H.R. 208 would be a very significant supplement to the present programs designed to end sex discrimination.

All women and girls would be aided by the special educational programs and activities to be funded by this act. Training programs for counselors and other educational personnel would be a substantial aid in the current effort to eradicate prejudicial educational patterns. Community education programs would also serve a useful purpose in fulfilling the obligations institutions of learning have toward the education of those not necessarily within their walls.

The Federation wishes, therefore, to convey to the subcommittee the endorsement of the goals of this legislation by concerned professional women.

Sincerely yours,

IRENE L. MURPHY, Ph. D

# THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT

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**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1973**

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities,
of the Committee on Education and Labor,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Hawkins and Mink.

Mr. Hawkins. The Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities of the House Education and Labor Committee is now in session.

The hearing this morning is regarding H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act, which has been introduced and sponsored in this committee by the distinguished gentlelady from Hawaii, Mrs. Mink, and it is our privilege today to hear from Members of the Congress who have asked for the opportunity to testify on this proposal.

I am very pleased to welcome as the first witness this morning, Mr. William Lehman, who is one of our most distinguished new Members of the House and a very important member of the House Education and Labor Committee.

Mr. Lehman, we welcome you to the hearing before this committee and we understand that you have presented to us a written document which will be entered in the record in its entirety at this point, and you may proceed either to read from it or deal with the subject as you desire.

[Mr. Lehman's statement follows:]

## Testimony of Hon. William Lehman, a Representative in Congress From the State of Florida

Mr. Chairman and Mrs. Mink, I appreciate this opportunity to testify this morning in support of the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973.

There is no better place to begin than with the problem of textbooks for elementary schoolchildren, which indicates an enormous need for the development of our public school curriculum to eliminate reinforcement of stereotypically traditional sexual roles

If I may, I would like to go into a bit of detail on what I found in five elementary school textbooks currently in use in the District of Columbia. I would like to point out that these books have a 1973 copyright date.

Looking specifically at the adult male and female roles mentioned or portrayed in the texts, one book had women as mother, teacher, salesperson and school nurse. In the same book, men were shown as busdriver, gym teacher, sailor, policeman, businessman, construction worker, architect, clown, circus man, zookeeper, storeckeeper and King.

In a second text, women were shown in the roles of mother, nurse and librarian. Men's roles were father, fireman, storekeeper, doctor, veterinarian, garbage man, construction worker, beekeeper, mailman and zookeeper.

In a third example, women were in the roles of mother, teacher, baker, bareback rider in the circus, and grandmother. Men had the jobs of policeman, truckdriver, fruit seller, shoe store owner, pet store owner, blacksmith, cowboy, fireman on a fireboat, fruit salesman, woodcutter, carpenter, police sergeant, fisherman, monk, Indian chief, teacher, judge and farmer.

One of the most telling quotes came from the second text I referred to:

Yuke (a young girl) said, "I know what we can do. Let's have a little store."

"That will be fun," said Will. "We boys can build the store. You girls can make some food to put in the store."

And that's just what happened. The boys built the store, while the girls went indoors and had Mother help them make cookies to sell.

Another quote is yet another clear indicator: "I'm going to be a pilot when I grow up," said Jack. "I can be the stewardess," said Nancy.

I think it is incontrovertible that by limiting the roles women play in children's literature, we are tending to discourage young women from going beyond the confines of traditional occupational roles.

A recent study by the National Organization for Women of 134 books from twelve different publishers found the ratio of boy-centered to girl-centered stories to be five to two; the ratio of stories with a male adult character as compared to a female adult character to be three to one; and the ratio of male biographies to female biographies to be six to one.

An opinion poll conducted by *Nation's Schools* showed that sixteen percent of those school administrators who believed that textbooks are sexually biased indicated they had recently reviewed texts for that bias. It seems that only one percent of those who looked for sexism didn't find it.

As critics of the stereotyping have pointed out, "At best, the stereotypes may only confuse children who see in their own homes and neighborhoods the evidence that adult roles, especially women's roles, have become far more flexible." It should be pointed out in connection with this that the majority of school age children have working mothers, and women head one household out of five.

Before we place the blame entirely on the publishing houses, let us also look at what the Office of Education has been doing in this area. OE is circulating a new film, "Career Education," in which twenty-five occupations are shown for girls, with six times as many shown for boys.

There is a real need for Federal assistance to improve career and vocational programs for the young women in our schools. The world in which today's children will be adults will be far different from our own. Many more women will have occupations in addition to being mothers. Girls and boys will have a choice of becoming either a doctor or a nurse, or either a pilot or a plane attendant.

The Federal government should assume a leading role in eliminating those kinds of biases that severely limit the aspirations of our young people.

## STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. LEHMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to take a few minutes to go through some of the books we speak of in the document. But first, I want to thank Mrs. Mink for her work in behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment and for her effort in coming into my district to work for the Florida passage in the next session of the legislature, to get this constitutional amendment passed by at least one more State.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for permitting me to come in here. I will address my statement basically to the way that our textbook people have reinforced the role or position of the young boys and girls from the beginning of their school careers. I won't go into all of them.

I would just like to hold them up and show what is really happening in the schools. In the elementary school the principal is always a man. In the stores the store owner is always a man.

In this portrayal the nurse is always a woman and the principal, again, is a man and the person doing manual work is a man. The pet store owner is never a woman, but is a man. The dentist is never anything but a man. The dentist here is saying, "Go to your dentist, he will help you." It is never "The dentist will help you or she will help you."

Mr. HAWKINS. That is controversial.

Mr. LEHMAN. I can agree with that. They go to the bank and the banker is always a man, but what is she doing there? She is always the typist. The typist is a woman, but the banker is a man.

In the home the woman always has an apron on no matter what she is doing. I have never seen a man with an apron except a blacksmith. The interesting work is always done by a man. The person who has a business is a man. The fireman is a man naturally. The hero is always a man.

There are pictures of monks, but no pictures of nuns. Pictures of Indian chiefs, but no Indian maidens. Indian warriers, but no squaws.

In this story, the mother once again has an apron on by the sewing machine, and she is weeping. That means she is weak, you know.

Every time, the mother is waiting on a sick child with an apron on. I would like to see one woman without an apron.

This is the way it goes and in just a second I will be through.

When the children decide to play store, the child who plays the store owner is always a boy. The doctor is a man, but the nurse is always a woman.

In the library the librarian is always a woman librarian, but never Mrs. It is always Miss Merrick. Mothers do not work in libraries.

Even the veterinarians are always men.

Now here the wife once again has on an apron. I would love to see a mother in one of these books without an apron on. It is like a uniform. Here it is, an apron again. Why does a woman have to have an apron on in every textbook?

Now, this is sort of sad. Betty Bell was the most helpful child in town. You know, the girl is not supposed to do anything herself, but only help others. She is the assistant, not the protagonist in all of her actions.

Mr. HAWKINS. Could you give us a little description of those books. Are those textbooks and if so, from what States?

Mr. LEHMAN. They are the textbooks that are being used in our schools in Dade County, Fla., except this one I hold here, which is no longer used in all of the schools.

I think this is one of the things we are going to have to deal with if we are ever going to get our society to accept women as equal in employment. Their concept of what they can contribute to our system of society is very important.

Mr. HAWKINS. There may be some questions. You are among the first of the male witnesses that we have had on this legislation, for that reason I think what you have said is of unusual significance because it indicates the change of thinking with respect to equal rights.

Now, have you any suggestion as to just why this has happened and what we can specifically do about it or any suggestions with respect to this pending legislation which Mrs. Mink and others of this committee can benefit from?

Mr. Lehman. I think one of the things we have to deal with, just as we have done with the question of race in role playing. Now some of the books have a black person as the doctor, or the nurse or librarian is black. When I went to school in our books the black was either the yardman or the house servant or the field hand. I think that we are going to have to deal, as we have with that kind of discrimination in role playing, with the male and female positions. It will have to be a real effort to prevent the continuation of these kinds of textbooks that reinforce the inequality of women.

If we can educate the people who produce these books as to how this book is going to adversely affect their own children, I think they will do something about it.

Mr. Hawkins. It is your opinion that the textbooks or materials of this nature do influence young people in developing their careers. This is not merely a reflection of what the situation is in industry and our economy and our social life, but that they, in turn, produce that situation.

Mr. Lehman. It reflects and reinforces the career direction that these young people take. You see, the boy decides something is unmanly or the girl decides certain directions are not ladylike and consequently are redirected in opposition to their own natural instincts and sometimes their capabilities.

Mr. Hawkins. Mrs. Mink.

Mrs. Mink. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to express my appreciation to our distinguished colleague, Mr. Lehman, for not only the testimony he has presented to this committee on H.R. 208, but for what I came to appreciate as his tremendous initiative and leadership in the State of Florida to develop a strategy to encourage the passage and ratification of the equal rights amendment.

I want to take this opportunity before this committee to commend you for your efforts and for your leadership. I am quite confident that because of your role in this matter in the State of Florida that early next year we will see its ratification by the Florida State Legislature.

I also want to note for the record, Mr. Chairman, that our distinguished colleague, before he came to the Congress, served for many, many years on the board of education in Dade County. I believe it was as chairman of the board?

Mr. Lehman. Yes. 2 years, the last 2 years.

Mrs. Mink. So I know it is not only his interest in the equal rights amendment that prompts his presence here today, but also because of his very intimate knowledge with the education process and his interest in perfecting it to a point where the system itself will be able to encourage and promote the concepts of equality. Mr. Chairman, for the record, because so many people have said to me, "Well, all of the things you are for in this legislation are self-evident, they are obvious, and how can anybody be opposed to it and what should be the difficulty in getting such legislation passed and funded?" I think it is important to be told firsthand that there are obstacles, not only in the school system and in the textbook industry, but it is quite evident in the present administration.

The news article which counsel to the committee has just shown me demonstrates really how hard we are going to have to push to convince the administration. Here is an article which quotes Peter E. Holmes, who is responsible for enforcing the civil rights law within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, saying that it is inundated by complaints on sex discrimination and that it is certainly an issue with which they are profoundly involved, yet at the same time he says he plans "no investigation of sex stereotyping in textbooks because it would plunge HEW into complex first amendment issues." I would like to ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, to have this article inserted at this point and to ask our distinguished colleague if he might comment on this statement of Mr. Holmes.

Mr. HAWKINS. Without objection the article related to by Mrs. Mink will be inserted in the record at his point.

[The article referred to follows:]

[Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 26, 1973]

### MAJOR STEP IN 'RIGHTS' DIRECTION

(By Hilday Bryant)

The new civil rights director for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, said here yesterday that HEW will focus on sex discrimination this year but not at the expense of minority races.

Peter E. Holmes, 33, was elevated by HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger to the top spot in the Office for Civil Rights from a four-year stint as director of public affairs for OCR. Holmes succeeds J. Stanley Pottinger, who became Assistant U.S. Attorney General for Civil Rights.

If President Nixon approves the proposed budget for HEW, the civil rights staff under Holmes will be significantly increased, boosting the number of investigators and staff attorneys for the Region 10 office here from 18 to 34.

Holmes said in an interview here that his staff and attorneys in the U.S. Justice Department are completing a set of federal guidelines aimed at implementing the 1972 sex discrimination amendment to the Higher Education Act.

The amendment outlaws all educational admissions quota systems which have kept women out of the male-dominated professions, requires that opportunities for girls and women in public school sports be equalized with programs provided for boys and men, demands that treatment of women and men in all public educational facilities be equal and may help to eliminate sex stereotyping in school texts, Holmes said.

The new civil rights chief said, "We have been flooded with complaints in the higher education area."

He said he plans no in-depth investigation of sex stereotyping in textbooks because that would plunge HEW into complex First Amendment issues of freedom of speech. He said HEW does not dictate curriculum content but he predicted that there will be voluntary corrective action by textbook publishers.

Holmes said, "I expect to find an increasing sensitivity on the part of private book publishers to the public on this issue."

He promised to maintain balance in the attention HEW pays to enforcing its regulations on discrimination so that racial and national origin minorities are not neglected.

He said a two-year-old complaint of sex discrimination in employment against the University of Washington will get new impetus this fall when HEW launches an updated investigation adding racial bias complaints to the list of grievances.

Holmes cited federal contracts with universities totaling $25 million that have been deferred or delayed until the educational institutions corrected inequities for employment and advancement for women.

He said HEW is moving to correct inequities in education for youngsters whose first language is not English by requiring bi-lingual and bi-cultural courses in public schools.

Such youngsters tested for achievement level using English language tests have been assigned special education classes or tracked as "educably mentally retarded," Holmes said.

A similar problem has turned up in the effort to deliver welfare services in areas where English is the second language and welfare eligibility specialists and social case workers do not have a bilingual capability, he pointed out.

**Holmes said there has been a significant change in attitude in the border states and in the South with local school districts showing "receptivity to resolving problems of racial discrimination."**

**In contrast, he cited the Ferndale, Mich., school district which has had all federal funds for disadvantaged students pulled for violating HEW civil rights regulations and has appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court.**

Mr. LEHMAN. The only thing I want to comment on is that the same things that must happen to the role of the female in the textbooks have happened to the roles of the blacks in textbooks. Nobody said you had to take the black out of the servant class in the textbook and place him in the management class, but it happened. And, I think, without freedom of speech being violated.

I think all you are trying to do here is to make them tell the truth.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Lehman, on page 2 of your statement you refer to an opinion poll which shows that 16 percent of the school administrators believe that textbooks are sexually biased education. Would you amplify that statement a little bit, because it seems to be a very, very low percentage. Do you have any comment to make as to that poll, why such a low percentage?

Mr. LEHMAN. What it means is that, of the 17 percent of the school administrators who looked for sexual bias, all but 1 percent found it.

Mr. HAWKINS. What do you think the others believe if 16 percent believe textbooks are sexually biased. Would you hazard a guess?

Mr. LEHMAN. I can't tell you what the others believe, except I can make an assumption that they think that the books are OK because women should be librarians and wear aprons and stay home and be grade school teachers.

Mr. HAWKINS. Mrs. Mink.

Mrs. MINK. I wonder if your statement means this: that of those school administrators who agreed that the texbooks were biased against women, that of that group 16 percent had recently reviewed the textbooks. Isn't this really what you are saying? Not that 16 percent of all of the Nation's administrators were polled and found the books were sexually biased, but of the group that said that they were, 16 percent of them had taken the time to actually sit down and look at the textbooks?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, I had read it a little too fast and it was stated a little differently than it came out. Nobody bothers to look back and that is part of the problem.

Mrs. MINK. Yes; I think one of the real efforts that can be accomplished by the hearings being held by this committee is to get people to be aware of this problem, which is 90 percent of the struggle, to get the teacher and principal and superintendent to consciously take a look at these books because I feel as you do, that if they would, they couldn't possibly disagree with us and with our contention that the books need to be revised.

Mr. LEHMAN. The same kind of thrust that the civil rights movement had on school textbooks would have to be made by the women's movement to get the same kind of reaction.

Mr. HAWKINS. Is there anyone else working on the problem? It seems to me this is not the first time we discussed textbooks. We keep discussing it and I think it is pretty evident that they are sexually biased, rather extensively so.

Mr. Holmes in effect admits this, but says he is not going to do anything about it, and textbooks are going to be voluntarily corrected by the publishers. I doubt that seriously. It is just a question in my mind as to who is taking the real initiative outside of these women's groups themselves to really correct it. I don't see any great effort within the educational structure. I am a little more pessimistic than you. I don't see a strong effort to correct these things. I think we will be talking about the same things 20 years from now.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think one thing you could do is set up an advisory committee on these kinds of things.

Mr. HAWKINS. Well, may I just say, "Unless Mrs. Mink gets into it."

Mrs. MINK. It is not going to take 20 years.

Mr. LEHMAN. I think this is a step in the right direction. I think what you are doing is going to expedite this.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, if you would yield? Once again I think you will recall the leadership that former Chairman Adam Clayton Powell demonstrated in calling hearings of these textbook publishers. He had them come before the full Education and Labor Committee, at which time he confronted them with standard textbooks that only showed the pink rosy faces of white America and said, "Where are the rest of the American children and why are they not depicted, and why don't other children run and play and accomplish things in the book?"

He was criticized as well as others who supported him on the grounds that we were intruding upon matters that should be left purely to the book writers to discriminate at will, because that is what freedom of speech is all about. Of course, his answer was, "Yes, that is certainly a privilege under the first amendment, but public funds of the taxpayers should not be spent to perpetrate discrimination in any matter," and I think the publishers soon came to their senses. We begun to see almost overnight after that hearing a conversion of books to show at least black men and women and children participating in the functioning of daily American living.

I followed suit, I recall shortly after that, and made my own survey with reference to the other ethnic groups in the country and raised the same fuss with the publishers. So if you will go back, the facts will demonstrate that there was first this decision to include the black children and black men and women in the book and then there was about a 2- or 3-year hiatus after which the new books began showing the variety of faces of all children, Spanish Americans, the orientals, and so forth. It was quite a day for the schoolchildren in Hawaii to finally wake up and see new textbooks where they could identify with someone in the book.

I recall that very, very vividly. It would be my hope that with the passage of H.R. 208 that funds could be set aside for this kind of curriculum development regarding set stereotypes. We can't depend upon the administration to push it through for us or the publishers to do it on a voluntary basis.

Mr. LEHMAN. Will the gentlelady yield? How are girls going to be motivated to read when everything they read about is offensive to them? So even the same point of reading is a thing that is roadblocked by the kind of reading books they have to read from?

Thank you very much and I will continue to join you in your efforts to do something about this.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you very much, Mr. Lehman. We appreciate your statement.

The other witnesses have not appeared. The record will be kept open for statements from the Honorable Patricia Schroeder and Honorable Fortney H. Pete Stark, who were scheduled as witnesses this morning but apparently have conflicts in their schedule.

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to include in the record of the congressional witnesses the statement of the Honorable Leonor Sullivan. I ask unanimous consent that her statement be included as well as the statement of our distinguished colleague, Honorable Bella Abzug, of New York.

Mr. HAWKINS. Without objection the two statements from Mrs. Sullivan and Ms. Abzug will be inserted in the record at this point following the testimony of Mr. Lehman, and the other testimony of Mrs. Schroeder and Mr. Stark will be also included.

[The statements referred to follow:]

## TESTIMONY OF HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before you and your Subcommittee to testify in support of H.R. 208, Rep. Mink's Equity in Education Act.

You have heard from many experts in the field of education who have testified to the myriad ways in which our educational system perpetuates and reinforces sex role stereotyping. Through the use of tradition bound materials, unrealistic counseling, and outdated curricula, girls and boys are taught subtlely but systematically that there are "approved" or "expected" roles for them to assume later in life. In my home state of Colorado, the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women has been particularly concerned with sex stereotyping in textbooks. I am sure their findings would be of great interest to this subcommittee.

I would like to congratulate Rep. Mink for authoring this important piece of legislation. I am certain that enactment of her bill would encourage the development of alternative and realistic educational tools which would benefit us all. It would also help to awaken the educational establishment to the reality that we, as a nation, can no longer afford to waste the female half of our population by giving them a less than equal education.

One need only look at the labor statistics to realise the result of the educational system today. Nine out of ten women work at some time during their lives. The vast majority work out of economic necessity, yet they command on the average 41% less salary than their male contemporaries. Women are concentrated in low income, no-exit jobs which are traditionally plagued with high unemployment. Nationally, 76% of all clerical positions are filled by women, but only 4% of craftsmen are women and only 14% of all managers and administrators are women. In Colorado, women make up 38.4% of the labor force and they too are concentrated in clerical and service worker positions (60%) and excluded from the crafts and management (6.5%). Even more disturbing is the situation of minority women in Colorado: of women of Spanish origin, over 75% work as domestics, clerks or blue collar labor, and only 3.7% hold positions in management or crafts.

One of the most striking examples of this gross imbalance of women in the labor force occurs right in our own backyard. Of those federal employees with a G.S. rating of 13 or above, only 4% are women, whereas 75% of all G.S. 1–6 positions are occupied by women.

The relegation of women to second rate jobs is a direct reflection of how our educational system has failed them, both because it has not adequately prepared them for higher level positions and because it has not encouraged them to seek higher level positions.

Last year in Denver, I met a little girl around 7 years old who told me she would like to live in Russia. I asked her why, and she said that if she lived in Russia she could grow up to be an Astronaut. I asked her if she couldn't do that in the United States, and she said no, here she would have to grow up and be a mommy.

I don't know if anyone told this little girl outright that she couldn't be an astornaut, but I doubt very much that she ever read a story about a woman astronaut, or that she would get much encouragement or support for her goal from guidance counselors, career placement officers or from NASA! It is for this little girl, and for all the children in America who are taught to define their aspirations by their sex rather than by their talents, that we must pass this bill.

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## Testimony of Hon. Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, a Representative in Congress From the State of California

Mr. Chairman, it is difficult to understand why in 1973—half a century after women gained the vote and a quarter century beyond the invention of the television and washing machine, it is necessary to legislate women's equity of any kind. But not only is it necessary, it is essential. We must begin to compensate for the indifference and disdain which have for too long greeted women who aspire to professional posts, advanced degrees, university positions. Equally important we must educate women so that they aspire to academic and career opportunities of all descriptions, rather than those traditionally left over for them.

It is not easy to undo what the socialization process has done. There are few of us who don't comment on the role of a male secretary, a telephone repair woman, or a female physicist. It is incredible that the U.S. Senate is an all male institution, and that the House is composed of less than twenty women. We have come to expect that women more often than men have mindless subservient jobs. What follows for some is the belief that women like these jobs, or even that this is all for which they are qualified. Similarly, most women teachers are in elementary schools. This, some would conclude is because women are better with children and men are better with the more sophisticated subjects taught to older students.

Our society starts to condition children early in the home. Girls are encouraged to be passive and boys aggressive. In kindergarten and elementary school, teachers encourage sex stereotyping in assigning chores and cultivating "acceptable" male and female roles. Mommy is the housewife and daddy is the breadwinner. Little girls are always sugar and spice, while boys are rugged and tough.

This brings us to the Women's Educational Equality Act of 1973. For it isn't enough for some of us who know better to avoid stereotyping our children, or help our women set high educational and professional goals for themselves. Laws must be enacted that will have a broad and immediate impact. The Women's Educational Equity Act, introduced by Congresswoman Mink, is just such a bill. It would authorize grants to educational institutions and other public and private non-profit organizations for research, demonstration and projects to provide equity for women in educational courses and curriculums. This would serve to provoke large numbers of educators and community leaders to initiate programs and curriculums for this purpose which would have a significant impact on large numbers of women.

Let me give you some examples of how critically unequal the conditions have been and continue to be in the area of education. In the 1965–1966 school year, the last for which records are readily available, 17% of all public elementary school teachers were men. But more than 50% of the high school teachers were male as were more than 75% of the higher education teachers for the same year, twice as many men as women who were teaching public high school had a master's degree. Almost twice as many men as women received masters degrees in 1969, and more than six times as many men received Phd's. In the 1968–1969 academic year only 18% of all male university faculty members received less than $10,000 per year, while 55% of the women received that amount. Moreover, the great bulk of university faculty women were and no doubt continue to be, in the social sciences, education, social work, library science, home economics, health, and humanities. Men occupied the great majority of faculty seats in engineering, the physical sciences, the biological sciences, business, commerce, and management.

To supplement and update the above figures, I called on some local universities. I learned that at George Washington University in 1972, 25% of the graduate students were women, having inched up from 20% in 1968. This figure includes the

School of Education, the only graduate department with a majority of women, and the School of Arts and Sciences, with 46% women. The medical school female population has risen from 8% in 1968 to 13% in 1972, while the law school enrolled 8% in 1968 and 19½% in 1972.

Georgetown University reports that in this year's first year medical school class nearly one out of every four students is a woman. Two years ago the entering class ratio was 1 to 6. Dentistry continues to attract fewer women than medicine. In 1971 the entering class had 3 women out of 135 students. In 1973, 8 women joined a class of 142 men.

From these figures a few things are clear. The number of female elementary school teachers greatly exceeds males. As the grades go up, the proportion of women goes down. Women are not currently attending graduate schools in numbers even beginning to approach their percent of the population. Those who pursue advanced degrees do it most often in the social sciences, home economics and education, rather than the sciences or business related subjects. Furthermore, faculty members are largely male. And the few female faculty members are paid less than their male counterparts.

These facts indicate to me that the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973 is a must. They tell me too that even more must be done. Congress must innovate in other ways to bring these goals about more quickly. It should consider, for example, making more fellowships and grants available for woman students and women's studies. The government should have a team of skilled educators available to help institutions reduce and eliminate sex stereotyping and role-teaching. Texts showing women in various roles and professions should be widely circulated and made easily available.

Congress should use its influence to insure that all aspects of vocational training including auto mechanics and carpentry—are opened to women. Information on congressionnal efforts and office of education programs to achieve educational equity should be easily available from the office of education.

These efforts should receive sincere commitments from all members of Congress and all government agencies. It is necessary for us to match our words of equality with actions.

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### STATEMENT OF HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MISSOURI

Mr. Chairman, I fully support the purposes expressed in the Women's Educational Equity Act, H.R. 208. Equal rights for women, like all other human rights, must be enforced through vigilance and care. Equal employment opportunities and equal pay for equal work are but one constituent of actual equality. This bill should hasten a change in attitude on the part of both sexes as to the responsibility of women in today's world. It must be recognized that having the same intellectual ability as men, women have the same duty to contribute to human progress. Much of our present thinking results from attitudes that were valid decades ago, but which are individious and unacceptable now. We must particularly examine educational attitudes at all levels, hitherto unquestioned and taken on faith, affecting the role of women in society, and we must make sure that these attitudes keep up with the best and foremost of our thinking today. I am certain that these hearings will contribute to this end.

Mrs. MINK. I further ask that all other members' statements that should be received before this record is closed for today be inserted in this record of September 12 together with our other distinguished colleagues.

Mr. HAWKINS. It is without objection so ordered.

That being the only other business before the committee this morning, the hearing stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:40 a.m. the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

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### STATEMENT OF HON. CARDISS COLLINS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Sexual stereotyping is one of the most pervasive aspects of American society. In the home and the media it is impressed upon the public that men are leaders, workers, planners and administrators, while women are homemakers, servitors, objects d'art, and generally ineffectual.

This is not reality in the United States in 1973. Women are deluging the job market—the "outside world"—in increasing numbers, ready to become leaders, workers, planners, and administrators.

Still, sexual discrimination blocks their efforts before they even begin. Women who can realistically expect to spend at least 20 or 30 years as productive components of the work force are given little training or incentive. Whatever occupation a woman chooses, it is assumed to be temporary and secondary. Marriage—not an "occupation" for men—is assumed to be the primary focus of a woman's life. Confidence thus undermined, women often find themselves both psychologically and technically untrained to face the more demanding—and rewarding—fields now opening to them under the Equal Rights Amendments.

Education institutions are not the only culprits in this massive waste of talent and energy, but they are the most immediate, most visible and most systematically attackable.

Sexual division and stereotyping are taken as a matter of course in our elementary and secondary schools and universities, as are vocational aptitude tests, career planning guidance, sports activities, text materials. But they have crucial impact on a young person's outlook. The profound, negative effects on girls and boys consistently exposed to this indoctrination 7 hours a day, 5 days a week, for ten to fifteen of the most impressionable years of their lives has already been described in these hearings.

The problems confronting minority women are even greater. They must fight racial *and* sexual discrimination, in many cases with the additional burden of poverty, and without the benefit of special programs designed to assist minority men.

Suffice it to say that the task before us is monumental—but not insurmountable. The Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973 would go a long ways towards making the old Chinese proverb—For men, to cultivate knowledge is virtue, for women to renounce knowledge is virtue—a stale valid one.

This Act would contribute the funds, and more importantly, reflect the attitude necessary to begin to change tne legal and traditional system that considers man and wife as one—that being the husband. The Council on Women's Educational Programs, the grants and monies provided in the Act will be the first steps toward the revision of the narrow outlook on women currently held in this country.

Therefore, I strongly urge that you report favorably on H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, an act providing for concrete advances towards elimination of the root causes as well as the outward manifestations of sexual discrimination in the United States.

## TESTIMONY OF HON. BELLA S. ABZUG, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

I am delighted to testify in support of H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act introduced by my friend and distinguished colleague from Hawaii, Patsy Mink. My only regret is that this legislation, like other legislation designed to give women equal opportunity to succeed in our male-dominated society, is so long overdue. It is a tragedy to consider the millions of wasted women-hours throughout the history of our country—hours, days and years in the lives of bright and creative women who were channeled exclusively into the domestic sphere by a society that considered women as fit only for home and hearth.

The Women's Educational Equity Act is a recognition that women's traditional roles as mother, wife, nurse, elementary teacher, domestic worker will remain limited and confined as long as society's attitudes toward women and girls limits them to these roles. It is critical that these attitudes be challenged, broken down, and that new attitudes replace them. The only effective method of changing attitudes is to reach individuals at an early age both at home and at school. The Women's Educational Equity Act provides federal funding to encourage the development of new techniques in curricula, educational texts and materials, personnel, guidance counselors, parents, conferences and workshops, physical education for women and non-sexist counseling. Through the promotion of these projects and activities, the federal government will be playing a role in bringing about a major social revolution—the equality of women.

**Dr. Matina Horner**, noted psychologist and President of Radcliffe College, has done outstanding work in the field of attitudes affecting the academic success of women. Through her studies she has discovered a deep-seated fear of success prevalent in women, which results in "the motive to avoid success." This motive to avoid success is instilled in girls at an early age, but becomes most noticeable during the high school and college years, where women who are "too smart for their sex" are socially ostracized, while women who "play dumb" are readily accepted by their male classmates.

"We asked Phil, a bright sophomore, to tell us a story based on one clue: *After first-term finals, John finds himself at the top of his medical school class.* Phil wrote: *John is a conscientious young man who worked hard. He is pleased with himself. John has always wanted to go into medicine and is very dedicated. . . . John continues working hard and eventually graduates at the top of his class.*

"Now consider Monica, another honor student. She, too, has always done well, and she, too, has visions of a flourishing career. We give her the same clue, but with 'Anne' as the successful student. . . . Instead of identifying with Anne's triumph, Monica tells a bizarre tale: *Anne starts proclaiming her surprise and joy. Her fellow classmates are so disgusted with her behavior that they jump on her in a body and beat her. She is mained for life.*

"The glaring contrast between the two stories illustrates important differences between men and women in reacting to achievement. . . . In response to the successful-male cue, more than 90 percent of the men in the study showed strong positive feelings, indicated increased striving, confidence in the future and a belief that this success would be instrumental to fulfilling other goals such as providing a secure and happy home for some girl. . . . Fewer than 10 per cent of the men responded at all negatively. . . . On the other hand, in response to the successful-female cue, 65 per cent of the girls were disconcerted, troubled or confused by the cue. Unusual excellence in women was clearly associated for them with the loss of femininity, social rejection, personal or societal destruction, or some combination of the above. Their responses were filled with negative consequences and affect, righteous indignation, withdrawal rather than enhanced striving, concern, or even an inability to accept the information presented in the cue. For example:

"*Anne will deliberately lower her academic standing the next term, while she does all she subtly can to help Carl. . . . His grades come up and Anne soon drops out of medical school. They marry and he goes on in school while she raises their family.*

"*Anne is a code name for a nonexistent person created by a group of med students. They take turns taking exams and writing papers for Anne.*

"*Aggressive, unmarried, wearing Oxford shoes and hair pulled back in a bun, she wears glasses and is terribly bright.*"

The fear of success so common to women undergraduates is the result of a life-long education aimed at shaping women according to society's expectations—marriage, motherhood and ideally no career, but if a career is necessary let it be as a secretary, nurse, seamstress or teacher.

In a survey of college seniors released September 7 by Educational Testing Service it was disclosed that 44.6 percent of the men but only 29.4 percent of the women planned to go to graduate and professional schools—even though the women generally had better grades. The study indicated that a major factor behind these statistics was that the women had a lower level of self-confidence than the men and received less encouragement from their friends and relatives to pursue advanced work. The differences in aspirations between men and women were found to be so compelling that almost as many men with C plus or lower grade averages planned to pursue doctorates as women with B plus or A averages.

Attitudes develop early. Little girls enter school eager to learn and more capable than boys their age, since they are as much as a year to eighteen months ahead of boys developmentally. As Florence Howe, noted feminist educator, has observed, girls can easily please their teachers, since their mothers have taught them to be neat and quiet, to follow directions. They have had practice in watching and waiting—typical classroom activities—rather than bouncing around, questioning, being curious or aggressive in the manner of boys. As the years roll by girls' grade remain better than boys with the exception of sex-typed subjects like math and science. The problem that begins to plague the girls is not achievement at all, but motivation and aspiration.

Aspiration is remarkably low throughout a girl's lifetime compared to a boy's. When 700 fourth, fifth, and sixth graders were asked what they wanted to be when they grew up, girls' responses fell mainly into four categories: teacher, nurse, secretary, mother. Significantly, there was no fantasy; they are the roles prescribed in the literature and curriculum of schools and in their immediate surroundings at school. On the other hand, 15% of the boys' responses were pure fantasy, the rest a broad selection of vocational possibilities. In high school, girls' commitments to careers decline, and in college, women become increasingly interested—between their freshman and senior years—in becoming housewives and mothers. By now we all know the statistics that report the discrepancy between the proportions of women going to college (42%) and those who complete graduate degrees (13%) or enter a profession like law or medicine or engineering (1%–7%). Despite both intelligence and achievement, one can only conclude from the literature and the statistics that girls and women are *programmed* for attrition.

The Women's Educational Equity Act is an attempt to destroy the programming of children from preschool through graduate education and professional schools. Every human being deserves a chance to become whatever he or she desires. Girls must be encouraged to seek professions, business, sports, industrial art, auto mechanics. Boys must be freed to learn and enjoy cooking, sewing, home management and elementary teaching. As society confines women to the home, men are confined to the job. Though the barriers to a woman seeking a profession are great, the barriers to a man desiring to stay home and care for the children are doubtlessly greater. These changes will take time and effort; non-exist textbooks showing youngsters how mommy, a doctor, goes to her office, while daddy, a writer, stays home to look after his baby; sensitive guidance counselors to make all options available to students; athletic activities where girls' sports is given equal treatment with boys' sports; and reeducation of parents as to the need for and rationale behind these programs.

My main criticism of the act is that it does not go far enough. $80 million over a 3 year period can only make a dent in the educational system as we know it. In addition, I would like to see certain programs carried out on a national level. For example a National Board to review and rate all textbooks, educational materials and standard curriculums according to their treatment of sex roles. These ratings could then be distributed throughout the country as a means of keeping school boards up to date on available materials, programs and new ideas.

I also object to the grant limitation of $15,000 a year per grant for innovative approaches to womens' educational programs. This sum would hardly be adequate for an extended full time project that necessitates a professional director and office help. I would like to see a mechanism established whereby larger grants would be made available on a showing of need.

Aside from these minor criticisms, The Women's Educational Equity Act is a fine piece of legislation, and I commend Representative Mink, the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity, and the Committee on Education and Labor for an excellent job in anticipating the great need for such an act. It is crucial that woman power be encouraged, not stifled; that women learn to welcome success, not run from it; and that women gain confidence in their diverse abilities. The Women's Educational Equity Act opens the door to a vast source of untapped talent. I eagerly await its prompt passage by the 93D Congress as a vital force in bringing educational equity to a new generation of women and girls.

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[From Congressional Record, July 15, 1971]

## REPORT ON SEX BIAS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN

I asked Miss Jonas if my daughter could take metal working or mechanics, and she said there is no freedom of choice. That is what she said.

The COURT. That is it?

The WITNESS. I also asked her whose decision this was, that there was no freedom of choice. And she told me it was the decision of the Board of Education.

I didn't ask her anything else because she clearly showed me that it was against the school policy for girls to be in the class. She said it was a Board of Education decision.

Q. Did she use that phrase, "no freedom of choice"?

A. Exactly that phrase; no freedom of choice.

That is what made me so angry that I wanted to start this whole thing.

Q. Now, after this lawsuit was filed, they then permitted you to take the course; is that correct?

A. No, we had to fight about it for quite a while.

Q. But eventually, they did let you in the second semester?

A. They only let me in there.

Q. You are the only girl?

A. Yes.

Q. How did you do in the course?

A. I got the medal for it from all the boys there.

Q. Will you show the court?

A. Yes (indicating).

Q. And what does the medal say?

A. Metal 1970 Van Wyck.

Q. And why did they give you that medal?

A. Because I was the best out of all the boys.

The COURT. I do not want any giggling or noises in the courtroom. Just do the best you can to control yourself or else I will have to ask you to leave the courtroom.

This is no picnic, you know. These are serious lawsuits.

DEAR BOARD OF EDUCATION: You and we have a lot in common:
People blame all their problems on us.
We sometimes feel defensive.
We sometimes make mistakes.
We both work to educate.
We both confront a bureaucratic maze.
We both believe our work can improve the future.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE,
National Organization for Women,
New York City Chapter.

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## WHAT WE HAVE FOUND (RESEARCH COMPILED BY CLAIRE PAISNER DOUBROVSKY)

### ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The Education Committee of the New York City Chapter of the National Organization For Women has received numerous complaints from parents of elementary school pupils. These complaints have had to do with the following problems:

### A. GENERAL SEGREGATION

Administrators and teachers frequently group, line up, or seat students according to sex. Activities are frequently assigned according to sex. (One teacher who considers herself "liberated" because she disliked housework, had her pupils making paper hats—baseball caps for the boys and nurses caps for the girls!)

### B. GYM

Even where boys and girls are given physical education at the same time, they are often sexually segregated. Boys may have more exacting exercises to perform (chin-ups, push-ups) while girls are doing such things as jumping rope. In many cases, boys are given the opportunity to play basketball and softball more frequently than girls. When the girls play softball, it is among themselves, with lenient rules (they are given several chances). Girls often play on smaller, unmarked fields, while boys use the baseball diamond with marked bases on the playground. Sometimes boys play against girls, instead of forming teams with boys and girls on each team. Teachers frequently make the mistake of pitting one sex against the other with such phrases as "Boys shouldn't hit girls."

### C. MUSIC

In some cases boys are encouraged to learn certain instruments and girls are encouraged to learn others.

### D. TEACHER'S HELPERS

Administrators and teachers frequently favor boys over girls for helping with such chores as carrying books, holding doors, working with audiovisual equipment, etc. Those who are chosen to help are often considered "elite" by other students, as well as by themselves.

### E. PLAYS

The way parts are assigned in various plays and skits in the classroom and the auditorium often reflects traditional stereotypes. For examples, the part of the doctor, principal, or business executive would be played by a boy and the part of the nurse, teacher, or secretary by a girl.

### F. LESSON MATERIAL

In addition to readers (See Appendix, pp. 13–19), teachers assignments frequently show stereotyped attitudes toward males and females. In math problems, women work with recipes while men handle high finance. Exercises in grammar of English and other languages ask students to diagram, memorize or phrase a reply for sentences which invariably show males and females in stereotyped roles (mother washes dishes while father reads the newspaper).

### JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Our committee has received many complaints from junior high school students and parents regarding discriminatory requirements and/or restrictions in home economics, shops, physical education, and extra-curricular activities. Since witnesses in the Sanchez case testifified to similar discriminatory practices in the schools, I will not describe those grievances here, but merely call attention to the court records reproduced in the Appendix, pp. 21–28.

### ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOLS

*The Public High Schools, New York City, 1970–71* lists three academic high schools for boys: Haaren, DeWitt Clinton and Boys High School; it lists five for female students: Hunter, Washington Irving, Walton, Bay Ridge and Prospect Heights.

Until recently, women were excluded from Stuyvesant and Brooklyn Technical, two of the four "specialized" high quality academic high schools, which require special entry exams. (The other two, Bronx High School of Science and Fiorello LaGuardia High School of Music and Art have been co-ed.) Stuyvesant and Brooklyn Tech prepare for higher education leading to careers in science, math and technology. Stuyvesant was sexually desegregated in 1969–70 as a result of the celebrated court suit of Alice De Rivera, who won her right to attend the school through a conciliation settlement on May 5, 1969. Probably also as a result of that decision, the Board of Education decided to open up Brooklyn Tech to women students the following year, 1970–71.

The National Organization For Women is concerned about the slow pace at which these two schools are opening to women. Last year Stuyvesant had about a dozen women, this year about 220. There are 2,250 students in the school. Brooklyn Tech, as of September, 1970, had 2 women students out of a total of 5,200 students (See Appendix, p. 29). There is reasonable cause for the low enrollment of women in these two schools since the *Official Directory of the Board of Education, 1970–71* still lists Stuyvesant and Brooklyn Tech as "boys" schools, and the mimeographed sheet of corrections for the Directory makes no mention of the change in Board policy regarding admissions to these schools.

### VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

The favoritism for male over female students stands out in a particularly blatant way in the system of vocational education. A Board of Education catalog, *The Public High Schools, New York City, 1970–71* lists 17 segregated high schools for either "Boys only" or "Girls only." Of these 17, 12 are for male students and only 5 are for females. The National Organization For Women is particularly disturbed that certain highly specialized vocational high schools are reserved only for male students such as Automotive, Aviation, Food and Maritime Trades, Thomas Edison, George Westinghouse, and others. These schools prepare students for careers in mechanics, catering and the electrical industries.

It is particularly ironic that women who are required to take cooking in Junior High School, are not allowed to enter Food and Maritime Trades High School, the only school in the city where they may study to be chefs.

Not only are many vocational schools segregated, but many courses in the coeducational vocational schools are closed to girls. A flyer put out by the High School of Fashion Industries lists, out of nine areas of specialization, three areas for "boys only" (Production Techniques, Upholstery Manufacturing, and Men's Clothing Design and Manufacturing) and one field for "girls only" (Women's Apparel Construction). This means ⅓ of the program offered by the co-educational school, is closed to female students, and 1/9 of the program (that specifically devoted to women's clothes) is closed to male students. Such segregation does not even make a pretense of being "separate but equal."

If we consider the course offerings in all of the vocational schools, *The Public High Schools* lists 77 major technical courses open to males, while a mere 36 are listed for females. Most of the courses on the female students' list, such as typing, stenography, floristry, and cosmetology, are also on the list for male students, but most of the subjects on the male list are not on the female list, such as architectural drafting, radio and TV mechanics, jewelry making and, as I mentioned earlier, commercial cooking and catering.

Although the catalog of high schools, for the first time this year, does *not* list the New York School of Printing as "for boys only", the same catalog does not list any printing trades courses open to female students. And there are in fact no women enrolled in the New York School of Printing. Furthermore, administrators of that school seem unaware of any move to end the sex segregation in the school (with the exception of the post graduate evening school).

We question the exclusion of men from courses in Practical Nursing and Pre-Registered Nursing. And we find the distinction between the male course in dentistry (Dental Laboratory Processing) and the female course (Dental Office Assisting) remarkably blatant in its discrimination against women.

The Vocation High Schools for males only, as listed in *The Public High Schools, 1970-71* are Chelsea, Alexander Hamilton, Automotive, Alfred E. Smith, Samuel Gompers, Food and Maritime, Manhattan, East New York, George Westinghouse, William E. Grady, Aviation and Thomas A. Edison. In addition, the *Official Directory of the Board of Education, 1970–71* lists the New York School of Printing as for male students. In other words, two directories for the current year have conflicting information. Vocational high schools for girls as listed in *The Public High Schools, 1970–71* are Mabel Dean Bacon, Jane Adams, Clara Barton, William H. Maxwell, and Jamaica. Again the *Official Directory of the Board of Education*, 1970–71 lists one more as for "girls"; Sarah Hale. Moreover, the sheet of corrections given out with the *Official Directory* does not indicate that either the New York School of Printing or Sara Hale now welcome both sexes. Thus, there is confusion as to what the policy of the Board of Education is.

## SEX EDUCATION

The institution of Sex Education courses was originally supported by feminist groups. However, the courses as they are currently taught have generally failed in our original hopes. They do not provide any information on contraception; they in no way emphasize the ecological crisis we face due to overpopulation. Instead they purport to teach "ideal" sex rule behavior.

As of September, 1969, Sex Education was taught to some of the students in 295 out of the 900 public schools in New York City, including 45 of the 100 high schools. These classes are still given separately to male and female students.

In the teachers manual prepared especially for these classes, the words "contraception" and "birth control" are not used a single time. "Family Planning" is referred to only briefly in passing.

According to the coordinator of the courses at the Board of Education, Herbert Karp, who was interviewed in the Spring of 1970, not only does the Board wish to avoid offending anyone's religious principles, but it is afraid the teaching of birth control in too great depth might be legally interpreted as "undermining the morals of a minor," thus exposing the instructors to the dangers of legal suit.

The biology of human and/or animal reproduction is covered at every grade level, but it comprises only 15% of the total curriculum, the rest of the course being devoted to problems of "family living."

Aside from the illogicality of sex education classes which avoid the subject of contraception, we note some other surprising elements in the curriculum as set forth in the teacher's manual called "Family Living Including Sex Education." Notions of female passivity and the "woman's place" have been instilled as early as grade one, where the manual tells us that girls "usually play with dolls and engage in housekeeping activities and sewing," while boys "are generally very active, almost in constant motion" (1967–68 edition, p. 16). The manual goes on to show six-year-olds the "kinds of work men usually do" and "the kinds of work women usually do" (p. 17). In grade ten when students are subjected to such topics as "finding life's purpose in raising children" (p. 55), we witness the school reinforcing all of the social pressures which propel young women toward early motherhood. A revised edition, published in 1970 still instructs teachers in grades one and two to "talk about the kinds of work men and women usually do."

### GUIDANCE

Apart from specific cases of official prerogative based on sex, high school women have complained of more subtle ways in which guidance counselors, teachers, and the curriculum tend to channel young women into the so-called "female" occupations which provides low salaries and little chance for advancement.

If 98% of domestic workers, 97% of secretaries, and 3 out of 4 clerical workers in this country are women, it is partly because the schools have failed to motivate them and prepare them for more remunerative roles. In saying this, we fully recognize that the education system did not itself create sexual and racial discrimination in the business world. But the education system is none the less responsible to help young women as well as young men develop to their greatest potential.

### PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATION

Finally, we leave the students' side of the question and come to the position of women on the staff of city schools.

In the 1967–68 term, women students at the senior colleges of the City University received 61% of the advanced certificates in education, and 62% of the Masters Degrees. Of these Masters Degrees received by women, 75% were in education.

In the fall of 1969, women held 59% of the city's teaching positions, but only 36% of the supervisory positions.

Furthermore, of all principals in the city schools, women accounted for only 23% of elementary school principals, 12% of junior high school principals, and 14% of senior high school principals.

We believe these figures indicate a pattern of discrimination against women, and we feel it is the responsibility of the Board of Education to investigate and attempt to correct these inequities.

In conclusion, this evidence of sex discrimination which we have enumerated raises vital questions of concern to all parents and citizens of all ethnic and economic backgrounds. For we are talking about the basic right to prepare one's self to earn a living, to harness one's skills, and to contribute in the fullest measure to the productive forces of our society.

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## WHAT WE RECOMMEND

(By Anne Grant West)

Our discontent comes from the fact that we, as women, have been doing what we have been raised to do. We have prepared thousands of meals for our families, but we have been unable to wield power in industries that are poisoning the food we cook. We have spent our best years raising our children, only to find that we have no power over the job market that condemns our daughters to economic dependency, and we have no power over the political and military system that sends our sons around the world to kill and be killed.

We are here tonight in the hope that our generation of women will be the last to be made so powerless in such desperate times.

Our specific recommendations to you, the Board of Education of the City of New York, are as follows:

At the elementary school level, we demand an end to all sex segregation on playgrounds and in classes. Principals and teachers should be instructed that there shall be no grouping, lining up, or seating of students in sex-segregated groups in classrooms, corridors, lunchrooms, or auditoriums, and that different activities will in no way be specified for different sexes.

The same rules shall apply to intermediate and junior high schools. New York State requires two years of shop and/or home economics courses. We feel the appropriate adaption of this is to require one year of shop and one year of home economics in coeducational classes.

We further urge that courses in sexes education be coeducational, and that the curriculum contain factual information on contraception and on the ecological crisis we face due to overpopulation. Such courses should no longer put forth an "ideal" or "norm" of "masculine" and "feminine" behavior.

We are convinced that most physical education courses could be taught beneficially in coeducational classes. We urge that the normative standards set for athletic performance be set by the entire school population, both male and female. This would allow females the dignity of competing against the same standards as males, and it would protect non-athletic males from the emotional tension and physical stress of having to perform to the level of an unnecessarily high "male norm." The new norm will in no way prevent the high athletic achievers from setting new records.

We especially urge that coeducational courses in self-defense be provided for all students in the hope that they will be better able to protect themselves against sexual and non-sexual attacks.

We urge that all discriminatory guidance practice, such as the tracking of females into secretarial courses, be ended immediately, and that all guidance counsellors and students be made aware of the full range of courses open to all students, regardless of sex.

We expect that the various school directories issued by the Board of Education will be updated to indicate that formerly sex segregated schools are now coeducational. And we expect that meanwhile, a mimeographed sheet announcing these changes will be distributed to all guidance counsellors and to all students now applying to high schools.

We expect that neither academic nor vocational high schools, nor evening trade schools will remain sexually exclusive. This means that no high school will place a de facto quota on females admitted. It further means an end to all public school sponsorship of training programs in cooperation with unions which continue to bar women from apprenticeship programs, from union membership, and from equal opportunities with men in job placement.

We expect that no courses, either in vocational or academic high schools will be barred to either sex, and that all classes will be coeducational.

We expect that experimental programs which provide work-study opportunities to help students complete their high school work shall no longer bar girls from participation, and that such programs shall provide the same work experiences and opportunities for both males and females.

We urge that no school be permitted to sponsor any sex segregated extra-curricular or service squads. We demand that males and females be allowed an equal opportunity to serve as office and library aides, and on hall patrols, audio-visual equipment squads, stage squads, and all other clubs. We expect that all principals and supervising teachers shall be informed of this policy.

Females who are competent athletes should not be barred from any teams, including official school teams which compete against other schools and which receive trophies and publicity.

Just as college cheerleaders are frequently male, high school men should be encouraged to be on cheerleading squads.

We urge that a bibliography and resource manual of women's studies be distributed to all school librarians, and that current textbooks in social studies be supplemented with materials on women's studies. We urge the Board of Education to notify publishers that the image of girls and women presented in texts for all courses will be taken into consideration on all future purchases of textbooks. We suggest that this Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools accompany the Board's notice to publishers.

We demand that all schools be required to submit to their District School Boards and the Board of Education a report, to be made public, of the number of men and the number of women holding positions as regular teachers, teachers with special job assignments, department chairpeople, supervisors, principals, and so forth. We expect that schools showing evidence of sexual discrimination shall be required to comply to fair standards of employment and assignment for all teachers, regardless of sex.

We recommend that the Board of Education issue publicly to stress the right of women to apply for higher positions in the school system in order to impress upon college advisors, as well as upon men and women in education, that women are as much entitled as men to support themselves and their families by filling high-ranking positions in the school system.

We urge you to seriously investigate the possibility of conducting classes on the business day schedule so that children will not be excused from school three hours before their parents return home from work. The present school hours are not only unnecessary, since we now have electric lights to read by, and since our children no longer have farm chores to perform, but they also place an unreasonable burden on the modern urban family. The school schedule requires at least one parent to limit work opportunities to unrealistic hours, or to find other arrangements for children in the intervening hours. The situation is especially intolerable for families with only a single parent.

We urge the institution of accredited inservice courses to help education become conscious of their own sexual assumptions while they deal with the problem of sex discrimination in the schools. Mrs. Grady will present this proposal more fully.

Finally, we ask if a Board member here will move the establishment of a Committee on Sex Bias in the Schools. The responsibilities of such a Committee would be to study the recommendations we have set forth, and to suggest methods of implementing these recommendations in the schools. We would hope that at least three of our members would be permitted to sit on such a Committee. The Committee would be limited to advisory power, but it would have authorization to gather information on the schools, and it would be officially introduced to the District School Boards as an advisory Committee on the Board of Education.

In conclusion, we hope to effectively cooperate with you to bring women into full and equal partnership with men in the schools, and soon, throughout all of our society.

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## A PROPOSAL FOR CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(By Kathleen Grady)

### RATIONALE

As members of the Education Committee of N.O.W. we have spoken to many people in the school system: psychologists, principals, and teachers. Our original goal was to point out specific discriminatory practices against the students. Again and again we found we were dealing with their own sex prejudice. For example, Junior High School principals in the Executive Training Program were given a questionnaire to fill out and 63%, men as well as women, agreed with the statement: "I can recognize in myself a certain amount of bias against women."

This bias took many forms. It was perhaps most evident in the questions relating to hiring. In a general question dealing with hiring a better qualified woman or a man with a family, only 44% would hire the woman. In a more specific question on hiring a secretary, 31% said they would hire a less qualified woman over a more qualified man, presumably because of sex stereotyping: secretarial work is thought to be woman's work. Presumptions about sex-related traits and a fairly narrow definition of social roles was also evident throughout the questionnaires. Many of the responses indicated simple misinformation of ignorance of relevant research and data about the differences between men and women.

All the school personnel we spoke with were well-meaning, intelligent people who have simply not examined their presuppositions and assumptions in this context. Many showed surprise at some of the facts we presented and interest in the ideas. It is clear that we have all been subject to the pervasive sex prejudice of the society at large. Teachers, along with the rest of us, see themselves in roles limited by their sex and condition their students to the same views, often unknowningly, through differing evaluations and expectations of the sexes.

### PURPOSE

We would like to propose an in-service training course on sex prejudice and social roles for teachers, guidance counselors, and any and all other interested school personnel. Our main objective is to interrupt the inheritance of prejudice through an educative process that will bring such attitudes to the conscious level, allowing them to be retained or discarded in a rational fashion. Our specific objectives are as follows:

(1) to understand society's sexual bias and expectations of the individual,

(2) to allow school personnel to understand their own sexual bias and expectations of themselves, of their associates, and of their students,

(3) to permit the people enrolled in this program to become familiar with the traditional means of establishing sexual roles.

(4) to enable school personnel to examine their own and their students' sex-defined roles,

(5) to establish an atmosphere that will allow the participants of this program to explore widening choices of sexual roles.

### METHODS

Consciousness-raising is a technique developed by persons desiring to increase their sensitivity to such problems as racism and sexism. Its core is the small discussion group, but it differs from other such groups in several significant ways. Consciousness-raising falls between lecturing and encounter group interactions. It has the immediacy and some of the emotional content of the latter, but the idea orientation and choice of beliefs of the former. The major feature that distinguishes it from lecturing or topical seminars is the personal aspect. Participants relate ideas to particular experiences. Everything theoretical is firmly grounded in practical instances and examples.

To facilitate consciousness-raising in the limited period of time that the course will run, certain assertive techniques will also be included. The advantage to introducing some of these techniques of encounter group interactions is to help participants recreate experiences for demonstration, re-experience them in a different role, and in other ways consider themselves and commonly accepted attitudes in novel ways. The purpose is to interest the participants, help them to enjoy the experience, and to provide a bridge from theory to practice.

An important aspect of this course will be that all activities within it will be voluntary. No one will be required to participate in psycho-drama or even discussion, and intervention by the leader should keep group pressure for conformity in check.

### NOTES ON CURRICULUM

I. The individual examining the role conditioning in her/his own life:

(a) Choice of profession.

(b) Acceptance of responsibility on the job.

(c) Ambition for advancement.

(d) Single or married; does the individual consider her/himself fulfilled?

(e) Dress for job: what does the individual consider appropriate?

(f) Dealings with the other sex on equal, higher, or lower levels.

(g) How seriously does the individual take the importance of the job to her/himself, her/his family?

(h) Language and facial expressions used in dealing with other personnel and the students.

(i) How the individual reacts to the sex bias of her/his students.

(j) How do men and women feel toward women administrators?

II. Differing expectations by teachers of the students in regard to—

(a) Temperament—do teachers expect and tolerate more independence, aggressiveness, loudness, restlessness from boys? more dependence, whining, giggling from girls?

(b) Intellectual abilities—do teachers believe that girls are more verbal, boys more mathematical? that aggressive curiosity is more to be expected from boys?

(c) Socialization—do teachers expect girls to be more "mannered" in the conventional sense and encourage them to be "feminine" (passive, dependent)? Do they encourage boys to be "gallant" (move the girls' chairs, etc.)? Do they expect the girls to be more religious and moral, boys to be more loyal and ethical?

(d) Language use—do teachers expect and tolerate more slang, rough language from the boys?

(e) Dress—do teachers expect girls to be neater, follow fashion styles and seasonal changes more closely? do they pity girls who are unable or unwilling to play the fashion game? do they reinforce those who do? do they react unfavorably to boys who have long hair, wear earrings, or girls who wear slacks? do they stress modesty for girls?

(f) Health—do teachers expect boys to be more robust, less complaining and reinforce girls for being "sick" monthly? do they encourage a healthy respect and confidence in their bodies in boys and a morbid anxiety and fear on the part of girls?

(g) Athletics—why are boys and girls segregated if they are in their athletic activities? do teachers expect competence from boys and failure from girls? are the terms "sissy" or "tomboy" ever applied?

(h) Interests—do teachers expect girls to be more interested in childcare, home, and family? do they expect boys to be interested in cars, sports, building and creating with permanent materials (rather than food and cloth)?

(i) Career goals—do teachers expect boys to be doctors, girls nurses? do they encourage the continual sorting out of career options by boys and overlook the need in girls?

(j) Sexual attitudes—do they think boys have stronger sexual urges and interest and therefore expect and tolerate more from them in the way of questions, jokes, masturbation?

(k) Monitorial duties—do teachers expect girls to do light housework and secretarial chores in the classroom, boys to do the heavy work and executive duties?

In addition to these personal and schoolrelated themes general presentation of the relevant biological and cultural research on sex differences will be included as well as the evolution of the social roles of men and women. It is important to remember that every difference between boys and girls increases with age. Until and unless the school system treats them absolutely equally there is no reason to assume that it isn't the school system itself that is creating these differences.

## SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL READERS

According to the statement of purpose adopted at the organizing conference of the National Organization for Women in Washington, D.C., October 29, 1966:

"We believe that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy, with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that, for a girl as for a boy, education can only be serious where there is expectation that it will be used in society. We believe that American educators are capable of devising means of imparting such expectations to girl students."

Are American educators taking the potential of girl students and their expectations seriously? A study of elementary school textbooks carried out by the Central New Jersey Chapter of N.O.W. indicates that they are not. It further indicates that girls are being actively demotivated as participants in the life and work of the nation by the concepts conveyed in the books they read in school.

An introductory essay entitled "A Message to the Teachers from the Authors" in Lippincotts' Basic Reading Program refers to the rewards of learning to read:

First, there is the great satisfaction of mastering a skill in an orderly fashion. The reward of emulating the grown-ups for whom reading is obviously very important, is the long-range goal, but the skill itself is reward and delight to the beginner. On top of this delight in learning for itself we seek to reward the young learner with amusing or exciting stories as fast as we have words for them.

In a total of 144 readers examined (from fifteen reading series and ranging from primer to sixth grade level) there are 881 "amusing and exciting" stories centering around boys to 344 stories centering around girls. This represents 72% boy-oriented stories to cater to 49% of small boys in the elementary school population.

Similarly, there are 282 stories centering around adult males to 127 stories centering around adult females. There are 131 biographies of famous men to 23 biographies of famous women.

In the early grade readers the oldest child in a family is always a boy. Boys are associated with making, earning, playing active games, learning, romping with dogs and helping the fathers.

Girls are associated with helping their mothers or brothers, playing with kittens, getting in to minor forms of trouble and being helped out by their brothers. Patterns of dependence, passivity and domesticity are apparent. Story lines from Scott Foresman's first three primers go as follows:

"Boy sets up carnival act. Boy teaches dog to jump for food. Boy solves problem of keeping mother's floors clean. Boy solves problem of runaway dog. Boy plays ball. Boy uses magnet to solve problem for girl. Boy builds car, girls interfere."

Story lines for girls go:

"Girl is frightened by older brother. Girl is helped by older brother. Girls play with Toddy and kitten. Girl is helped by older boy. Girls solve their own problem (this is very unusual). Girl mistakes cat on television for her own kitten. Girl goes shopping with mother. Girl helps mother choose books. Girl paints picture of cat."

In Book One of the same series boy story lines begin to offer specific achievements for boys as well as contacts with adults outside the home:

"Boy finds policeman's button and returns it. Father mends boy's sled and they go off together to ride it (leaving mother at home). Boy wins race with renovated sled. Boy helps to deliver groceries. Boy waits for postman, longs for letter, learns of new boy on block and makes friends. Boy on farm befriends pony."

Girls in the same book have no outside contacts or achievements other than shopping expeditions. They begin to show tendencies to minor stupidities and mishaps.

"Girls boast of new dresses, find they are identical. Girls goes shopping for mother and forgets where her pocket is. Girls goes shopping, drops apples, forgets eggs. Girl loses bunny, boy finds it for her. Girl longs for her own telephone call, finally gets one from mother, calling the children home. Girls make corn patties, chickens eat them."

In Harper and Row's Basic Reading Program "Around the Corner, Primer Level", a girl wanting to "do something different" is taken on a shopping expedition to buy her brother some new T shirts. A little lamb asks her mother what she can be, and mother replies: "Some day you will be a sheep. A mother sheep, just like me! That is what you can be."

Derogatory comments directed at girls in general are common in all series. Thus, in the Ginn basic readers Book Six, a girl gets lost in London, with the comment: "Girls are always late." In the Harper and Row Basic Reading Program, Primer Level, page 45, we find: "Look at her, Mother, just look at her. She is just like a girl. She gives up."

In the same series: "Get lost," said Ann, "I am just a girl, but I know enough not to do that." Also: "you cannot write and spell well enough to write a book. You are just two little girls." Finally: "Let a girl do the starting? Not a chance!" and "That's right, Fatty, let a girl do the work."

It is accepted in the reader universe that to denigrate girls is a satisfactory sign of masculinity in small boys. The effects of this attitude on girls themselves is not considered.

Mothers in all the series read are occupied with domestic cares and services. In illustrations they wore skirts, smiles, short, neat hairdos and aprons, and they often carry trays of cookies. Sometimes they drive cars. In one Bank Street Reader a working mother is found (but only in a school food line), and a Harper and Row Book Five story describes a fat, unhappy bully whose problem, by implication, is that his mother works and is not at home to welcome him after school. (page 107) "Martin had never minded, or anyway not very much, and it wouldn't have mattered if he had minded, because the Hastings family needed the extra money she made." This child conflicts in the story with a "good" boy whose mother is at home every day to give him cookies and milk. The implicit social judgment is unmistakable.

Mothers are never shown doing independent work of their own or coming back to the family after some personal expedition. They are described as emotional and unreasonable. Thus in S.R.A.'s "The Purple Turtle," page 95: "My Mom says 'Don't you'll mess your shirt'." On page 152: "Roger's mother wept, afraid that her son would be eaten. But Roger was a brave boy." Also: "Mama's face was sad, and her voice was soft. 'Do not worry, Mama!' "

In "A King on a Swing" in the same series, page 28: "Mom will be mad. She'll yell at me, she'll spank me." (this boy is speaking to his father) Also: "You know, if you are bad Mom will spank you." Mothers are shown as disciplinary and repressive, fathers as the bringers of fun and stimulation. Fathers never display emotion, even anger is not represented. Father is a beloved being who never loses his cool.

In Harper and Row's Book G, under the chapter heading, "Boy's Adventures" an extreme of anti-mother feeling is reached. The story of Roald Amundson as a small boy whose father dies is told, "Roald was left with his mother. She was a determined woman. But he was determined too." She wants him to become a doctor, but he wishes to be an explorer. In the end she dies, and this event releases him to do as he wishes. Teachers' notes to this story include the question to the class: "Is twelve years old too young to plan for your future?"

Girls are never found planning for their futures, but at the fourth, fifth and sixth grade levels boys in all series begin to look forward to manhood. Earning and achievement become increasingly important. Quotes of specific incentives to manhood include the following:

"Camping out, eh?" said the tall man, "Get more like your father every day. He would have been here fast, but he couldn't have come faster than you did." (Lippincott's Basic Reading Program, Book G, page 247) Also: "In a family when a boy does his work well, perhaps he can earn his wish." (Girls are never paid for domestic chores.)

Boys begin to control their emotions and quotes like the following begin to appear: "He would go over the falls on his feet, standing like a man. He would not cry out like a little boy for help." (Laidlaw Brothers 4th grade reader)

Geographical range becomes important for boys while girls remain domestic or neighborhood in their settings. Thus in the Ginn basic readers, story lines go as follows:

Boy visits Moon base with father. Puerto Rican boy starts business with his grandfather. Farm boy does "a man's job" harvesting corn after his father is injured. Arab boy rescues a lamb. Lapp boy does "a man's work" in a wolf hunt. Canadian boy learns a skill . . . a boy is really getting to be a man when he learns to handle a kayak."

In the Ginn Basic Readers Book Five we find a boy who shoots a grizzly: "Pa had left him to be the man of the house. Here was the dead grizzly to prove that he had been worthy of the trust." On the other hand, when a mother settler shoots a wolf in Lippincott's Series Book G (her husband is away from home), she says modestly, "it wasn't hard, the wolf was a good target against the snow."

In Ginn's Book Five again a boy has a flood adventure during a picnic: "You did a dangerous thing, bringing that boat across the flood, and a brave thing. You acted like a man."

Biographies of men often show the progression from boyhood ambition to manly achievement. Thus in Lippincott's Basic Reading Program Book E we find Buffalo Bill: "Even when he was a little boy of five he had learned to ride a horse. By the time he was eight he was an expert rider." Kit Carson in the same book escapes some bears in a hunt. "When Kit was a small boy he wanted to be a hunter and trapper. His father had taught him how to shoot straight." Parallel incentives for girls are totally lacking.

Sometimes little girls take it upon themselves to play little mother and encourage their brothers to achieve. Thus in Lippincott's Basic Reading Program Book D, page 30, a girl convinces a boy that he needs to learn to read: "You need reading and writing and numbers for almost everything. A salesman must be able to read his orders. He must add up his bills." She mentions mechanics and painters with similar needs. Her own future needs are not considered.

In Harper and Row's Basic Reading Program Book Five an attempt is made to handle the problem of female adulthood. A girl comes across an old house in which she finds traces of a woman who once lived there. She examines a girlhood portrait and a fan and an adult portrait. These are her thoughts: "She'd had cheeks like speckled eggs and a merry look despite her serious lips. How had she become a woman who'd used the fan? How had a girl who looked so honest and everyday fit in with a fan that looked like moonlight, music and romance? This tomboy Netta had managed to grow up and still stay her own self. . . . Katie wasn't sure what she herself meant by womanhood. Well, she'd find out in time . . . the important thing was that a tomboy girl had handled growing up. 'If she could do it, I can do it too,' Katie nearly shouted."

The message is that growing up for a girl involves a mysterious metamorphosis from a merry tomboy to a romantic woman, with a veiled hint at loss of identity in the process. The next book in the series, a sixth grade reader, has no girl-centered stories at all.

A story in the Ginn Basic Readers describes a girl who impersonates a boy and rides the pony express, having always longed to be a boy. A bandit captures her but lets her off discovering her sex. He says, "It is always best for girls to be happy that they are girls." Do educators take it for granted that boys are unlikely to be satisfied with their status as boys? It is clear that being a girl in our present social climate requires a certain resignation.

In Houghton Mifflin's "Looking Ahead," Book Four, we find: "Agnes was 10 years old, but she still thought that playing Jack-in-the-box would be fun. Since, however, she was the only girl in the family, she knew she should help her mother." Boys by contrast feel no sense of obligation to help their fathers. They desperately long to do so, since this means added status and brings them closer to the desirable state of manhood.

In biographies of famous women the facts of achievement are often qualified in some way, such as this in Harper and Row's Book TE: Annie Oakley says of

Frank Butler, "He's the finest looking man I ever saw. I wish I didn't have to beat him."

In the Ginn Basic Readers female achievement is shown as freakish and exceptional, thus in Book Five: "From the very beginning Amelia Earhart was different from other little girls." Also: "Except for one thing Maria Mitchell seemed like any other young girl on Nantucket Island." The point is made in the story that Maria Mitchell had to put the kitchen in order first before she could study the stars. Another quote illustrates the derogatory attitude to female achievement which is widespread in these readers: "You did alright for a girl, ridin' the Pony Express."

The numbers and variety of adult males in different occupations shown in all readers contrasts strongly with the numbers of female adults in different occupations. In D.C. Heath's primer series Book Two adult males include: Father, pet store owner, postman, fireman, policeman, zoo keeper, ice cream man, a clown, railway conductor, sheep farmer. Women in this book include Mothers, ladies next door, and grandmother. Where adult females appear, throughout the series read, they tend to be in a supervisory or service relationship to a child, or the wives of varying male figures.

In Scott Foresman's Book Five ("Vista") an extreme in female exclusion is reached. Male minor characters include explorers, scientists, naval commanders, submarine commanders, forest ranger, a king, a gaucho, a pilot, a school principal, a railroad inspector and various fathers. No female minor characters appear, although there is one story involving two silly girls who hold a progressive lunch and two female biographies, one of a brave doctor (frontier) and the other an eight section biography of Helen Keller. Female exclusion becomes more acute as the grade levels rise. In Harper and Row's sixth grade reader there are no girl-centered stories at all.

Fairy tales offer examples of pretty heroines rewarded for their looks and sweet dispositions by marriage to princes, but as far as achievement goes, Hansel says to Gretel: "Don't worry, sister, I will take care of you." (Lippincott's Book G) The message is that females are good so long as they are pretty, and that age and ugliness are synonymous with evil. Snow White, Cinderella, Beauty and the Beast and many others illustrate traditional attitudes of male possessiveness towards the lovely young female coupled with fear and mistrust of the older woman. Such stories are part of our cultural picture and cannot be eliminated from school curricula, but they do require interpretation and understanding. Myths such as Pandora's Box which express man's fear of "female evil" must be discussed in depth and explained.

In spite of many good intentions American educators are in fact directing female children into those subordinate occupations and attitudes which most closely serve the short-term convenience of an adult male heirarchy. It is no wonder that rates of academic and other forms of achievement show a sad falling off among women. The female population of this country has internalized Charles Kingsley's sentiment:

"Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever!"

A complete report of the findings of this committee will be available in May, 1971 from: Women on Words and Images, R. D. 4, 25 Cleveland Lane, Princeton, N. J. 08540:

The New Jersey women believe that their sons as well as their daughters are harmed by the notion of sex-stereotyped roles and by the assumption that boys must be strong and girls agreeable, that males must direct and females obey.

They want their sons to be gentle as well as strong and their daughters to be adventurous as well as sensitive. They want the books their children read to emphasize the variety of choices open to them regardless of their sex. And they want readers—the most important books of the early school years—to present to their children a positive image of women as well as men, one that is based in reality and founded on equality and respect.—from "Harmful Lessons Little Girls Learn in School", Betty Miles, *Redbook*, March 1971, copyright 1971 McCall Publishing Co.

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### ANALYSIS OF MATH TEXTBOOKS FOUND IN NEW YORK SCHOOL LIBRARIES

*Seeing Through Arithmetic Five* (Scott Foresman).

Mathematical problems in this text present math concepts in social contexts which strongly reinforce stereotyped sex roles. Following are some examples, with page numbers:

Page 22—Brownies are cooking and sewing to raise money.

Page 26—Boy is building with his father, thus stressing active work as related to males.

Page 45—Out of ten problems, five dealt with girls cooking and sewing.

Page 65—Problems dealing with club activities: girls are shown making sandwiches, while boys build dividers.

Page 84—Shows girls' 4H Club activities. Fourteen problems deal with sewing and cooking.

Page 110—Out of 14 problems, 3 deal with mother cooking and girls helping.

Page 133—Girls and women are shown cooking and cutting cakes.

Page 154—Father takes boys on camping trip. Mother stays home and bakes.

Page 183—Boy goes out planting with father while mother stays home and bakes.

Page 214—Women and girls are shopping for food and sewing supplies.

Page 220—Problems deal with women cooking and sewing, men driving cars and hiking.

Page 264—Women and girls are shopping and cooking. Problems dealing with men have them building, repairing, and earning money.

*Math Book 5* (Health).

This book contains fewer problems than the preceding book, but where there are problems, role teaching is just as evident. Some examples follow:

Page 155—Out of ten problems, five deal with boys working at physical activities, and two problems have girls babysitting and sewing.

Page 166—Out of five problems, one has girls sewing, and two problems have boys playing marbles while girls are jumping rope.

Page 173—There are 12 problems altogether, eleven dealing with boys earning money, building things and going places, while one deals with a girl buying a ribbon for a sewing project.

Page 197—Out of five problems, three deal with boys and men doing varied activities while one problem deals with one girl shopping and one girl sick.

Sally Nussbaum distributed the following message to students leaving JHS 82 on April 7, 1971:

1491 Montgomery Ave., Bronx, New York 10453.

DEAR PARENTS AND CITIZENS: Girls at JHS 82 are discriminated against in curriculum and sports. They are barred from taking industrial arts courses of woodwork, metalwork, electric shop, and sometimes printing and mechanical drawing. They are programmed into domestic courses such as crocheting, sewing, home, ec., and child care, instead.

My daughter, Daniela Romero, was refused entrance to metalwork class.

Girls at JHS 82 do not have supervised afterschool handball and tumbling. A girls basketball team was formed but no games were ever arranged for it with other schools. Games were arranged for the boys' basketball team. Girls seldom participate in chess and pingpong, and not in citywide or districtwide tournaments, but to my knowledge no special effort is made to find out why they do not take part, nor to encourage them to do so.

Recently I sent a petition to Dr. Milton Stier, Principal, JHS 82, signed by some parents, asking that the industrial arts courses be opened to girls on the same basis as boys. If you agree let the school authorities know.

A bill, no. 4811, has been introduced by State Assemblyman Al Blumenthal (D., Man.) to end discrimination by sex in admissions to courses of instruction or teams. I urge you to write your State legislators to support this bill.

American Civil Liberties Union is attempting to establish the basis of a class action suit against the Board of Education for sex discrimination in the junior high and high schools. This is being done on behalf of the High School Women's Coalition, a student organization. ACLU claims it violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution—equal protection of the laws. For information, call ACLU, 924–7800.

Let the following know that you want your daughters to get the same education as your sons, so that all children will have the chance to develop their talents to the fullest:

Dr. Milton Stier, Principal, JHS 82, Macombs Rd. & 176 St., Bx. Andrew Donaldson, District Superintendent, 1377 Jerome Ave., Bx. Gerald Morton. Pres., Comm. Sch. Bd., 1377 Jerome Ave., Bx. Una Roskind, Pres., Parents Assn., JHS 82, Macombs Rd. & 176 St., Bx. Isaiah Robinson, V. Pres., Bd. of Ed., 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn.

The following excerpts are public testimony in the case of Bonnie Sanchez and Laura Edelhart against Harold Baron, Principal of Junior High School 217, and

Hugh McDougall, District Superintendent of District 28, New York City Board of Education (69 C 1615) given in United States Courthouse, Brooklyn, New York, on January 29, 1971, and March 19, 1971. For further information on this case, contact New York Civil Liberties Union, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Excerpts of testimony of Laura Edelhart (continued from front cover):

After I got home, I started calling the Board of Education. But I never got through to anyone. I must have made a dozen calls at least.

Q. Did anyone at the Board of Education ever tell you anything to do about this matter?

Well, eventually I was told that because the school was decentralizing that I should go back to the school for this problem; that it wouldn't be a matter of the Central Board any more.

Q. And did you do that?

Yes, I did. I called the school. I spoke to Mr. Baron . . . , and he said that we have too many boys in the school to be able to allow the girls to take metal work and mechanics.

Q. Mrs. Edelhart, when you were in high school, did you attempt to take a metal working course?

Mr. MAURER. Objection.

The COURT. How long ago was it?

The WITNESS. About twenty years ago.

The COURT. Objection sustained. Unrelated.

Mr. ENNIS. Your Honor, I wish to show that it is related, in this sense: I wish to show that the only named plaintiff in this case was the named plaintiff because she had the support of her mother. She had the support of her mother because her mother was also denied permission to take a metalwork class when she was in high school, and it is because of that continuing problem—

The COURT. I am not persuaded. The objection is sustained.

Q. Mrs. Edelhart, do you think that having taken the course it was valuable for your daughter?

Mr. MAURER. Objection.

Yes, I do.

The COURT. What is the relevancy of that?

Mr. ENNIS. Well, Your Honor, I wish to establish that, having taken that course Bonnie Sanchez was a more self-reliant and capable individual than she was before.

The COURT. Let us assume that is so. What has that got to do with the policy?

Mr. ENNIS. It has to do with whether or not that policy is damaging the lives of female students in high school. We intend to show that it is; that the Board of Education policy is depriving female students of the opportunity to become self-reliant people—

The COURT. Do you expect to offer any statistics on it, or do you expect to rely on the testimony?

Mr. ENNIS. We will offer statistics, Your Honor.

Excerpts of testimony of Gigi Gordon, JHS 217 (Van Wyck), Ninth Grade:

Q. Can you tell me what shops are available at your school?

They have sewing and cooking available to the ninth grades. That is only for girls. And for the boys, they have metal and printing, and I think they also have ceramics.

Q. What shop are you taking now?

We just changed shops and I was assigned to sewing.

Q. Which shop did you want to take?

I wanted to take printing.

Q. Did you make any attempt to take printing?

Yes, I did. I went to several people, one of them was Mr. Wydlock, and he told me he would check into the matter and he would try to get me into the boys' shop. Then I saw him again and he said he thought they were all filled up. And then I saw him a third time and he said there was no room in the boys' shop for any more girls.

Q. Do you know whether there are any more girls in there now?

No, there aren't any girls.

Q. Did he say it was a boys' shop specifically?

Yes.

Q. How many shops are there for boys?

Two or three; it depends upon what periods. There are two in one period and three in another.

Q. How many for girls?

Two.

Q. Do you know what the percentage of boys and what the percentage of girls was?

I don't know the percentages, but it is about evenly distributed.

Q. Are there any other classes or subjects for credit that only have boys?

Yes. There is an AVI Squad, which is a squad with audio-visual aids, and it is for boys. And the boys are supposed to set up equipment to show films, and projections and things like that. I tried to get into that and the teacher said it would be okay to get into it. We had to fight for that, but we got into it. And the teacher said that he would show us how to work the things. And he showed us how to work them. And then we never got called to be on the squad. We never got called to set up any such equipment.

Q. Did you ask to—

Yes. We went to the teacher. We asked him why we weren't called.

He said, "Well, there are plenty of other boys who can do the job and they have been on the squad longer than you."

Q. You mentioned Mr. Wydlock before. Can you tell me who he is?

He is the Dean of Boys. He is also in charge of the shops for girls and boys, but mostly the boys.

Q. And what did he tell you yesterday?

He said that the shops were all filled up with boys and that he didn't think I could get in because of the boys, because there was no room for any more girls in the shop.

Q. Now you are scheduled to take sewing; right?

Yes.

Q. When is that course given?

Mondays and Wednesdays, the third and fourth periods.

Q. And when is the printing course given?

The same time.

Q. Do you know of any other girls who tried to get into the print course?

Yes. Helen Kartis.

Q. Did you speak to the principal about your discussions with Mr. Wydlock?

No, because the principal is not available to discuss matters with students.

Q. Did you try?

I have tried before on different issues than this and the principal doesn't speak to the students unless it is a matter of extreme urgency; and even then he is usually at suspension hearings.

Q. Did you try this time?

No. But I did speak to the assistant principal, Mr. Niler.

Q. What did he say?

He said that I should ask the shop teachers if they wanted girls in their classes.

Excerpts of testimony of Julie Nives, JHS 217 (Van Wyck), Ninth Grade.

Q. Could you tell me how the gym classes are set up in your school?

Yes, there is a boys' gym and a girls' gym. We have it once a week for two periods.

Q. What do you learn in the girls' gym?

At the begnning, the first marking period, we did volley ball, and after that, after the marking period was over, we continued doing that. So me and some friends complained because we were supposed to have a new curriculum each marking period. And they said, "O.K., we will try to do something," and they did. Finally they got us records which had exercises on them, but the exercises were not working out very well because they were only to slim your waistline and help you walk down the street. Well, things like that. So after a while it wasn't really working out well. So then we complained again, you know, we should have something a little more, you know, better, because nobody was getting prepared—you have to wear gym suits—and so they had not done anything about it and we refused to get dressed. That day we went down, we were looking around for some guy—our assistant principal—to complain to, and he wasn't there. And the Dean sent us back into gym, and since then we have not been doing anything.

Q. Can you tell me what the boys do in gym?

The boys do exercises. They play basketball. They can go out when it is warm, which the girls are not allowed to do. They play handball. Baseball. They have certain teams after school for just baseball, basketball, track teams, which the girls do not have.

Q. Have you asked to do any of the sports which the boys do?

We asked for basketball. They said there wasn't enough equipment. The boys prefer to have it first. Then we will have what is left over. We haven't really gotten anywhere.

Q. Gigi mentioned the AVI program before. Did you also try to get into that?

Yes, I was with her. And my teacher, who is also our science teacher, he tried—We complained to him a few times that he has not been calling us down to use the projectors. And he said that he would try to but there were too many boys that were taken care of first. And one day he did call me down and then he said, "Oh, forget it. I have somebody else to do the job."

Excerpts of testimony of Catherine Reinheimer, JHS 104, Eighth Grade.

Q. Why did you decide to testify?

Because last year and this year my friends and I have tried to get into ceramics. We were not allowed to take it. The only thing girls can take is sewing and cooking.

Q. What are the boys' shops?

Wood, metal, printing and ceramics.

Q. How do you students get into these shops? Can they choose them or are they assigned to those classes?

No, they are assigned.

Q. Are any girls assigned to either printing, metal, wood, or ceramics?

No, just cooking and sewing.

Q. Are any boys assigned to sewing and cooking?

No.

Q. Have you tried to get into any of the boys' shops?

Yes, ceramics.

Q. How did you try to get into those?

I asked our assistant principal, Miss Piccarelli. We asked her if we could change from sewing or cooking to ceramics, and she said, "No. Those are boys' sops; you can't get into them."

Q. Did you ask anybody else?

Yes. After she said we couldn't, when we had group guidance, where we can tell the things we have problems with to our group guidance teacher guidance we can't get into ceramics. She said to bring it up at the student body conference. So our representative of our grade brought it up at the conference and she didn't have any luck with it.

Q. So right now you can't take any of those classes, wood, metal, printing or ceramics?

Q. When Miss Piccarelli told you that you couldn't come in to the shop class, the ceramics class, did you try to speak with the principal of the school?

No, because Miss Picarelli was closer to the children than Mr. Frank was—like, he did, very important things—well, Miss Piccarelli told us today she is in charge of the Department of Shops—

Q. Would you recognize that the principal is in charge of the school?

Yes.

The COURT. Do you deny that a counsellor has authority to advise the children as to what the policy is concerning the exclusion of a particular course? . . . don't impose the obligation on the child to go to a higher authority before she understands she is excluded.

Excerpts of testimony of Marcy Silverman, Jamaica High, Eleventh Grade.

Q. Are there any classes or activities or programs within the classes that are open to male students and not to female students?

Well, within my physics class last year, our teacher asked if there was anybody interested in being a lab assistant, in the physics lab, and when I raised my hand, he told all the girls to put their hands down because he was onty interested in working with boys.

Q. Did you make any further attempts to become a lab assistant?

Yes. I spoke to Mr. Chailiff. He is the head of the student organization, and I told him what my physics teacher had said and he said he would see, you know, what might be done; but I never heard about it again.

Q. Are there any other activities in the school that women are not members of, and have you attempted to be in any other activities?

Yes. There is an Honor Guard, which are students who, instead of participating in gym for the term, are monitors in the hall, and I asked my gym teacher if I could be on the Honor Guard Squad. She said it was only open to boys. I then went to the head of the Honor Guard, a Mr. Baron, who said that he thought girls were much too nasty to be Honor Guards. He thought they would be too mean in working on the job, and I left it at that.

Q. Is the Honor Guard a credit activity?

Yes. If you're a member of the Honor Guard, you get credit for the term's work of physical education.

The Court. How do you get appointed to it? How does a boy get appointed to it?

They just come into the boys' gym and say "Who wants to be on it?" And those who want to be on it are on it, but they never came in and said that to our girls in gym class.

Q. Are there other classes that you take that the boys and the girls are separated or the boys and the girls have different curricula?

Yes. The hygiene classes are—there's boys' hygiene and girls' hygiene and I know in some of the boys' hygiene classes they—I'm not quite sure if it's specifically in the curriculum but there has been discussion of birth control in the boys' hygiene classes, and when we attempted to, you know, discuss it in our girls' classes, they told us that we couldn't do it, we couldn't talk about things like that, and girls have tried to bring in booklets to distribute in the class, so as—you know, if we couldn't have a discussion, maybe we could distribute some material, and they told us to get it out of the school.

Q. To your knowledge, are there any other programs that are open to the boys and not to the girls?

Well, along with—in the hygiene program last week there was a—at a student council meeting, at which I was home room representative, a teacher spoke as a narcotics advisor in the school. There is a new program in the school, and he said he would be distributing material to the boys' hygiene classes on drug abuse and they would be starting a new program together. But he mentioned nothing about the girls' classes.

Q. You are taking gym now, is that correct?

Yes, I am.

Q. Do you have the same activities in your gym classes that the boys do?

No, we don't. Right now we're doing folk dancing and we asked—there were about twenty girls in the class that I knew who would like—who would have liked to go out and run track as the boys do. They play ball out in the recreational fields, and I asked one of the gym teachers if we could get a group of girls who would like to go out and run track or play ball in the fields. Since there are about six or seven gym teachers and since they divide the boys' classes up with teachers taking certain groups out, if we could do this in our class. First she said I should get the names of fifty girls who would want to do it. I proceeded to ask around and I had about thirty girls in the first day who wanted to do it, and then the next day in gym she said to forget about it because she had spoken to Mrs. Klein, the head of the girls' Health Education Department. She said that just couldn't be done.

Q. Are the girls able to go out at all or is it just a question of running track?

The girls are only allowed to go out in the very, very early part of the term, at the beginning of September, and then again in June, which comes to a total of about three weeks. When the boys go out—they go out all the time, except, you know, when the weather just doesn't permit.

Q. Do the boys and girls have the same equipment in their gym classes?

The only equipment in my years of gym in Jamaica High School, the only equipment I've ever seen is basketball and a volley ball. And the boys have ropes. They have pegboards that they use for climbing. I don't know. I've never been in the boys' gym. I've only heard from friends, but I know the equipment that we use and it's not the same. . . . All I've ever seen is a basketball and a volley ball and a record player.

Q. What other programs in gym do you have? You play baseball?

We don't. We spend a lot of time—I think there are a few weeks that we are supposed to be playing baseball, but every time we keep learning over and over again, which leaves about two or three days left to actual game playing.

Q. You play volley ball?

Yes, we play volley ball also.

Q. And when you go outside, what sort of classes do you have?

We play this game. I don't know. It's called Ogre Take, where you just throw the ball and you run around.

Q. And you're running around a lot?

There is no equipment, though, and when I asked if we could play soccer, since I saw other—the boys' gym classes playing it and since I've played soccer on my own time, I was told that the boys use the fields and, you know, because of that we're not allowed to use them. Because they get priority. The teacher told me that.

Excerpts of testimony of Leslie Lubin, Jamaica High, Eleventh Grade

In the fall of my junior year I tried to get on the Honor Guard Squad.

Q. What happened at that time?

I had talked to a few of the boy gym teachers because they were the head of the Honor Guard and they told me that I could Guard because I was a girl.

The Court. What teachers did you talk to?

I had spoken to Mr. Malin and Mr. Baron about it.

Q. Is the Honor Guard the same Honor Guard that Marcy Silverman testified to earlier this morning?

Yes, it is.

Q. Is that an alternate to gym, a credit course alternate to gym?

Yes.

Q. Did you ever try again to be on the Honor Guard?

I had continued speaking to Mr. Malin about it and I managed to sway him to believe that he needed a girl on his squad.

Q. Why was that?

Because I had told him that it was not right to have boys guarding the girls' bathrooms. You needed a girl to go in there because otherwise a boy would have to interrupt a teagher's classroom to have a female teacher go into the bathroom to, you know, control what was going on in there.

Q. So at that point did he agree to let you be on the Honor Guard?

Yes.

Q. And how long did you serve on the Honor Guard?

For about four months.

Q. What happened at the end of that four-month period?

I was walking around the halls with my Honor Guard button on and it seems that Mr. Sugar, who is the principal, and Mr. Baron, who is the head of the boys' gym department, had seen me with the button on and they told Mr. Malin, who at the time was head of my squad, that he would have to fire me.

Q. Did Mr. Malin tell you that?

Yes.

Q. Did he fire you for that reason?

Yes.

Q. So that you're not now on the Honor Guard any longer?

No.

Excerpts of testimony of Pamela Charney, Bronx High School of Science, Twelfth Grade.

Q. Approximately how many girls are there in your school?

There are 3,600 students, and it's—well, they say there is—no one ever tells you anything about admissions being different, but if you look at the old yearbooks, it's approximately two-thirds male and one-third female.

Excerpt of testimony of Susan Horowitz, Bronx High School of Science, Eleventh Grade.

Q. Have you ever attempted to participate in the Stage Squad program at Bronx Science?

Yes. I originally wished to join the Stage Squad in the beginning of my sophomore year, and I went—there was an ad in the Daily Bulletin, which is posted every day in the home room, which advertises extracurricular openings, and there was an ad for interested boys to join the Stage Squad.

Q. Is that what the ad said, interested boys?

Yes, interested boys to join the Stage Squad, please come to such-and-such room. And I wanted to be on the squad so I went, and the advisor of the Stage Squad, Mr. Schlessel . . . He said that the work only involved moving around heavy chairs and things like that and that I couldn't do that.

Q. Do you receive any sort of credit if you serve on the Stage Squad?

Yes. You get service credit, which is credited towards your credit total, which is used if you want to join Arista.

Q. What is Arista?

It's an honor society. It looks good on your record. It helps you get into college and things like that.

Q. After you were not permitted to join that Stage Squad in your sophomore year, what did you do then?

I sort of forget about about it. I just assumed that I couldn't join, and then after that I was attending the Women's Lib Club, and we were discussing things, like Stage Club and the Prince—

Q. Excuse me. The Women's Lib Club, is this a club in the school?

Yes. It's a school-sanctioned club. And we discussed things that were in the school that were not open to women, such as the Stage Squad and the Prince Squad and the Audio Visual Squad. . . .

In April 1970, the Board of Education decided not to list Brooklyn Technical High School as a "boys" school in the catalogue, THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS. This seems to have been a weak decision to admit women to the school even though the change was not adequately announced and the Board's OFFICIAL DIRECTORY continues to call Brooklyn Technical a "boys" school. Out of 5,200 students in September 1970, this "coeducational" school boasted 2 women students. As late as October 1970, the following letter was sent:

William H. Car Junior High School, Hyman Birnbaum, Principal:

OCTOBER 1970.

*To Parents of 8th Grade and 8SP Boys:*

DEAR PARENTS: New York City offers to qualified boys of the eighth grade the privilege of applying for admission to *Brooklyn* Technical High School. This school offers a special program of work geared towards the student who desires to concentrate in the field of engineering, architecture, or applied science, in the future.

Applicants to the school must successfully pass the entrance examination. This exam is given in January and the closing date for the receipt of applications will be Dec. 4, 1970. No child will be permitted to take the exam. unless he meets the minimum requirements set by the school.

In order to answer any questions that may arise concerning this school, Junior High School 194 will hold a discussion group with the parents and guardians of pupils who are eligible to apply and who are interested in having their sons attend.

I shall meet with these parents on Monday, Oct. 19, 1970, in the auditorium of J.H.S. 194 (17th. Ave. and 157th. St.) at one-thirty P.M.

Please keep the following points in mind:

(a) The Board of Education feels that it is unwise for a student to attend a high school that requires more than two hours of travel time per day. (One hour to and one hour from school).

(b) Students who are in the first year of the two-year SP program are not eligible for the above school at this time. They may apply when they are in the second year of this program.

Very truly yours,

BERNARD M. SILVER.

## HIS: VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL COURSES FOR BOYS

Architectural Drafting & Building Construction* (Technical).
Automatic Heating Mechanics*.
Automation Instrumentation* (Technical).
Automotive Mechanics*.
Auto Body & Fender Repair.
Automotive Machine Work.
Gas Station Operation.
Aviation Mechanics*.
Business Education:
Accounting (Bookkeeping & Business Practice).
Computer Data Processing.
Distributive Education (Merchandising & Sales).
Office Machine Operating.
Recordkeeping & Clerical Practice.
Stenograph & Typewriting.
Clock & Watch Mechanics.
Commercial Art*:
Advertising Art.
Architectural & Building Design.
Cartooning.
Ceramics.
Costume Design & Illustration.
Fashion Illustration (Technical).
Illustration.
Industrial Design.
Modeling (Sculpture).
Photography
Sculpture & Stone Carving.
Window Display.
Commercial Photography.
Commercial & Domestic Refrigeration.
Cosmetology* (Beauty Culture).
Dental Laboratory Processing.
Electrical Installation & Practice*.
Electricity* (Technical).
Electronics* (Technical).
Equipment Repair Technology*.
Fashion Industries*:
Fashion Merchandising.
Fur Garment Manufacturing.
Garment Machine Operation.
Men's Clothing Manufacturing.
Patternmaking Design.
Floristry.
Food Trades*:
Baking.
Cooking and Catering.
Meat Merchandising.
Foundary Work.
Hairdressing.
Industrial Chemistry* (Technical).
Instrument Technology* (Technical)
Jewelry Making.
Machine Shop Practice*.
Maritime Trades.
Mechanical Design & Construction* (Technical).
Optical Mechanics.
Plumbing.
Printing Trades*:
Book & Job Makeup.
Bookbinding.
Graphic Arts.
Hand Typsetting.
Ludlow Typesetting.
Machine Typesetting.
Offset Presswork.
Presswork.
Printing & Presswork.
Stonework (Printing).
Radio & TV Mechanics*.
Sheetmetal work.
Theatre Arts.
Upholstery.
Woodworking Trades:
Residential Carpentry.
Cabinetmaking.
Woodturning & Patternmaking.

("Vocational and Technical Courses for Boys" as printed above and "Vocational and Technical Courses for Girls" on the following page are the complete listings given in the Public High Schools, New York City, 1970–1971, A Guide for Pupils and Parents, released by the Board of Education of the City of New York, pp. 18–26.)

*Entrance examination required for admission.

## HERS: VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL COURSES FOR GIRLS

Business Education:
Accounting (Bookkeeping & Business Practice).
Computer Data Processing.
Distributive Education (Merchandising & Sales).
Electric Data Processing.
Office Machine Operating.
Recordkeeping & Clerical Practice.
Stenography & Typewriting.
Commercial Art*.
Advertising Art.
Architectural & Industrial Design.
Cartooning.
Ceramics.
Costume Design & Illustration.
Fashion Illustration.
Illustration.
Industrial Design.
Modeling (Sculpture).
Photography.
Sculpture & Stone Carving.
Window Display.
Commercial photograph.
Cosmetology* (Beauty Culture).
Dental Office Assisting*.
Fashion industries:
Garment Machine Operating.
Special Garment Machine Operating.
Trade Dressmaking.
Trade Millinery.
Women's & Children's Garment Operating.
Floristry.
Interior Design.
Health Careers (Medical Office Assisting).
Practical Nursing.
Pre-Registered Nursing.
Theatre Arts.

*Entrance examination required for admission.

"A woman needs what will make her a queen of the household and of society, while man needs what will fit him for the harder, sterner duties of life, to which ladies should never be driven except in cases of exigency.

"She cannot afford to risk her health in acquiring a knowledge of the advanced sciences, mathematics, or philosophy for which she has no use. . . . Too many women have already made themselves permanent invalids by an overstrain of study at schools and colleges."—editors of a student newspaper, Agricultural College of Pennsylvania, 1889.

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[From the New York Times, Mar. 14, 1971]

## BROOKLYN HIGH SCHOOL BLENDS CLASS WORK AND JOBS

(By Eleanor Blau)

Running into a truant officer on the street one day hardly seemed like good luck to Alexander Jennings. But the officer asked him a strange question:

Would he like to go to high school every other week instead of every day?

Young Jennings was being invited to participate in an experimental program at Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn's East New York section, in which boys alternate between attending classes and working in junior high school cafeterias.

The qualifications are serious truancy and almost total scholastic failure. The program represents a final attempt to keep the boys in school until they graduate.

"This is the first time these kids feel there's someone interested in them," explained Mrs. Dorothy Laufer, coordinator of the two-and-a-half-year-old program.

Many of the students in the program have arrest records. Some have been thrown out of their homes and are living in youth shelters. When they suddenly are offered a job as well as an opportunity to graduate, it is as if someone told them, for the first time, "I have faith in you," Mrs. Laufer reported.

One boy in the program remarked recently: "I felt like something great. I had money in my pocket that I didn't steal. I even gave my mother some."

Alexander Jennings, who is now 17 years old, joined the program nearly two years ago. He started going to high school as well, and he expects to be graduated next January.

Recalling his life before meeting the truant officer—"I used to mess around, stay home all the time, sleep"—he said; "I don't know where I woud have been now."

Young Jennings and most of the 67 other students in the program work six hours a day and *earn $2.31 an hour. They clean tables, wash dishes, sweep floors and sometimes help cook.*

For satisfactory work performance, they receive school credit equivalent to a major subject. After a year, they may receive a Civil Service job.

During the weeks in which they go to class, the boys attend double periods of English, history and science or mathematics, in a school day that lasts from 7:25 A.M. to noon.

They are not required to take minor subjects, such as art or music, although these will be required before graduation.

A few of the youths are not yet employed because there are not enough cafeteria jobs available, so they have been attending the special classes every week. *Girls do not participate in the program because the cafeteria work is not considered suitable for them,* Mrs. Laufer said.

The general work and study concept is not new. Under the Cooperative Education Program, which was begun in 1915, some 7,000 high school juniors and seniors in the city are gaining experience in jobs related to their school studies.

But the Thomas Jefferson program does not require related employment, Mrs. Laufer said. The value of the job experience is psychological, not practical.

Mrs. Laufer said the success of the program had amazed even its sponsors. Most of the students, who formerly rarely went to class at all have nearly perfect attendance records. Students who formerly failed every subject now are passing three, four or even five. And few are dropping out.

Last year, 47 of 58 who registered remained in the program. During the term just ended, 61 of 65 remained.

Mrs. Rene Sherline, director of the Bureau of Cooperative Education, who helped set up the program, attributes the success in part to the warm personality of Mrs. Laufer.

As a youth parole worker remarked in a letter to Mrs. Sherline, the boys feel that in Mrs. Laufer they have "someone concerned about, rather than outraged at, their behavior and progress."

Another reason for the program's success, Mrs. Sherline said, is that some students "learn better outside the environment of the school." Somehow, the work experience makes classes more important to them.

It is hoped, Mrs. Sherline said that the boys will start thinking about what subjects they ought to study to get a better job after they are graduated.

Fred Grant, who is 17, wants to go to college and then get a job that involves traveling.

Alfonso Williams, also 17, has not made up his mind yet as to what kind of work he would like to do. But, he added: "I know, for one thing, I don't want to be a bum. I want to have some clothes and stuff."

Does he find school more interesting in the experimental program?

"I wouldn't say that," Alfonso replied. "But the teachers, they help you out more. And it's better than going to school every day."

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## WOMEN IN U.S. HISTORY HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

(By Janice Law Trecker)

"Should the Ku Klux Klan receive reams of documentary material [in textbooks] and woman suffrage none? . . . Is Henry Demarest Lloyd more important than Carrie Chapman Catt? Are the lengths of skirts significant enough to dwarf other information about women?" These and other questions are asked—and answered—by Janice Law Trecker, who has taught English at L. P. Wilson Junior High School in Windsor, Connecticut, and reviewed films for the West Hartford News. Her analysis is a share protest against treating women as "supplementary material."

Early in our history, enterprising groups of English gentlemen attempted to found all-male colonies. The attempts were failures, but the idea of a society without women appears to have held extraordinary appeal for the descendants of those early colonists. Throughout our history, groups of intrepid males have struck off into the wilderness to live in bachelor colonies free from civilization and domesticity.

The closing of the frontier and the presence, even from the earliest days, of equally intrepid females ended these dreams of masculine tranquility. Yet, the hopeful colonists may have had their revenge. If women have had their share in every stage of our history, exactly what they did and who they were remains obscure. Ask most high school students who Jane Addams, Ida Tarbell, or Susan

B. Anthony were, and you may get an answer. Ask about Margaret Sanger, Abigail Duniway, or Margaret Brent, and you will probably get puzzled looks. Sojourner Truth, Frances Wright, Anna Howard Shaw, Emma Willard, Mary Bickerdyke, Maria Mitchell, Prudence Crandall, and scores of others sound like answers from some historian's version of Trivia.

Interest in the fate of obscure Americans may seem an esoteric pursuit, but this is not the case. History, despite its enviable reputation for presenting the important facts about our past, is influenced by considerations other than the simple love of truth. It is an instrument of the greatest social utility, and the story of our past is a potent means of transmitting cultural images and stereoypes. One can scarcely doubt the impact of history upon the young in the face of recent minority groups' agitation for more of "their history."

Minority groups are perhaps not the only ones with a complaint against the historians and the schools, nor are they the only ones to show the effects of stereotypes. Consider the most recent reports of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. According to the 1968 report of the Commission, American Women, in the fall of 1968 only 40% of entering college freshmen were women. The lag in female participation in higher education is even more noticeable at the graduate level. Statistics from the Commission's 1968 report indicated that women earned only 1 in 3 of the B.A. degrees and M.A. degrees granted and only 1 in 10 of the doctorates. It is seldom noted that this represents a percentage decline from the 1930's when women received 2 in 5 B.A. degrees and M.A. degrees, and 1 in 7 Ph.D. degrees. The loss of potential talent this represents is clear from the Commission's information that among the top 10% of our high school seniors, there are twice as many girls as boys with no college plans.

Able girls are not entering science and mathematics in any great number, and, according to the Conant Report, they fail to take courses and programs commensurate with their abilities. There seems to be a clear need for an examination of the factors which permit the loss of considerable amounts of female talent.

The Education Committee of the President's Commission on the Status of Women was concerned about this loss, noting that: Low aspirations of girls are the result of complex and subtle forces. They are expressed in many ways—even high achievement—but accompanied by docility, passivity, or apathy. The high motivation found in the early school years often fades into a loss of commitment and interest, other than in the prospect of early marriage.

The Committee found some of the reasons for this loss of motivation are the stereotypes of women in our culture and in the lingering ideas of female inferiority.

Educators should be aware that the school is one of the means by which the stereotypes of women and their capacities are transmitted. As one of the main cultural forces in the society, the school shares a responsibility for the diminished aspirations of its female students. Looking at the position of women in our society, one would have to be very sanguine to say that the education of American girls needs no improvement. Something is wrong when women are concentrated in a relatively few, lower-paid positions; when there are few women represented in the upper levels of government and industry; and when the symptoms of discontent and frustration are all too clearly manifesting themselves among militant young women.

Something is indeed wrong, and educators should begin a rigorous investigation of their programs and practices in order to discover if they are reinforcing the cultural pressures which discourage talented girls.

### ANALYSIS OF HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

A reasonable place to start, considering the admitted obscurity of most women in American history, is the United States history text. Are the stereotypes which limit girls' aspirations present in high school history texts?

The answer is *yes*. Despite some promising attempts to supplement the scant amount of information devoted to women in American history texts, most works are marred by sins of omission and commission. Texts omit many women of importance, while simultaneously minimizing the legal, social, and cultural disabilities which they faced. The authors tend to depict women in a passive role and to stress that their lives are determined by economic and political trends. Women are rarely shown fighting for anything; their rights have been "given" to them.

reform movements, abolition, labor— as in which there were articulate and discussion. For example, while only a few women could possibly be included in discussions of diplomacy or military tactics, the omission of dance, film, and theater in discussions of intellectual and cultural life assures the omission of many of America's most creative individuals.

Women's true position in society is shown in more subtle ways as well. While every text examined included some mention of the "high position" enjoyed by American women, this is little more than a disclaimer. Whenever possible, authors select male leaders, and quote from male spokesmen. Even in discussions of reform movements, abolition, labor—areas in which there were articulate and able women leaders—only men are ever quoted. Even such topics as the life of frontier women is told through the reminiscences of men. When they are included, profiles and capsule biographies of women are often introduced in separate sections, apart from the body of the text. While this may simply be a consequence of attempts to update the text without resetting the book, it tends to reinforce the idea that women of note are, after all, optional and supplementary. Interestingly enough, the increase in the amount of space devoted to Black history has not made room for the black woman. In these texts Black history follows the white pattern, and minimizes or omits the achievements of the black woman. Like the white woman, she is either omitted outright, or is minimized by the topics selected.

These assertions are based upon the examination of over a dozen of the most popular United States history textbooks. Most were first copyrighted in the sixties, although several hold copyrights as far back as the early fifties, and one text is copyrighted back to 1937. Included are the following:

Baldwin, Leland D. and Warring, Mary. History of Our Republic. Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1965.

Bragdon, Henry W. and McCutchen, Samuel P. History of a Free People. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1965.

Brown, Richard C.; Lang, William C.; and Wheeler, Mary A. The American Achievement. New Jersey, Silver Burdett Company, 1966.

Canfield, Leon H. and Wilder, Howard B. The Making of Modern America. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964.

Frost, James A.; Brown, Ralph Adams; Ellis, David M.; and Fink, William B. A History of the United States. Chicago, Follett Educational Corporation, 1968.

Graff, Henry F. and Krout, John A. The Adventure of the American People, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1959.

Hofstadter, Richard; Miller, William; and Aaron, Daniel. The United States—The History of a Republic. Englewood Cliffs. Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957.

Kownslar, Allan O. and Frizzle, Donald B. Discovering American History. 2 Vols., New York Holt. Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Noyes, N. M. and Harlow, Ralph Volney. Story of America. New York, Holdt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Todd, Lewis Paul and Curti, Merle. Rise of the American Nation .(1 Vol. & 2 Vol. editions) New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966. 2 Vol. edition includes selected readings.

Williams, T. Harry and Wolf, Hazel C. Our American Nation. Ohio, Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966.

### COLLECTIONS OF DOCUMENTS

Hofstader, Richard. Great Issues in American History, 2 Vols., New York, Vintage, 1958.

Meyers, Marvin: Kern, Alexander; and Carvelti, John G. Sources of the American Republic. 2 Vols., Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Company, 1961.

All entries indexed under "Women" were examined and various other sections and topics where information about women might reasonably be expected were examined. Particular attention was paid to women in colonial and revolutionary times, education, the women's right movement and suffrage, reform movements, abolition, the Civil War, labor, frontier life, the World Wars, family patterns, the present position of women, and all sections on intellectual and cultural trends. The resulting picture is a depressing one.

Based on the information in these commonly-used high school texts, one might summarize the history and contributions of the American woman as follows: Women arrived in 1619 (a curious choice if meant to be their first acquaintance with the new world). They held the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Rights in 1848. During the rest of the nineteenth century, they participated in reform movements, chiefly temperance, and were exploited in factories. In 1923 they were given the vote. They joined the armed forces for the first time during the second World War and thereafter have enjoyed the good life in America Add the names of the women who are invariably mentioned: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, Dorothea Dix, and Frances Perkins, with perhaps Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and, almost as frequently, Carry Nation, and you have the basic "text." There are variations, of course, and most texts have adequate sections of information on one topic perhaps two, but close examination of the information presented reveals a curious pattern of inclusions and neglects, a pattern which presents the stereotyped picture of the American woman—passive, incapable of sustained organization or work, satisfied with her role in society, and well supplied with material blessings.

### *1. Revolutionary and early Federal periods*

There is little information available in most texts concerning the colonial woman, or on her daughters and granddaughters in the revolutionary and early federal periods. The amount of information ranges from one textbook's two paragraphs on women's legal and social position to another textbook's total absence of anything even remotely pertaining to women during the early years of American history. Most texts fall in between. Some attention is commonly paid to the legal disabilities inherited from English law, although one textbook limits itself to "tobacco brides" and a note about William Penn's wife. Usually, little is said about the consequences of the social, political, and legal disabilities of the colonial woman, although the sharp limitations of the nineteenth century and the exploitation of the working-class women in the early industrial age were a direct result of woman's lack of political influence and her gradual exclusion from "professional" and skilled jobs. The texts are especially sensitive to the problem of religious and clerical prejudices against women. The long opposition of most American religious groups to women's right is almost never suggested.

The perfunctory notice taken of women's education in the early period is discussed below. It should be noted, however, that few texts take any note of sectional differences in women's education or in other aspects of the position of women.

Although a number of texts mention the high regard in which the colonial woman was held, few are named and only one gives much information about the amount of work done outside the home by colonial women. Women mentioned are Pocahontas and Anne Hutchinson. Sections on Pocahontas tend to favor discussion of such questions as "Did Pocahontas really save John Smith?", rather than on any information about her life or the lives of other Indian women. Anne Hutchinson is almost always subordinated to Roger Williams. In one book, for example, she is described as another exile from Massachusetts. In more generous texts, she may receive as much as a short paragraph.

In general, the treatment of the early periods in American history stresses the fact that the America of the colonies, and early republic, was a "man's world." The authors wax eloquent over the "new breed of men." Any doubt that this might be merely linguistic convention is soon removed. The colonial farmer is credited with producing his own food, flax, and wool, in addition to preparing lumber for his buildings and leather goods for himself and his family. What the colonial farmer's wife (or the female colonial farmer) was doing all this time is not revealed, although plenty of information exists. Such passages also convey the unmistakable impression that all the early planters, farmers, and proprietors were male.

Education is important in consideration of the position of women because, as Julia Cherry Spruill points out in *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, lack of opportunities for education finally ended women's employment in a variety of areas as technology and science made into "professions" of such occupations as medicine. In the early days, women, despite stringent legal restrictions, participated in almost all activities save government, the ministry of most religions, and law (although the number who sued and brought court cases is notable).

Usually, if any notice at all is taken of the education of girls and women, it is limited to a bland note that ". . . girls were not admitted to college" or "Most Americans thought it unnecessary or even dangerous to educate women." These statements are presented without explanation. A mention of the existence of the dame schools completes the information on women and education.

After the colonial-revolutionary period, it is rare for more than one paragraph to be devoted to the entire development of education for women. Often, none of the early educators are mentioned by name. The facts that women literally fought their way into colleges and universities, that their admission followed agitation by determined would-be students, and that they were treated as subservient to male students even as such pioneering institutions as Oberlin, are always absent. The simple statement that they were admitted suffices.

### *2. Sections on rights and reforms*

The most information about women appears in two sections, those on women's rights and suffrage and general sections on reform. Yet a full page on suffrage and women's rights is a rarity and most texts give the whole movement approximately three paragraphs. The better texts include something on the legal disabilities which persisted into the nineteenth century. These sections are sometimes good, but always brief. Most of them end their consideration of the legal position of women with the granting of suffrage, and there is no discussion of the implications of the recent Civil Rights legislation which removed some of the inequities in employment, nor is there more than a hint that inequities remained even after the nineteenth amendment was passed.

Leaders most commonly noted are Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott. Aside from passage of the nineteenth amendment, the only event noted is the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848. Even less space is devoted to the later suffrage movement. Anna Howard Shaw is seldom mentioned and even Carrie Chapman Catt is not assured of a place. The western leaders like Abigail Duniway are usually absent as are the more radical and militant suffragettes, the members of the Women's Party. Alice Paul, leader of the militants, is apparently anathema.

This is perhaps not too surprising, as the tendency in most texts is to concentrate on the handicaps women faced and to minimize their efforts in their own behalf. One textbook, which dutifully lists Seneca Falls, Stanton, Mott, Wright, Anthony, Stone, and Bloomer, tells very little about what they did noting "the demand for the right to vote made little headway, but the states gradually began to grant them more legal rights." The text mentions that by 1900 most discriminatory legislation was off the books and describes the post Civil War work of the movement in these terms: "the women's rights movement continued under the leadership of the same group as before the war and met with considerable success." Later two lines on suffrage and a picture of a group of suffragettes complete the story. Lest this be considered the most glaring example of neglect, another textbook devotes two lines, one in each volume, to suffrage, mentioning in volume one that women were denied the right to vote and returning to the topic in volume two with one line on the nineteenth amendment in the middle of a synopsis of the twenties. This book actually includes more information on the lengths of women's skirts than on all the agitation for civil and political rights for women.

Other texts show a similar lack of enthusiasm for the hundred years of work that went into the ninteenth amendment. One places woman suffrage fifth in a section on the effects of the progressive movement. Catt, Anthony, and Stanton are mentioned in a line or two, while whole columns of text are devoted to Henry Demarest Lloyd and Henry George.

At times there appears to be a very curious sense of priorities at work even in textbooks which give commendable amounts of information. One book uses up a whole column on the Gibson Girl, describing her as:

"Completely feminine, and it was clear that she could not, or would not, defeat her male companion at golf or tennis. In the event of a motoring emergency, she would quickly call upon his superior knowledge. . . ."

The passage goes on to point out that this "transitional figure" was politically uninformed and devoted to her traditional role. One would almost prefer to learn a little more about the lives of those other "transitional figures," the feminists, yet there is almost no mention of their lives, their work, or their writings.

Only one text quotes any of the women's rights workers. It includes a short paragraph from the declaration of the Seneca Falls Convention. The absence in other texts of quotes and of documentary material is all the more striking, since a number of the leaders were known as fine orators and propagandists. Books of source materials, and inquiry method texts, are no exception; none of those examined considers woman suffrage worthy of a single document. One book is exceptional in including one selection, by Margaret Fuller, on the topic of women's rights.

The reformers and abolitionists are slightly more fortunate than the feminists. Three women are almost certain of appearing in history texts, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Addams, and Dorothea Dix. Addams and Stowe are among the few women quoted in either source books or regular texts and, along with the muckraking journalist Ida Tarbell, they are the only women whose writings are regularly excerpted. Addams and Dix are usually given at least one complete paragraph, perhaps more. These are sometimes admirably informative as in certain sections on Dix. Other reformers, including the women abolitionists, both white and black, are less fortunate. The pioneering Grimke sisters may rate a line or two, but just as often their only recognition comes because Angelina eventually became Mrs. Theodore Weld. None of the female abolitionists, despite their contemporary reputations as speakers, is ever quoted. Interest in Black history has not made room for more than the briefest mention of Harriet Tubman, whose Civil War services are deleted. Sojourner Truth and the other black lecturers, educators, and abolitionists are completely absent. The texts make little comment about the nineteenth century's intense disapproval of women who spoke in public, or of the churches' opposition (excepting always the Quakers, from whose faith many of the early abolitionists came).

Women journalists are given even less notice than the early lecturers. The women who ran or contributed to newspapers, periodicals, or specialized journals and papers for abolition, women's rights, or general reform are rarely included.

The reform sections of these high school texts frequently show the same kind of capriciousness that in sections on the twenties assigns more space to the flapper than to the suffragette. In discussions on reform movements, they give more prominence to Carry Nation than to other more serious, not to say more stable, reformers. The treatment of temperance is further marred by a failure to put women's espousal of temperance in perspective. Little stress is placed on the consequences for the family of an alcoholic in the days when divorce was rare, when custody of children went to their father, and when working women were despised. Nor is there much mention of the seriousness of the problem of alcoholism, particularly in the post-Civil war period.

*3. Neglected areas*

The most glaring omission, considering its impact on women and on society, is the absence of a single word on the development of birth control and the story of the fight for its acceptance by Margaret Sanger and a group of courageous physicians. The authors' almost Victorian delicacy in the face of the matter probably stems from the fact that birth control is still controversial. Yet fear of controversy does not seem a satisfactory excuse. The population explosion, poverty, illegitimacy—all are major problems today. Birth control is inextricably tied up with them as well as with disease, abortion, child abuse, and family problems of every kind. Considering the revolution in the lives of women which safe methods of contraception have caused, and the social, cultural, and political implications of that revolution, it appears that one important fact of the reform movement is being neglected.

A second, largely neglected area is the whole question of woman's work and her part in the early labor movement. Although the American woman and her children were the mainstays of many of the early industries, for a variety of social and political reasons she received low wages and status and was virtually cut off from any hopes of advancement. The educational limitations that gradually forced her out of a number of occupations which she had held in preindustrial days combined with prejudice to keep her in the lowest paid work. Whether single, married, or widowed, whether she worked for "pin money" or to support six children, she received about half as much as a man doing the same or comparable work.

Obviously under these conditions, women had exceptional difficulties in organizing. Among them were the dual burden of household responsibilities and work, their lack of funds, and in some cases their lack of control over their own earnings, and the opposition of male workers and of most of the unions.

Despite these special circumstances, very little attention is paid to the plight of the woman worker or of her admittedly unstable labor organizations. Information on the early labor leaders is especially scanty; one textbook is unique with its biographical information on Rose Schneiderman. On the whole, the labor story is limited to the introduction of women workers into the textile mills in the 1840's. As a caption in one book so concisely puts it, "Women and children, more manageable, replaced men at the machines." Others note the extremely low pay of women and children, one text calling women "among the most exploited workers in America." Anything like a complete discussion of the factors which led to these conditions, or even a clear picture of what is meant to be "among the most exploited," is not found in the texts.

Several things about women and labor are included. Lowell mills receive a short, usually complimentary, description. The fact that the Knights of Labor admitted women is presented. There then follows a hiatus until minimum wage and maximum hour standards for women workers are discussed. The modern implications of this "protective legislation" is an area seldom explored.

Despite the fact that abundant source material exists, the sections on labor follow the familiar pattern: little space is devoted to women workers, few women are mentioned by name, and fewer still are quoted. Most texts content themselves with no more than three entries of a few lines each.

The absence of information on the lives of women on the frontier farms and settlements is less surprising. In the treatment of pioneer settlements from the colonial era on, most texts declare the frontier "a man's world." This is emphasized by the importance the authors place on descriptions and histories of such masculine tools as the Pennsylvania rifle and the ax, the six-shooter, and the prairie-breaker plow. One textbook is perhaps the most enthralled with these instruments, devoting five pages to the story of the six-shooter. Scarcely five lines is spent on the life of the frontier woman in this text, and most other works are also reticent about the pioneer woman.

Only "man's work" on the frontier is really considered worthy of description. This is particularly puzzling, since there was little distinction in employment, and marriage was a partnership with lots of hard work done by each of the partners. On pioneer farms, typical "woman's work" included, in addition to all the housework, the care of poultry; the dairy—including milking, feeding, tending to the cows, and making butter and cheese; the care of any other barnyard animals; the "kitchen" or vegetable garden; and such chores as sewing, mending, making candles and soap, feeding the hired hands, and working in the fields if necessary.

Considering these chores, it is hard to see why discussions of pioneer farming content themselves with descriptions of the farmer's struggles to plow, plant, and harvest. The treatments of the frontier period also omit mention of the women who homesteaded and claimed property without the help of a male partner. According to Robert W. Smuts in *Women and Work in America*, there were thousands of such women. Information about the women on the frontier tends either to short descriptions of the miseries of life on the great plains frequently quoted from Hamlin Garland or to unspecific encomiums on the virtues of the pioneer woman. One text states:

> [The women] turned the wilderness into homesteads, planted flowers and put curtains in the windows. It was usually the mothers and school teachers who transmitted to the next generation the heritage of the past.

The relationship between women's exertions on the frontier and their enlarged civil and political liberties in the Western states and territories is often noticed. Their agitation for these increased privileges is generally unmentioned.

With little said about women's life in general, it is not surprising that few are mentioned by name. Sacajawea, the Indian guide and interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, shares with Dix, Stowe, and Addams, one of the few solid positions in United States history texts. Occasionally the early missionaries to Oregon territory, like Nerissa Whitman and Eliza Spaulding, are included and one book even adds a "profile" of Nerissa Whitman. Most however, only mention the male missionaries, or include the fact that they arrived with their wives.

### *4. Civil War period*

Like the frontier experience, the Civil War forced women from all social strata into new tasks and occupations. In *Bonnet Brigades*, a volume in the *Impact of the Civil War Series*, Mary Elizabeth Massey quotes Clara Barton's remark that the war advanced the position of women by some fifty years. Great numbers of women dislocated by the war were forced into paid employment. The war saw the entry of women into government service, into nursing, and into the multitude of organizations designed to raise money and supplies for the armies, to make clothing, blankets, and bandages. The result of this activity was not only to force individual women outside of their accustomed roles, but to provide the experience in organization which was to prove valuable for later suffrage and refrom movements. The war helped a number of women escape from the ideas of gentility which were robbing women in the East of much of their traditional social freedom, and brought women of all classes into the "man's world." In addition to the few women who served as soldiers, women appeared in the camps as nurses, cooks, laundresses, adventurers; they served in the field as spies, scouts, saboteurs, and guides; they worked in the capitals as the "government girls"—the first female clerks, bookkeepers, and secretaries. Women opened hospitals, set up canteens, and developed the first primitive forms of what we know as USO clubs and services. After the war, they served as pension claims agents, worked to rehabilitate soldiers, taught in the freedman's schools, entered refugee work, or tried to find missing soldiers and soldiers' graves.

Of all these activities, women's entry into nursing is the only one regularly noticed in the texts. The impact of the war upon women, and upon the family structure, is barely mentioned, although a few texts include a paragraph or two on the hardships which women faced during the conflict. The only women mentioned by name are Clara Barton and Dorothea Dix, who held the position of superintendent of women nurses. Other women, like Mary Bickerdyke, who was known both for her efforts during the war and for her work for needy veterans afterwards, are omitted. No other women, black or white, are named, nor is there any information on the variety of jobs they held. The special problems of black women in the post-war period rarely get more than a line, and the efforts by black women to set up schools and self-help agencies are omitted.

*5. The two World Wars*

While women in the Civil War era received little attention, even less is given to them during the two World Wars. In both cases, their wartime service is glowingly praised, but few details are presented. At least half of the texts examined make no note at all of women's wartime activities during the first World War; in a number of others, the story of women's entry into what were formerly labeled "men's jobs" is dealt with in a captioned picture.

As far as social changes between the wars, a number of texts devote several paragraphs to the "liberation of women" and to their changing status. In one textbook there are four paragraphs devoted to these liberated ladies—the only two mentioned being Irene Castle and Alice Roosevelt. Like other texts, this one devotes a considerable amount of space to fashions and flappers and to the social alarm which they occasioned.

There is little about the later stages of the rights' movement, although two textbooks note the relationship between women's wartime service and the increasing willingness of the nation to grant rights and privileges to women. One limits itself to three sentences, noting women's work "in factories and fields" and their efforts behind the lines overseas. "Women's reward for war service was the Nineteenth Amendment which granted them the franchise on the eve of the 1920 election." Readers might wish for greater elaboration.

The period from the depression to the present day receives the same laconic treatment in the texts. The one women sure of notice in this period is Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor. She receive at least a line in most texts and some devote special sections to her. Frances Perkins appears to be "showcase" women, for no other American woman is regularly mentioned—this includes Eleanor Roosevelt, who is omitted from a surprising number of texts and who is mentioned as Roosevelt's wife in quite a few more.

The World War II era marked the beginning of the Women's Military Corps. This fact is invariably mentioned, usually with a captioned picture as an accompaniment. As in World War I, women entered factories, munitions plants, and "men's job" in great numbers. This development rarely gets more than a paragraph and the differences between the experience in World War I and the longer exposure to new jobs in World War II are seldom elucidated. The impact of the war on women and specific information about the variety of jobs they held is sketchy or nonexistent.

Information on women in the post-war era and in the present day is hardly more abundant. The history texts definitely give the impression that the passage of the nineteenth amendment solved all the problems created by the traditional social, legal, and political position of women. Contemporary information on discrimination is conspicuously absent. The texts are silent on current legal challenges to such practices as discriminatory hiring and promotion and companies' failures to comply with equal pay legislation. They do not take account of agitation to change laws and customs which weigh more heavily on women than on men. There is nothing about recent changes in jury selection, hitherto biased against women jurors, or reform of discriminatory practices in criminal sentences; there is no information on the complex problems of equitable divorce and guardiansh[illegible] nor on the tangled problem of separate domicile for married women.

A number of texts do, however, provide good information on changes in the structure of the family, or provide helpful information on general social and political changes. The impression, insofar as these sections deal directly with American women is a rosy picture of the affluence and opportunities enjoyed by women. Many books note the increasing numbers of women employed in the learned professions, but never the percentage decline in their numbers. While women undoubtedly enjoy more rights, opportunities, and freedoms than in many previous eras, the texts give an excessively complacent picture of a complex and rapidly changing set of social conditions.

### *6. Intellectual and cultural achievements*

A final glimpse of the position of the American woman may be gained from sections dealing with intellectual and cultural trends and achievements. Since most texts extol the role of women in preserving culture and in supporting the arts, one might expect women to be well-represented in discussions of the arts in America. A number of factors, however, operate against the inclusion of creative women. The first, and one which deprives creative men of notice as well, is the extreme superficiality of most of these discussions. Intellectual and cultural life in America is limited to the mention of a few novelists and poets, with an occasional musician or playwright. Only a few individuals in each category are ever mentioned, and the preference for male examples and spokesmen, noticeable in all other topics, is evident here as well. In individual texts, this leads to such glaring omissions as Emily Dickinson and Margaret Fuller. To be fair, the text guilty of ignoring Miss Dickinson appears to feel that John Greenleaf Whittier was one of our greatest poets, yet ignorance of American poetry is hardly an acceptable excuse.

Dickinson and Fuller, however, are among the small fortunate circle including Harriet Beecher Stowe, Willa Gather, and Margaret Mitchell who are usually named. The principles governing their selection and decreeing the omission of other writers like Edith Wharton, Ellen Glasgow, Eudora Welty, and Pearl Buck are never explained, Apparenty their presence or absence is determined by the same caprice which decrees Edna St. Vincent Millay the only modern female poet.

Only a handful of texts discuss painters and sculptors, but of those that do make some effort to include visual arts, only one reproduces a painting by Mary Cassatt. Georgia O'Keeffe is also represented in this text. Other texts, even when including Cassatt's fellow expatriates, Sargent and Whistler, omit her—an exclusion inexplicable on grounds of quality, popularity, or representation in American collections. Contemporary art is totally ignored and everything after the Ashcan School is left in limbo. This omits many painters of quality and influence, including the many women who have entered the arts in the twentieth century.

More serious than the sketchy treatment given to the arts covered by the texts is the omission of arts in which women were dominant or in which they played a major part. Dance is never given as much as a line. This leaves out the American ballerinas, and, even more important it neglects the development of modern dance—a development due to the talents of a handful of American women like Isadora Duncan, Martha Graham, and Ruth St. Denis.

There is a similar neglect of both stage and screen acting. If film or drama are to be mentioned at all, directors and writers will be noted. It hardy seems necessary to point out that acting is an area in which women have excelled.

Music sees a similar division with similar results. Composers and instrumentalists, chiefly men, are mentioned. Singers, men and women, are omitted. This particularly affects black women. Only one textbook mentions Marian Anderson and Leontyne Price. White classical singers are ignored as are the black women jazz singers.

If intellectual and cultural developments are limited to areas in which men were the dominant creative figures, it is obvious that American women will not receive credit for their contributions. It also seems clear that such superficial accounts of the arts are of questionable value.

## SUMMING UP

Although it is tempting to imagine some historical autocrat sternly decreeing who's in and who's out—giving space to Harriet Beecher Stowe but not to Marianne Moore; to Dorothea Dix but not Mary Bickerdyke; to Pocahontas but not Margaret Brent; to Susan B. Anthony but not Abigail Duniway—the omission of many significant women is probably not a sign of intentional bias. The treatment of women simply reflects the attitudes and prejudices of society. Male activities in our society are considered the more important; therefore male activities are given primacy in the texts. There is a definite image of women in our society, and women in history who conform to this image are more apt to be included. History reflects societal attitudes in all topics, hence the omission of potentially controversial persons like Margaret Sanger or that militant pioneer in civil disobedience, Alice Paul. Sensitivity to social pressure probably accounts for the very gentle notes about religious disapproval of women's full participation in community life and for omission of contemporary controversies, especially on sexual matters, which would offend religious sensibilities.

Another factor which affects the picture of women presented in these texts is the linguistic habit of using the made pronouns to refer both to men and to men and women. While this may seem a trivial matter it frequently leads to misunderstanding. Discussing the early colonists, for example, solely in terms of "he" and "his" leads to the implication that all early proprietors, settlers, planters, and farmers were men. Given the cultural orientation of our society, students will assume activities were only carried on by men unless there is specific mention of women.

To these observations, authors of high school texts might reasonably respond that their space is limited, that they seek out only the most significant material and the most influential events and individuals; that if dance is omitted, it is because more people read novels, and if such topics as the role of female missionaries or colonial politicals are neglected, it is for lack of space. One is less inclined to accept this view when one notices some of the old things which authors do manage to include. One feels like asking, "How important was Shays's Rebellion?" Should the Ku Klux Klan receive reams of documentary material and woman suffrage none? Do we want to read five pages on the six-shooter? Is two columns too much to give to Empress Carlotta of Mexico, who lived most of her life in insanity and obscurity? Is the aerialist who walked a tightrope across Niagara Falls a figure of even minor importance in American History? Is Henry Demarest Lloyd more important than Carrie Chapman Catt? Are the lengths of skirts significant enough to dwarf other information about women?

There are other questions as well: How accurate is the history text's view of women and what images of women does it present? The texts examined do very little more than reinforce the familiar stereotypes.

It should be clear, however, that changes in the construction of high-school-level history texts must go beyond the insertion of the names of prominent women and even beyond the "profiles" and "special sections" employed by the more liberal texts. Commendable and informative as these may be, they are only the beginning. Real change in the way history is presented will only come after those responsible for writing it, and for interpreting the finished product to students, develop an awareness of the bias against women in our culture, a bias so smooth, seamless, and pervasive, that it is hard to even begin to take hold of it and bring it into clear view. Until this awareness is developed, until the unquestioned dominance of male activities and the importance of male spokesmen and examples is realized, texts will continue to treat men's activities and goals as history, women's as "supplementary material."

One sees this quite clearly in the existence of sections dealing with women's rights, women's problems, and women's position, as if women's rights, problems, and position were not simply one half of the rights, problems, and position of humanity as a whole, and as if changes in women's position and work and attitudes were not complemented by changes in the position, work, and attitudes of men. A sense of the way the lives and duties and achievements of people of both sexes is intermeshed is needed in expositions of life in all periods of American history.

To do this it is clear that material hitherto omitted or minimized must be given more consideration. For example, information about mortality rates, family size, and economic conditions must be included, along with more information on the impact of technological change, on the mass media, and on moral and religious ideas. More information about how ordinary people lived and what they actually did must be included as well as information drawn from the ideas and theories of the educated classes.

This is not to deny that certain developments have had far more effect on women than on men, or that women's experience might be different from men's: for example, the early struggles to form unions. Nor is it to deny that more information on women leaders is needed and more space for their particular problems and achievements. More information on all aspects of women's life, work, and position—legal, social, religious, and political—is needed, but more information alone, no matter how necessary, will not really change histories. What is needed, besides more information, is a new attitude: one which breaks away from the bias of traditional views of women and their "place" and attempts to treat both women and men as partners in their society; one which does not automatically value activities by the sex performing them; and one which does not relate history from the viewpoint of only half of the human family.

(NOTE.—To this fine article we would only add that history books have ignored the long and yet unsuccessful struggle to pass the Equal Rights Amendment—Education Committee, NOW.)

### COLLECTED BIOGRAPHIES

A Bibliography of Girls and Women, which follows, was compiled by Eileen T. Nebel, librarian of Junior High School 7, in order to call the attention of the school's students and faculty to books about girls and women, other than romantic fiction and fashion magazines, and in hopes of encouraging girls to set meaningful goals for themselves beyond marriage and motherhood. The list excludes fiction and all works about women whose only historical significance is marriage to famous men. For example, a copy of *Wives of the Presidents* is not included. The list is selective in no other way. Works of high quality are included with those of decidedly lesser value.

The Board of Education occassionally issues bibliographies and resource manuals on specific subjects, such as Black Studies or Puerto Rican Studies. Librarians are encouraged to order heavily from these lists, and to give prominent display to the new materials. A year ago, Ms. Nebel requested a similar Bibliography on Women's Studies, but she has received no reply, and the Board of Education has still not issued such a bibliography or resource manual. We repeat her request. We also urge librarians to begin on their own to compile lists like Ms. Nebel's, to set up displays of materials about notable girls and women, to try not to order either books which present a negative or stereo-typed view of females, or career books which imply that certain careers are only suitable for one sex or the other, and finally, to be sure that both boys and girls have equal opportunity to become library monitors.

[Author and title]

Bolton, Lives of Girls Who Became Famous.
Borer, Women Who Made History.
Boynick, Pioneers in Petticoats.
Bookmaster, Women Who Shaped History.
Curtin, Gallery of Great Americans.
Daugherty, Ten Brave Women.
Dolin, Great American Heroines.
Fleming, Doctors in Petticoats.
Foley, Famous American Spies.
Gersh, Women Who Made America Great.
McNeer and Ward, Armed With Courage.
Miller, Westering Women.
Nathan, Women of Courage.
Ross, Heroines of the Early West.
Sickles, In Calico and Crinoline.
Sterling, Four Took Freedom.
Trease, The Queens of England.
Waite, Valiant Companions.
Waltrip, Indian Women.
Yost, American Women of Science.

### BIOGRAPHIES

*Person the book is about, title, and author*

Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House, Addams.
Jane Addams, Jane Addams, World Neighbor, Gilbert.
Jane Addams, City Neighbor, Judson.
Jane Addams, Jane Addams, Little Lame Girl, Wagoner.
Louisa, May Alcott, Louisa May Alcott, Papashvily.
Louisa May Alcott, Invincible Louisa, Meigs.
Marian Anderson, My Lord What a Morning, Anderson.
Marian Anderson, Marian Anderson : Lady from Philadelphia, Newman.
Jane Austin, Young Jane Austen, Sisson.
Gladys Aylward, Small Woman, Burgess.
Emily Barringer, First Woman Ambulance Surgeon, Noble.
Dr. Isabel Barrows, So Much in a Lifetime, Stern.
Clara Barton, Clara Barton, Pace.
Sarah Bernhardt, Great Lady of the Theatre, Noble.
Mary McLeod Bethune, She Wanted to Read, Carruth.
Mary McLeod Bethune, Mary McLeod Bethune, Peare.
Elizabeth Blackwell, First Woman Doctor, Baker.
Brontes (sisters), The Young Brontes, Bentley.
Brontes (sisters), The Young Brontes, Jarden.
Elizabeth Barrett Browning, How Do I Love Thee? Waite.
Pearl S. Buck, My Several Worlds, Buck.
Catherine the Great, Catherine the Great, Scherman.
Cleopatra, Cleopatra of Egypt, Hornblow.
Dixie Cline, Animal Doctor, McDonnell.
Prudence Crandall, Prudence Crandall, Woman of Courage, Yates.
Babe Didrikson, Babe Didrikson, Girl Athlete, De Grummond.
Amelia Earhart, Amelia Earhart Heroine of the Skies, Garst.
Queen Elizabeth I, The Young Elizabeth, Plaidy.
Queen Elizabeth I, Queen Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada, Winwar.
Princess Elizabeth & Princess Margaret Rose, The Little Princesses, Crawford.
Alice Fitzgerald, Nurse Around the World, Noble.
Anne Frank, The Diary of a Young Girl, Frank.
Anne Frank, The Works of Anne Frank, Frank.
Elizabeth Garrett, Elizabeth Garret, M.D., Manton.
Althea Gibson, I Always Wanted To Be Somebody, Gibson.
Lady Jane Grey, Lady Jane Grey, Reluctant Queene, Vance.
Cornelia Hancock, Cornelia, The Story of a Civil War Nurse.
Carol Heiss, Olympic Queen, Parker.
Joan Of Arc, Story of Joan of Arc, Nolan.
Joan of Arc, Joan of Arc, Ross.
Helen Keller, Three Lives of Helen Keller, Harrity.
Helen Keller, Story of My Life, Keller.
Sister Elizabeth Kenny, Sister Elizabeth Kenny, Thomas.
Mary Kingsley, African Traveler, Syme.
Jenny Lind, Enchanting Jenny Lind, Benet.
Juliett Low, Juliette Low Girl Scout, Higgins.
Juliette Low, Juliette Low, Pace.
Juliette Low, Juliette Low Girl Scout Founder, Radford.
Anne Sullivan, Macy, Teacher, Keller.
Edna St. Vincent Millay, America's Best-Loved Poet, Shafter.
Maria Mitchell, America's First Woman Astronomer, Baker.
Lucretia Mott, Lucretia Mott, Serling.
Najmeh Najafi, Persia Is My Heart, Najafi.
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Anne Oakley, Annie Oakley, Garst.
Anne Oakley, Annie Oakley, Graves.
Alice Palmer, Alice Freeman Palmer, Fleming.
Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Madame Ambassador, Guthrie.
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Eleanor Roosevelt, Shy Girl, Gilbert.
Eleanor Roosevelt, Story of Eleanor Roosevelt, Hickok.

Sacajawea, Sacajawea, Voight.
Sansan, Eighth Moon, Sansan.
Mary Slessor, Nigerian Pioneer, Syme.
Monica Sone, Nisei Daughter, Sone.
Harriet Beecher Stowe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Widdemer.
Harriet Beecher Stowe, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Wise.
Queen Victoria, Queen Victoria, Boeth.
Lillian Wald, Lillian Wald Angel of Tenry Street, Williams.
Phillis Wheatley, Story of Phillis Wheatley, Graham.

### PAPERBACKS

Author and title

Goode, Women in Divorce.

### OTHER NON-FICTION

Author and title

Coolidge, Women's Rights.
Flexner, Century of Stuggle.
Foster, Votes for Women.
Yolen, Pirates in Petticoats.

## THE EFFECTS OF TEACHER BIAS

(By Kathleen E. Grady)

I would like to talk about how the schools affect the female students, particularly in terms of the nonconscious assumptions that are made by teachers, administrators, and eventually the students themselves. It is through pervasive, unexamined attitudes about the nature of women that girls are tracked into the most menial, lowest paid jobs. It is because of an unwarranted emphasis on their biological potential that girls develop an overriding concern with their most superficial aspects, their physical attractiveness. It is not the schools' fault alone, but it does seem that the schools do very little to help girls to overcome a basically negative self-image that includes what is generally defined as the essentials of feminity: submissiveness, dependence, docility, masochism, narcissim, and above all, passivity.[1]

By the time girls reach Junior High School age, the negative effects of attempting to conform to a rigid feminine role begin to appear.

There is evidence that girls who are underachievers in high school usually begin to be so about the onset of puberty, while for boys underachievement in high school usually has an earlier onset. This contrast is a further indication that the achievement drop-off among girls as they reach maturity is linked to the adult female sex role.[2]

Career aspirations also diminish. One study by Hartley[3] showed that girls' intention to work after marriage declined with age, the eleven-year-olds showing that they have come to terms with reality. Another study by Davis[4] involving high school girls, found that 60% felt most women would like to work. Only 25% said they actually expected to attain their chosen occupations. Why are teenage girls so pessimistic about their ability to succeed? Of obstacles they perceived, 41% gave marriage as the reason.

Girls are constantly told that they must choose between marriage and a career—and the correct choice is always quite explicit. The option to choose a career only exists in a very technical sense. All the pressures—from parents, peers, the media, and even the schools—are in the direction of a limited social role for women defined by their biological potential. Certainly boys are never told that they are going to grow up to be husbands and fathers first and something else second. A man's success in work is never tempered by such phrases as "despite being married and the father of three children." In discussing occupational aspirations, he is not constantly reminded of his future role as parent and spouse. These constraints are ever present for the female child. Can we honestly say that this prolonged and exclusive socialization procedure is justified any longer (if it ever was) in terms of the now limited demands of motherhood?

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[1] Laws, Judish Long. "Toward a Model of Female Sexual Identity," *Midway*, (University of Chicago), Summer 1970.

[2] Shaw, M. C. and J. T. McCuen, The onset of academic underachievement in bright children. *J. Educ. Psychol.*, 51, 103–8, 1960.

[3] Hartley, Ruth E. Children's concepts of male and female roles. *Merrill-Palmer Quart.*, 6 : 84–91, 1960.

[4] Davis, Ethlyn, Careers as concerns of blue collar girls. In *Blue Collar World: Studies of the American Worker, ed.* Arthur B. Shostak and William Gomberg, pp. 154–64, New York : Prentice-Hall, 1964.

But perhaps more importantly, what do such constant reminders do to young girls? For one thing numerous studies have shown that girls do not reach out into the future—particularly toward the occupational world but also toward higher education—the way boys do. Thirty-three percent of National Merit finalists in high school who aspire to attend medical school are girls but only 8% of medical school applicants are girls. This is true across all professions and the loss of talent is enormous.

Because of the stress on motherhood as the primary career, girls are encouraged to limit themselves to occupations that can be attained with a minimum of training and can be stopped and resumed according to the demands of parenting. Such jobs often have common characteristics. They are usually supportive and ancillary to a "man's job," such as a secretary to a boss or a nurse to a doctor. Although the pragmatic parenthood reason can be given for these occupations, it is also clear that they reinforce the image of woman as helper, supporter, cheerleader—basically the inferior of man. Another common characteristic is that these jobs are poorly paid. This insures women's dependence on men and virtually rules out any options to the traditional family picture of man as the sole provider. In most cases, it simply isn't economically feasible for women to work outside the home.

But there are even more insidious consequences to such an emphasis on biological potential. Girls start to think of themselves first in terms of their attractiveness, their ability to get and hold a man. They quickly become aware of the negative social consequences (i.e., rejection by men) that will accompany successful surviving, and they learn that, if they're smart, they'll play dumb. Worse, they start to believe in their own inferiority. Horner[5] documented that there is a strong motive to avoid success in women, which has been called "the will to fail." The Bernreuter Personally Inventory's norms for women show that they are more neurotic, less self-sufficient, more introverted, less less self-confident, and more socially dependent than men. These sex differences *do not appear* younger than high school age. Does this mean that females become more neurotic or males less so as they grow up? An explanation which is at least plausible is that as males and females learn more about the places in life they are expected to fill, personality adjustments are made accordingly.

Another researcher, McClelland,[6] found as long ago as 1953 that in achievement tests, if social rather than intellectual acceptability were manipulated, women's motivation rose. Girls learn early and well that it is more important to be accepted—even defined—socially than to achieve according to their full potential. The essence of this dependence on acceptance by others is passivity. The girl learns that her role is to *be* attractive—basically she prepares herself waits, and hopes. Ambition and aggressiveness of any kind are incompatible with these attitudes.

But what do educators have to do with these self-denying attitudes that girl students admittedly accept for themselves Rosenthal[7] has recently shown that teacher expectation is one of the most important, if not the most important, determinant of student achievement. He gave teachers false evidence of students' I.Q.'s, and found through Standardized tests given at the beginning and end of the year that those students the teachers (incorrectly) believed to be the most intellectually capable improved more than those who were actually intellectually superior. There is no longer any doubt that the social expectations that surround the pupils strongly influence the outcomes. As long as parents, peers, the media, and especially educators expect girls to be submissive, dependent, docile, masochistic, narcissistic, and passive, such expectations will operate as a self-fulfilling prohpecy, and society will continue to be denied the realization of the full potential of one half of its members.

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[5] Horner, Matina. Women's will to fail. *Psychology Today*, 3 : 36–4[illegible]. 1969.

[6] McClelland, D. et al. *The Achievement Motive*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

[7] Rosenthal, R. *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils Intellectual Development*, New York : Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1968.

## THE PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF WOMEN

Following are topics and an abbreviated bibliography for The Psychology and Sociology of Women, a course given by Linda Fidell and Jane Prather at San Fernando Valley State College. Much of this material would be useful in the in-service Consciousness Raising Course on Sexual Attitudes which N.O.W. urges for administrators and personnel in public schools.

Physiological Differences Between the Sexes: The Basis for Biological Determinism: Maccoby *The Development of Sex Differences*, Ch. 13; Beach *Hormones and Behavior;* Brecher and Brecher *An Analysis of Human Sexual Response;* Ford and Beach *Patterns of Sexual Behavior;* Masters and Johnson *Human Sexual Response;* Money *Sex Research; New Developments.*

Psychological Differences Between the Sexes: Maccoby *The Development of Sex Differences*, Chs. 2 and 3; Weisstein *Kinder, Kuche* and *Kirche as Scientific Law;* Erikson in Lifton *Women in America;* Kagan and Moss *Birth to Maturity;* Klein *The Feminine Character;* Terman and Miles *Sex and Personality.*

Socialization and a Cross-Cultural Comparison of Sex Roles: Bird and Briller *Born Female; The High Cost of Keeping Women Down;* Hacker *Women as a Minority Group Bobs-Merrill reprint S108;* Rossi in Lifton *Women in America.*

Her Story: Degler in Lifton *Women in America;* Conway in Lifton *Women in America;* Erikson in Lifton *Women in America;* Felxner *Century of Struggle.*

Women in the Law: Murray and Eastwood *Jane Crow and the Law: Sex Discrimination and Title VII.*

Birth Control and Sex: Brecher and Brecher *An Analysis of Human Sexual Response;* Ford and Beach *Patterns of Sexual Behaviour:* Masters and Johnson *Human Sexual Response.*

Motherhood and Marriage: Eagles *The Origin of the Family;* DeBeauvoir *The Second Sex, Chs. 11 and 16;* Mainardi *Politics of House Work;* Prather *Momism by Default;* Rostow in Lifton *Women in America;* Selly and Cresi *Crestwood Heights; Schur The Family and the Sexual Revolution.*

Women in the Work Force and the Professions: Benston *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation;* Jordan *The Place of American Women;* Rossi in Mattfeld and VanAken *Women in the Scientific Profession;* Bailyn in Lifton *Women in America;* Bernard *Academic Women;* Epstein *Women's Place;* Peterson in Lifton *Women in America.*

The Cop-Out: The Achievement Motive in Women; Horner in *Psychology Today;* McClelland in Lifton *Women in America;* Atkinson *Motivation.*

The Image of Women in Literature, the Mass Media and Fashions: Manis in Farber and Wilson *The Potential of Woman;* Trilling in Lifton *Women in America;* Cleavor *Soul on Ice;* Lessing *The Golden Notebook, etc* Ibsen *The Doll's House.*

Women's Liberation Movements: Dixon *Why Women's Liberation?*; Jones and Bower *Toward a Female Liberation Movement.*

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## THE FOLLOWING ALLEGATIONS, MADE BY A CITY HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, ARE UNDER LEGAL INVESTIGATION

Perhaps the most egregious example [of sexual discrimination] was a February meeting of department chairman at which [the principal] instructed chairmen to hire male teachers when humanly possible.

There is a hall patrol consisting of three male teachers per period. Each teacher is relieved of a class for this chore. No females are accepted even when they volunteer.

In the main building there are 92 male, and 75 female, teachers. Males are systematically selected for the choice jobs, often before the job positions are advertised. In the main building 65 male teachers hold special jobs instead of the full five-period teaching program. In addition to these 65, other male teachers have been relieved of official classes, and one has been relieved of all classes and assigned the job of controlling drugs in the school. Only 27 female teachers have been given special jobs, and many of these jobs border on the ridiculous.

There are two major results of giving male teachers the preponderance of assignments:

Women are largely selected to teach in the annex (similar to Siberian exile, and about as healthy!) since this selection is made only from those teachers who do not have special assignments and/or special courses.

Teachers with special courses carefully cream off the better students to place in their own few classes, leaving the rest of us with truly homogeneous classes of low achievers.

In summary, our school operates under a blatantly discriminatory power structure in which men decide policy and women do the bulk of the teaching.

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## STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Chairman, I wish to express my complete support for a measure entitled the Women's Education Equity Act, introduced by Congresswoman Patsy Mink. This important measure authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to conduct special educational programs and activities designed to achieve educational equity for all students, men and women alike.

It is obvious to me that times have changed, and justly so. As more and more of our women in the United States move into all levels of the work force, it is necessary to keep our education system abreast of the progress we have made. The Women's Education Equity Act would move our educational system forward by encouraging the development of new and improved curriculum which is more in tune with the outside world.

If a woman's rank as a college professor is equal to a man's, will she receive the same salary as her male counterpart? Will a woman faculty member be able to rise in rank as easily as a man with equal credentials? Unfortunately, recent studies show that the answer to these questions is no. Further, sex discrimination in the education system in the United States does not begin with the appointment of a female faculty member—it begins with the first time a child enters a school and opens a book. Think back to your first experiences in elementary school. Do you remember learning that men became doctors and women became nurses? Wasn't it always the male principal of the school and the female teacher?

The Women's Education Equity Act provides support for the initiation and maintenance of programs concerning women at all levels of education, from preschool through adult. Most importantly, the bill provides for programs on the status, roles, and opportunities for women in our society.

In New Jersey, and especially in my District, some of the most innovative and unique educational programs have been attempted and have met with a great deal of success. Title I is a prime example of this. Because the educators of New Jersey have such a good attitude toward progress and change, I feel that this type of new program implemented into the school system, with its very just goals of education equity for all, would meet with great results. I wholeheartedly support the idea of bringing improved career, vocational, and physical education programs, and new community education programs to my District and the whole nation, and this is the purpose of the bill—it will benefit both men and women alike.

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## STATEMENT OF HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to express my strong support for S. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act, of which I am a co-sponsor.

This Act would provide funds for special educational programs and activities including development of curricular materials, training programs for counselors and other educational personnel, and community education programs designed to achieve educational equity for all students, men and women.

The Women's Educational Equity Act will offer real opportunities to aid in meeting the anti-sex discrimination provisions of Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972. Title IX states that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

The Council on Women's Educational Programs, which is established within the Office of Education under Section 4 of this Act, would serve not only the function of carrying out the provisions of H.R. 208, but by its nature would also oversee programs under existing laws and make recommendations to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare accordingly. I wholeheartedly support the requirement in the bill that members of this Council on Women's

Educational Programs be appointed by the President and that at least 12 of the 21 members be women.

Our system of education is the most concentrated, organized and systematic socializing influence in our culture. We must not sacrifice more than 50 percent of the brain power of our nation to our moded sex stereotypes. As Mrs. Arvonne Fraser, President of the Women's Equity Action League, pointed out to this committee, the goal of education should be to help educate each and every child, male or female, rich or poor, black or white, to be self-sufficient, self-confident and capable of self-support. I might add that it is imperative that we create programs in which an atmosphere of equity and respect can flourish for all of our children, regardless of sex, religion, race or ethnic background.

At the present time, 90 percent of our women work outside their homes at some time. Moreover, women currently comprise 38 percent of the work force. More than half of the women with school-aged children are working. Therefore, it is obviously unrealistic to portray women as full-time residents of kitchens as the majority of our school textbooks do.

Many dramatic examples of discrimination against women can be presented, but I believe that nothing speaks quite so eloquently as the statistical facts themselves. I would like to call the committee's attention to several HEW publications: Digest of Educational Statistics, 1971 Education; Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, Fall 1969; and Earned Degrees Conferred 1969–70/Summary Data.

The following examples from these publication offer only a small sample of the imbalance in our educational institutions. We begin with more female than male high school graduates: In 1968–69, 1,255,432 boys and 1,266,419 girls were graduated from regular day school high school programs. But when we look at college statistics, the males dominate. For the period 1969–70, 453,605 men and 344,454 women received bachelor's degrees. At the same time first-professional degrees requiring at least six years of training were awarded to 33,344 men and 1,908 women.

It is particularly revealing to look at the numbers of men and women who received doctor's degrees in the 1969–70 period. I have selected a few as examples of the imbalance that exists regardless of all of the claims that are being made that women are coming into their own in many areas once thought to be the sole province of males.

In the field of engineering, we see that 3,657 men and only 24 women achieved doctor's degrees.

In education, 4,698 and 1,196 women achieved Doctor's degrees. In elementary education, usually thought to be the educational level dominated by women, 130 men were awarded the doctor's degree and only 87 women.

Women outnumbered men in only one major field and that was home economics: 83 women achieved doctor's degrees as opposed to 33 men. I might add that in the area of child development and family relations, the men outnumbered the women 20 to 17.

There are many other disturbing statistics in these publications. Certainly they help to document the fact that even though 38 percent of our work force is comprised of women, few are getting the academic credentials which will open the doors to the high level and, quite often, the most rewarding jobs.

The problem of discrimination runs deep. I have spoken of professionals and PH.D.'s, who are still a distinct minority in our society. It is truly appalling to realize that the average woman with a bachelor's degree who works full time earns about the same median income as a man who is a high school dropout.

Clearly, affirmative action is needed, much the same as has been called for as a result of race discrimination. H.R. 208 will serve to help offer these affirmative corrections for women of all ages in all socio-economic groups.

How often has it been said, "Show me a qualified woman and I'll give her the job?" The time has come to make certain that women are given real opportunities to be qualified. We must give up our old ways, and in doing so reap the benefits of a society that delves into its potential one hundred percent. That means giving equal opportunities to all individuals.

It is the purpose of H.R. 208 to give women opportunities to be qualified, to channel and enhance the talents of mature women, and to offer all the same broad horizons of life to our daughters that we offer our sons. I strongly urge this subcommittee to approve this legislation promptly.

## STATEMENT OF HON. DON EDWARDS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Madam Chairwoman, I am pleased to take this opportunity to support H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973. I consider this bill to be a very significant piece of legislation that will improve the quality of education, and thereby the quality of life.

During the past Congress, we were able to successfully guide through Congress the Equal Rights Amendment, guaranteeing legal equality for women and men. This constitutional amendment has now been ratified by thirty States, with eight more required for passage and subsequent addition to the Constitution.

It is because sex discrimination went largely unnoticed or unchallenged until recently that it became necessary to add to existing constitutional guarantees a specific amendment to insure equal treatment under the law. This is one aspect of the equality that must be afforded women.

But there are other and perhaps more subtle forms of discrimination besides legal rights, and the majority of these are related to, and perpetuated by, our educational systems. Because these systems are so basic and have such effect in shaping our attitudes and the way we live, it is essential that we change the discriminatory patterns and eliminate sexist material that miseducates our children and serves to reinforce artificial sex roles.

It is important to have this legislation which is now before your committee, in addition to a constitutional amendment for equal rights, in order to effect many necessary changes in extra-legal areas of sex discrimination.

It is also important to provide a means for faster action and assistance in revising educational materials. A number of publishing companies have begun to realize the need for an overhaul in their educational texts, but the sheer financial burden involved is a strong deterrent. The stated position of most publishers in the private and commercial sector is to wait until present volumes are exhausted and are scheduled for revision; their position is understandable. However, it should be evident from an educational point of view that if the material now used is discriminatory and damaging, particularly to young girls and boys, and if we know better, these materials should be removed and replaced before more damage is done. This is one area in which this legislation would help.

The measure would also provide a strong research component and curriculum development, in addition to dissemination beyond educational institutions and into the community. Public media are perhaps the most effective educators in our time, whether we agree with the content or not, and this bill would provide assistance in this area, as well.

I note that the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973 bears the same numerals as H.J. Res. 208, the Equal Rights Amendment of the 92nd Congress. I believe this measure is a worthy extension of that amendment, and I want to publicly add my support for its speedy consideration by the House of Representatives and its successful passage by Congress.

# THE WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EQUITY ACT

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1973

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities
of the Committee on Education and Labor,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 9:15 a.m., in room 2257, Rayburn Office Building, Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins [chairman of the subcommittee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Hawkins and Mink.

Mr. Hawkins. The Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities is called to order. This morning we will hear testimony on H.R. 208, the bill offered by my colleague, Mrs. Mink.

The first witness is Ms. Allene Dietrich, Committee To Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools, Kalamazoo, Mich. She is accompanied by Ms. Jo Jacobs, the chairperson.

Ms. Dietrich and Ms. Jacobs, would you kindly take a seat at the table in front of us?

We are glad to welcome you. I think that you have an associate. Would you introduce her for the record?

[Ms. Dietrich's prepared statement follows:]

### Statement by Allene Dietrich, of the Committee To Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo, Mich., Public Schools

I am Allene Dietrich, representing the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo, Michigan, Public Schools.

Our study of textbooks established that sex role stereotyping exists at every level and in every subject in the elementary school.

Here are some examples. In all the math texts evaluated, the activity reserved almost exclusively for adult females outside the home is household shopping.

*Exploring Science* (Allyn Bacon, Inc., 1960), a fourth grade book, shows seventeen occupations for males while the sole female activity is hanging up clothes. In another science book, 39 men are included, most of them scientists, and two women, one watching Ben Franklin and one housewife. (*Science, a Modern Approach*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.)

A school health book cautions: "Unfortunately every boy can't be a leader of men, and every girl can't be a belle of the ball" (*Being Six, Teacher's Edition*, Scott Foresman and Co. 1957, p. 25).

These typical sentences from the elementary school dictionary could be classic examples of stereotyping:

Steep: She steeped the tea in boiling water.
Professor Jones steeps himself in Latin.
Study: Joseph is studying to be a doctor.
Her constant study is to please her parents (*Thorndike Barnhart Junior Dictionary*, Scott Foresman and Co., Seventh Edition, pp. 668, 691).

Our committee is not unique in its investigation or its findings. As your subcommittee has already heard from previous testimony and is hearing today, people across the country have been researching and publicizing their findings for some time. We are indebted to these groups and individuals whose goals we have shared and whose efforts have so mightily helped us.

Where the Kalamazoo committee is perhaps unique among these groups is, first, in its creation and authorization by the local board of education; second, in its filing of the first textbook complaint with HEW; and third, in the action which has resulted from the threat of the complaint. My testimony will deal chiefly with these experiences unique to Kalamazoo, experiences which illustrate the ways in which passage of H.R. 208 will bring us further toward women's educational equity, especially in textbooks.

### *Creation and authorization*

In December of 1971, the board of education watched a slide presentation of sex roles in the reading books then used by Kalamazoo children. After an hour of viewing the stereotyped portrayals of Dick, Jane, Mother, and Dad (Scott Foresman and Co. series, 1965), the board created a committee to study sex discrimination in the schools. Early in 1972, the chairwoman, Ms. Jo Jacobs was named, and task forces established. The school superintendent set up appropriate controls and communication and asked school personnel to cooperate in the study. By the spring of 1972, seven task forces were operating with members representing students, parents, school staff and the community at large, men as well as women.

Five task forces have finished their work and submitted recommendations to the schools. They covered five areas:

1. Personnel practices and procedure,
2. Athletics and physical education,
3. Elementary school textbooks,
4. Selected studies, which included secondary level subjects such as anthropology, English, psychology, history and sociology, and
5. Student oriented aspects of school that are non-academic and non-athletic, such as extra-curricular activities.

These reports are available through the Kalamazoo Public Schools (1220 Howard Street, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008) and have been requested by people throughout the country.

Task Forces on vocational education and testing and counseling have not yet completed their studies.

### *HEW complaint*

The work and the recommendations of one task force led to our filing the complaint. When we reported the findings on elementary school textbooks in February, 1973, to the Kalamazoo Board of Education, we said, "Textbooks of all content areas consistently separate people into two rigidly defined molds which provide unfair and distorted stereotyped role models for both boys and girls." We recommended that no new textbooks be purchased unless they were nondiscriminatory. Just as important, we provided specific measures the administration could adopt to offset the existing stereotyped curriculum, such as woman-of-the-month bulletin boards, elimination of boys' and girls' corners in kindergarten, and teaching *everybody* to cook, run audio-visual equipment, and operate sewing machines. (We are indebted to a group of Ann Arbor graduate students for these suggestions.) The report made no discernible impact, as none of the recommendations was carried out.

A crucial test of our effectiveness would come, we thought, with the adoption of a new reading series that would be in use for at least the next five years by every child in the school district in grades 1–6. I remember the hope with which we went to the school gym to sample the 12 brand-new sets of books under consideration by the School Reading Committee. We imagined how good they could be, these products of a voluntary commitment by publishers to change with the times, these results of raised consciousness on women's rights. What we found were eyecatching, up-to-date, fascinating books, containing the same stereotyped treatment of men and women, less blatantly hostile to females, in most cases, but as strongly male dominated as ever. "The World of Men," proclaimed the caption on the table of contents of the outgoing series. We could ring in the new with the same bell. It was still the world of men, of boys, of masculine accomplishments.

Before the Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program (Copyright 1971) was picked as the final choice, we read each book of the series, and reported to the school board members that we found the program to be discriminatory against women and girls and should, therefore, not be purchased. Nancy Ellin said then, "The sheer quantity of stories about boys strongly reinforces the notion that boys do all the most interesting things—for instance, all the treehouses belong to boys."

We asked the school board to defer its decision on the reading program until it could investigate alternate ways to teach reading which would give equal treatment to Pam as well as to Ben. The superintendent maintained that the new series was the best available reading program. We did not argue with that professional opinion. He said the Houghton-Mifflin books were less biased than the old ones. We said, that's not good enough.

Sex discrimination is illegal, unjust and harmful to boys and girls. If a discriminatory tool is selected for teaching reading, then it is a discriminatory reading program, therefore, illegal under Title Nine of the Education Amendments of 1972, as we see it.

Despite the strong and persuasive evidence of sex bias, despite our pleas for delay and our stated determination to seek legal remedies should public money be used to purchase such materials, the school board voted to buy the books. When they did, our committee filed the first textbook complaint with HEW. We alleged that the "action of the board subjects the girls in the elementary grades in Kalamazoo to discrimination under an education program receiving Federal financial assistance within the meaning of Section 901(a) of Title Nine," and requested "an immediate HEW investigation which would first explore the possibilities of persuading the board to comply voluntarily with the law by using instead a non-sexist reading program." Failing that, we requested "that all Federal assistance to the Kalamazoo school system be suspended until the Board does comply with Title IX."

Our case was based on evidence supporting the following charges:

1. The series does not recognize the actions and achievements of women.
2. It does not show the same respect for women and girls as it does for men and boys.
3. It assigns abilities, traits, interests and activities on the basis of male and female stereotypes.

### THE ACTIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF WOMEN

The Houghton-Mifflin books almost totally ignore the actions and achievements of women. There are twelve biographies of men in these books and four of women: Harriet Tubman, Kate Shelley, Laura Ingalls Wilder, and Karana, an Eskimo girl.

At least ninety-one names of men in history are offered to the students for their interest and information, but only about six names of women. Who are these few? Queen Victoria, the Duchess of Windsor, Rosa Parks, Coretta Scott King, Mrs. John Hill, Thomas Garrett's wife, Sarah.

Regretfully, students reading these books have lost an opportunity to learn about history's heroines. By the time of the next edition, scheduled for use in 1976 by Houghton-Mifflin, we are certain the publisher will have no difficulty putting together ninety-one names of famous women. The list could begin with Congresswomen Shirley Chisholm and Patsy Mink of this subcommittee as well as other members of Congress who are doing so much to improve the status of women in education today. Whatever the 1976 books may be, if our complaint fails, Kalamazoo students will be reading these biased books for at least the next five years.

### LACK OF RESPECT FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS

It is apparent that these books are not interested in what women and girls do. In every text in the series, every category listed in the table of contents has more males than females.

79% of the stories in these books have male main characters. Only 13% have female main characters. In *Tigers*, the first reading book for first graders, all the stories center on boys. A girl first appears on page 21 with a mop in her hand. She mops the porch while the boys play imaginatively with big cardboard boxes. In the second grade reader, *Secrets*, five stories are about male humans, four about male animals. Not one story features a female. Two other texts, *Rainbows* and *Kaleidoscope*, have more stories about male animals than about girls or women. The illustrations are predominantly male, too, ranging from a high of 87% in *Tigers* to a low of 60% in *Lions*, the second pre-primer.

Even the poems reflect a preoccupation with males: 41% are male-oriented, 7% female. Our readers were a little perplexed about how to categorize a poem in which a male robin builds the nest, and then *he* lays four little eggs in it. The unknown author has aptly titled this nature-defying verse, "The Secret."

Male dominance prevails in the plays, as well. In every play in every book the leading roles are male. In three plays there are no female roles at all. Perhaps this is another area where a girl has to act like a boy to achieve.

In all other sections of the table of contents such as skills lessons, fun and games, more books to enjoy, and informational articles, the pattern holds: male items occur two to three times more often than female items. For example, fifteen of the informational articles are about males, only one about a female, this time a female duck (*Galaxies*, p. 434)

This extreme prevalence of males and in some books the almost complete lack of females is in itself demeaning. One interpretation might well be that males are more important than females.

Even nouns and pronouns get short shrift. Our first graders learn "he" in their first book, "she" not until the third book, which includes "boys," "him," and "man" in the basal vocabulary, but relegates "girls," "her," and "woman" to the supplemental vocabulary. (*Dinosaurs*, pp. 48–53)

Some of the content of these books supports false and stereotyped assumptions about females. Arthur, the anteater, has the text's approval for his assertion that playing with girls is not as good as playing with boys. He says, "So I don't play with girls. . . . She throws like a girl." (*Panorama*, p. 38)

An Eskimo boy is taunted: "Has-ka has not the brave heart! Has-ka is a girl! . . . The beaten boy's spirit sank to his moccasins." (*Images*, p. 382.)

An entire story in *Rainbows* (pp. 23–40) is about Lucy's incompetence, a particularly destructive emphasis because it is the only story in the book with a girl as the main character.

Wenda Gambling, "a well known movie star," shows women's value as sex object:

"Wenda Gambling was hardly an expert on traffic. But as the three other panel members were elderly men (one stout, one bald, and one nearsighted), the moderator of the program felt that the panel would be more interesting to the [television] audience if Wenda were at the table" (*Galaxies*, p. 94).

### ASSIGNING ABILITIES, TRAITS, INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES ON THE BASIS OF MALE OR FEMALE STEREOTYPES

Assigning abilities, traits, interests, and activities on the basis of sex limits individual expectations and aspirations. Because of the limited adult role models for girls in these books, female readers are encouraged to limit rather than to expand their choices. Women are portrayed predominately as mothers, nurses, librarians, and storekeepers, with few other roles. There are only six working mothers in the entire series. Of these six, two have unspecified jobs. The others are a seamstress at home, a farmer, a migrant worker, and the last mother is astro-navigator, planet geologist, electronics engineer, computer programmer and cook, all rolled into one. Eight books contain no working mothers at all. Yet we know that women and mothers are working. The 1970 census for the City of Kalamazoo shows that 41.3 percent of the women in Kalamazoo over the age of 16 are employed outside the home.

The assumption of the male as the doer is borne out by a list of all the working people portrayed in the books. There are 215 occupations held by men to 41 for females, among them six nurses, eleven teachers, 3 witches, and a beggar. The major occupation for women in all the books is housewife.

A specific example of this inequity is the full list of occupations listed in the second grade reader:

> For men: zoo keeper, fence painter, circus clown, circus tall man, circus strong man, flower cart owner/seller, flower shop owner, toy shop owner, policeman, truck driver, milkman, grocer, scientist, doctor

For women: mothers, elementary school teacher, nurse, circus fat lady.

Such textbooks reflect not what we see around us today, but the old restricted range of occupations and behavior.

One of the principal functions of the American public school system is to enable our children to obtain employment appropriate to their potential. The elimination and prevention of discrimination in employment, based on race, religion, national origin, sex or any other extraneous factor, is a commitment that has been repeatedly affirmed by various Federal statutes. To declare that girls should be assured the same opportunities for employment upon graduation as boys is a principle that few will any longer dispute. But to subject girls to 12 school years of careful conditioning that discourages them from considering certain occupational roles is to make a mockery of that principle.

### *Current Status of HEW Complaint*

Our complaint is now in limbo, with HEW postponing a decision on whether it can investigate the case until guidelines to implement Title Nine are written. The regulations, scheduled for release this month, will determine the nature and scope of HEW involvement, if any, in textbook questions.

Peter W. Holmes, Director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, wrote to Superintendent of Schools, William Coats, asking him to furnish reasons why he and the board do not believe the committee's complaint is valid. That information and our committee's findings will be held for consideration if appropriate under the guidelines.

### *Action resulting from the Complaint*

Because we filed this complaint, more schools, more publishers, and more men and women know that sex discrimination does exist in public education in this country.

Increased pressure on publishers for revisions is evident. Not only Houghton-Mifflin but other major school book publishers have written to Kalamazoo for guidelines used in selecting media center materials and have stated their commitment to end sex discrimination in the books they publish.

Our school system itself has done an outstanding job this summer in reviewing materials, revising teachers' manuals, and providing suggestions for teachers on ways to supplement content of the reading series.

The Materials Review Committee members, representing school staff and the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination, have worked hard to present a less discriminatory curriculum to the children who are back in school this month.

The major task was revising all twelve of the teachers' manuals. Because we could not change the content of the children's readers, we could only affect the parts of the manuals that were not predetermined by the children's books, resulting in very limited and in most cases, minor revisions. However, we took the manuals and went through them page by page, changing pronouns, names, and situations until we had less stereotyping and a better balance of the previously male dominated items. In the first grade book, *Dinosaurs*, for instance, we changed a story about Randy building a snowman to Mary building a snowlady. (p. 223.)

Where the teacher is directed to write sentences on the board from the manual, they will not be as they appeared originally. We changed—

> "Dad is digging up the little tree." to "Mother is digging up the little tree."
> and
> "Mother is cutting up apples for us" to "Dad is cutting up apples for us."
> (p. 215.)

We added questions to encourage awareness of bias in the books. In *Tigers*, which you remember has only stories with males as main characters, we wrote in the following questions under evaluative and creative thinking:

> Could this story have been about girls? (p. 89.)
> What other things might the children (instead of boys) have made from the boxes?
> Why didn't Ben invite Jill to play with them?
> How might she have added to their fun? (p. 129.)

On another page (97) next to a poem called "Tiger-Cat Tim," we wrote: Have another poem available with female animals.

The teachers will have a list of poems about females, girls and animals, as well as copies of the poems themselves.

We also looked everywhere we could think of for non-stereotyped materials for reading lists. We used the Feminist Press and Lollipop Power, as well as conventional sources and our own school holdings, to come up with an existing bibliography which includes *Harriet the Spy* and *Rita, the Weekend Rat, The Hermit Boy* and *William's Doll.*

The Materials Review Committee will continue to meet during the year, concentrating at first on other kinds of audio-visual materials which could supplement the reading series. Non-stereotyped movies and film strips, posters, and bulletin board materials are rare. We have suggested developing our own.

Houghton-Mifflin's editor in chief for reading and language arts, John Ridley, assisted the committee in important ways, providing bibliographies of non-stereotyped books and spending an amiable and productive two days working with school staff to improve the reading program.

The company has pledged all-out support in the supplemental material development and has indicated that Kalamazoo is a pilot or target system in the study of sex discrimination in textbooks. The Kalamazoo project will be used as a model to be followed in the future, according to company officials.

The most dramatic result of all these efforts may be the effect on the teachers as they go through their manuals this fall, marking them and revising them to lessen male dominance and stereotyping where possible. They will see for themselves what the manuals were and what they can become. Most important, they will be given the tools with which to offset some of the effects of that domination and stereotyping. Surely this awareness of sex discrimination and of the school system's desire to eliminate it will reach into other areas of their teaching as well.

*Need for H.R. 208*

The meager changes that have been made with the cooperation of the school staff and publishers are not sufficient to counteract the effect of a reading program whose content is discriminatory.

Much of this modest progress results from the prospect that a federal law might be enforced. That threat may vanish with the passage of guidelines for Title Nine which exclude textbooks. We have at present no way to prevent schools from using discriminatory materials, nor have we found alternative reading programs which treat both sexes equally.

H.R. 208 would provide the support necessary to develop tools insuring sexual equality in education. All five of our task forces have made recommendations which need H.R. 208 for implication.

Of particular importance to our work with textbooks are the following provisions of the bill:

1. To find and declare that present educational programs in the United States are inequitable as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups and limit their full participation in American society. Sec. 2(a)

That is simply true and needs to be said.

2. To encourage the development of new and improved curriculums Sec. 2(b)

At present even the latest curriculums and materials are discriminatory, no matter how hip the stories and how strong the colors on the glossy paper.

3. To demonstrate the use of such curriculums in model educational programs and to evaluate the effectiveness thereof. Sec. 2(b)

There is very little research on the effects of sexist and non-sexist materials and courses on the attitudes and lives of students. Does the fact that only men are doctors in the books affect the aspirations of the girls? At this time, we do not know.

4. To provide training programs for parents, teachers and other educational personnel. Sec. 2(b)

According to a *Nations School* poll published last December, 84% of the school administrations questioned did not think that sex exists in curriculum materials, nor have they looked for it. (*Nations Schools*, December, 1973, p. 18) Although I suspect that figure might be different in a poll taken today, it does indicate the great need to inform educators as well as the public about sex discrimination. The effectiveness of the new materials will be determined chiefly by the attitudes of the people using them.

*Conclusion*

Discriminatory materials have no place in public education. A public school is an important agency of socialization. The knowledge children gain there about role models and expectations is the main supplement to attitudes learned at home. The portrayal of society desirable goals and the demonstration of limits set by the social order which appear in textbooks influence children's ideas and expectations regarding how girls and boys, women and men, do *and should* participate in American life.

Because textbooks are a major tool of public school education, used by children daily throughout their school years, educators fail to serve students' growth and development when materials present a narrow and restricted portrayal of childhood and do not show a larger portion of the accepted and acceptable adult roles open to both women and men.

Textbooks which are approximately 80% male oriented discriminate against females, who comprise at least 50% of the public school population, and deny females an equal education. Current books present roles which society intended for women to occupy before sex discrimination became illegal. Using materials that discriminate againts women and girls is ethically insupportable and denies the principle of equal opportunity. We can no longer tolerate discrimination against *any* group!

The Women's Educational Equity Act is an important and desperately needed tool in our construtcion of a public education system which offers equal opportunity and expectations for all.

Thank you.

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## Report of the Elementary School Textbooks Task Force

(By Jan Jeffrey, Task Force Leader)

### INTRODUCTION

Why does a small boy say that women are always excitable and nervous? How come Billy says he isn't going to make his bed because that is a job for a girl, that he won't go to any girl party or that he won't wear a snowsuit because they are for girls and "little" boys? Why does Kristen say, with a giggle, that even she can do it and you know how stupid she is? Why are the boys willing to share their thoughts with mankind, but not with girls? What does it mean when Mary suggests that the party be held in the school kitchen because the girls will be less shy there? How do children get the idea that Aunt Bet, twenty years old and unmarried, should be pitied and who is an object of ridicule?

The Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks felt that elementary school textbooks may be early source for some of these ideas, and surely continue to be a potent reinforcement for such ideas. Having completed a study of the texts, supplements and sets of study prints in all content areas approved for use in the Kalamazoo elementary schools for the 1971–72 school year, the Task Force can state that textbooks consistently separate people into two rigidly defined molds, providing unfair and distorted stereotyped role models for both boys and girls and in addition that the female role models which are offered are often degrading and demeaning to girls and women. Over and over again, whether the texts are used to teach arithmetic or science, social studies or reading, music or handwriting, the only acceptable role offered to females is one of passivity, dependence, incompetence, emotionalism and above all domesticity. In every respect, the textbook female is a one-dimensional human being. We question how such material can in any way help to develop the potential aspirations of girls. On the other hand, we have the textbook male who is creative, resourceful and assertive, industrious, brave and clever. Though he is much more a multidimensional human being than are the females, he provides what seems to be an almost impossible to achieve "superboy/superman" role model.

Role models can be extremely helpful in aiding a child's self-development. However, when a society is rapidly changing and the role models maintain rigidity, they cease being helpful and become, instead, constricting and repressive to a child's development. Ruth E. Hartley supports this view in "Sex-role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child." She states that among the sources of conflict experienced by young children are the lack of adequate models and the rigidity of role demands. The Task Force feels that the six role stereotypes that abound in the textbooks evaluated do not reflect the reality of our changing society. By continuing to present them to children at their most vulnerable and malleable stages of development, we are doing a great deal of harm and a tremendous disservice to our children. The Task Force realizes that the schools have not created sex stereotyping and the double standards which exist for boys and girls, but the schools can begin to eliminate the harmful effects of sex stereotyping and sexism by being in the forefront in providing equal opportunities to males and females alike. It is to this end that this report is presented.

### METHODS

With the help of a set of general guidelines (Appendix A) the members of the Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks read all the available elementary school textbooks, supplements (including workbooks) and study prints listed by the Kalamazoo Public Schools as approved material for the 1971–72 school year. The readers that reported their findings on Textbook Evaluation Sheets (Appendix B). A total of 172 texts, 65 supplements and 24 sets of study prints were evaluated.

CHILDREN'S SEX ROLES

Among other things, one of the results of sexism is that belief that character is defined exclusively by sex. Such a belief is the basis for many of the stereotypes about females and males culturally imbued in all of us. One example of this is the stereotype which says that women are by "nature" inferior and intended only for wife-mother roles. Long before children learn to read, they are exposed to these stereotypes through simple patterns most of us take for granted. The choice of "sex-related" toys is another example of stereotyping. (For further reference see: Mary B. Munger, "Sex-differentiation in Preschool Children: Sex-typical Toy Preferences and Knowledge of Peers' Sex-typical Toy Preferences," Dissertation Abstracts International, XXXII, 6–B, 3646, December 1971.) Boys often receive erector sets and exhortations to become engineers, girls get dolls and encouragement to play house.

Elementary texts, especially the readers upon which the majority of this study is based, play a special role in the stereotyping process. Since they are presented to children within the context of authority, they bear the stamp of official approval. Through them, children receive a powerfully strong message about what society expects of each sex.

The messages which searingly strike out from the pages of the readers indicate that these readers not only reinforce sexism, but also limit girls' aspirations and lower their self-esteem. The following examples typify the display of this reinforcement:

"Suddenly Lani looked unhappy. 'All I did was forget!' she said. 'I forgot to take a book this morning. I forgot to bring my funny clown picture home this afternoon. I forgot everything! I wish I could stop forgetting.' "[1]

Lani's problem is remedied by her grandmother's gift of a homemade pink dress with "remembering" pockets.

Mary is another stereotypic example:

"Let's have a party in the school kitchen," said Mary. "The girls are used to it. They'll be less shy there."[2]

Girls can't help but get the impression, consciously or unconsciously, that boys are more important, more intelligent, have broader career opportunities, (see Appendices C, D, and E, lists of occupations and activities), and considerably more fun. These impressions are pointed out in many ways. For example, the science texts portray a great lack of positive active participation by females. The girls in the science texts are shown as timid observers while it is the boys who actively execute the experiments and projects. Again we find the female figures as mothers doing household chores, nurses, and teachers. The male role is one of provider, builder, and protector.

Three readers provide further evidence of stereotyping. Jane tries to get Billy to buy a stuffed rabbit. However, Billy makes it clear that he doesn't like toy animals—he wants something that will Go![3] In the story "Two Smart Boys," the boys are able to save a trapper by whistling with a steam locomotive.[4] A tale relating the experiences of Alvin the inventor includes . . . to make his bed. It was a job he didn't like, a job for girls.[5]

Evidence for the above charges comes heavily from "Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers" published in 1972 by Women on Words and Images. (WOW), and, most important locally, from the Kalamazoo Public Elementary School Textbooks Task Force's scrutinizations and findings.

One of the most obvious findings was the great discrepancy between the number of females to males presented in both illustrations and content material, with males outnumbering females more than three to one. Whether it be in math, reading, science, handwriting, spelling, social studies, history, health, or any other subject, this same trend in rigidity of presentation reigns.

WOW finds that boy-centered stories outnumber girl-centered ones five to two. The Task Force has discovered that boys earn money two to one over girls in the math texts, and that boys save money five to one over girls. In handwriting, girls' names are seldom mentioned in the writing drills. A typical science text features 31 males. The index of this book includes only one female.[6] In the spelling books there are two-thirds more males than females. From the 2,760 stories in 134 books which WOW read, the following ratios were derived: male biographies to female biographies, six to one; male animal stories to female animal stories, two to one; male folk or fantasy stories to female folk or fantasy stories, four to one.

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[1] *More Friends Old and New*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965.
[2] Ibid., p. 44.
[3] *Fun with our Friends*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965, p. 100.
[4] *Open Highways*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965, p. 193.
[5] *Roads to Follow*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965, p. 240.
[6] *Concepts in Science*, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970.

Although the Task Force has concentrated primarily on the evaluation of the books of publisher Scott, Foresman, and Co., studies have been conducted which investigate many other publishing companies. For example, WOW evaluated 15 companies besides Scott, Foresman, and Co. Their quantitative analysis which appears in Appendix G is clearly of note.

The Task Force points out that boy protagonists virtually monopolize traits like intelligence, creativity, bravery, perseverance, initiative and industry. The theme of one story is that Grandfather and the boys must come to the rescue when Grandma cannot put out a fire. "Project: Genius" is a story which deals with two boys who are inspired to discover if the Earth is really round. With the aid of Mr. Scoop's (science teacher) telescope, they proceed to figure distances, draw diagrams, and in short demonstrate their abilities in this highly complicated process. As it turns out, they think they have really proved that the Earth is flat and present their discoveries to a school assembly. Nevertheless, the boys discover their error and still prove themselves worthy of respect.[9]

Girl characters display these characteristics only rarely, and oftentimes are told that to do so is "unfeminine." One prime example is in the story "Electro Thinker," where one character, "Smart Annabelle," is portrayed as a not so subtle euphemism:

"Smart Annabelle stopped to ask a few questions. 'What in the world are you boys doing with that old sweeper and old fan and old clipper?' she said. 'Or is it a secret?' "

" 'Oh, no.' I said 'It is no secret. We are willing to share our great thoughts with mankind. However, you happen to be a girl.' "

The girls in the readers have a big edge when it comes to characteristics such as passivity, dependency, and incompetence. "Once is Enough" portrays Marcy, the main character, bumbling around the kitchen trying to concoct a salad:

"Marcy hesitated, took out a few spoonfuls, and then added the green peas, cooked string beans, and the sliced olives. There, now she would pour the remainder of the gelatin over the top. But the mold was too full, and the gelatin began spilling over the sides. She tried to scoop up the slippery mixture, but soon it was all over everything." [11]

In the following selection from a beginning reader, it is interesting to note the role of Jane:

"Jane said, 'Look at Pete. See where the hat is. See what Pete can do.'

"Jane said, 'Look Dick. See where Pete is. See what Pete can do.'

"Dick said. 'See what I can do. Come and do this, Jane. You can do it.'

"Pete said, 'Look, Jane. I can do this. Can you do it?' " [12]

The Task Force cannot help but observe that after all this conversation, Jane never does anything. In the same book from which the above quotes were taken, it is clear that at play girls are "Mothers" but no boys are "Fathers." [13] In another text, more typical conversation parallels that of the above:

" 'Oh, Dick! Help Jane. Go help Jane!' "

" 'Oh, Dick! Help Sally. Dick, help Sally.' "

Sally: "Mike! Come here. Come here, Mike! Help me!" [14]

Sample situations of girls needing help in another book are when: water overflows in the sink, a dog runs away, a shopping bag develops a hole, a girl loses her hat in the wind, and another girl gets up on a wall but cannot get down. Here we see that the boys say, "Look at me!" while the girls say, "Help! Help! Help! Help!" [15] A picture in the front of this book shows five boys and five girls in line. The five boys are leading the line while the five girls are standing passively in the background. This is repeated over and over throughout the series. The boy speaks in front of the class. The boy is in the spotlight.

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[7] *Dick and Jane as Victims. Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers*, Princeton, N.J., Women on Words and Images, 1972. p. 3.

[8] Op. cit., p. 131. *Fun With Our Friends.*

[9] *Vistas*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965. p. 59.

[10] *Ventures*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965, p. 42.

[11] Op. cit., p. 47. *Vistas.*

[12] *Think and Do, Fun with Our Friends*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965.

[13] Ibid., p. 61.

[14] *How We Read*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965.

[15] *Think and Do, The Three Pre-Primers*, Scott Foresman and Co., p. 4–5.

In yet another book, we see the young daughter in the family reading passively in the background while her brother, Kees, has a very bright idea:

"'Father, there are a few more fruit boxes there. May I make a special platform for Bob and me?'"[16]

The "female" characteristics of passivity, incompetence, and dependency are heavily strewn amidst the pages. Two pointed examples come in the form of illustrations. The front cover of one book shows two boys, one running and one riding in a go-cart. They are in the foreground. In the background are two girls who appear to be in their early teens, although this particular text is intended for use in third grade. Both girls are dressed in skirts and are standing in awkwardly stiff poses and eyeing the boys.[17] In another illustration from still another text, six boys are shown in various relaxed postures. They are dressed in jeans. The one girl in the picture is attired in a lovely pink dress with hair ribbon to match, shiny black shoes and is shown in a ballerina's rest posture.[18]

Opportunities for play and work run a similar gamut to that of personality traits. Readers and other texts leave little doubt about which sex has the better time. Real and fantasy-life adventures take boy characters exploring in China, accompanying Amundsen to the North Pole, catching cattle rustlers, and panning for gold.[19] Female Walter Mittys keep their imaginations riveted on fun with their future families. In a poem by Robert P. Tristram Coffin, we see that:

"They hewed oak, carried water,
  Their hands were knucklebones,
They piled on loads of syntax
  Till the small boys groaned.
"They taught the girls such manners
  As stiffened them for life,
But made many a fine speller,
  Good mother and good wife."[20]

Helping mother or playing house are about the only "real life" adventures for girl readers, other than the vicarious thrill that may come from watching boys—a position in which girls often find themselves in the pages of these readers.

Vocational prospects appear to be similarly narrow. Adult role models fit the same stereotypes as the child protagonists, as is demonstrated in another section of this study.

Faulting of the readers ranges widely in the realm of stereotyping. Girls are often seen belittling themselves and other girls. In addition, boys often appear to "prove their masculinity" by directing attacks against girls. WOW's study isolated 67 stories in which one sex demeaned the other and found that 65 of these were situations in which females were the sex demeaned. One story portrays a boy upset by the fact that, in his opinion, there were not enough boys being invited to a party which he was expected to attend. "How about the boys? I'm not going to any girl party."[21] Girl characters frequently join in the sport of belittling other females or putting themselves down with remarks like: "I'm just a girl but I know enough not to do that," "or "It's easy, Even I can do it. And you know how stupid I am.[22]

Obviously, children's readers have dominated our sex bias study thus far. However, it is important to remember that the Task Force also finds fault with science, math, music, language and communications (including spelling books and dictionaries), handwriting, health education, and social studies texts. Examples abound. In all the math texts evaluated, the activity reserved almost exclusively for all adult females outside the home is household shopping. Illustrations as well as lyrics are significant in the music texts. The illustrations accompanying a song called, What Sort of People Come to Your Town? portray only males—astronaut, baker, baseball player, carpenter, cowboy, doctor, musician, and janitor. One language text propagates the practice of rigid role definition as it states in the teacher's edition:

"* * * artistic interpretation based on creative imagination. In addition to items given in the text, you might suggest some objects with moving parts for the children to act out. Boys especially might welcome the opportunity to portray a jukebox or a can opener for example."[23]

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[16] *Wide Horizons*, Scott Foresman and Co., 1965, p. 50.
[17] Op. cit., *More Roads to Follow*.
[18] Op. cit., p. 55, *Ventures*.
[19] *Nation's Schools*, Sexism in Textbooks? Dennis J. Chase. December 1972, p. 33.
[20] Op. cit., *Vistas*, p. 158.
[21] Op. cit., *Roads to Follow*, p. 44.
[22] Op. cit., *More Roads to Follow*, p. 24.

Another text uses as examples of possessive nouns, "Ann's hat, boy's bike, girls' receipes.[24] and uses as examples of verbs, Jack ran after the ball. Marilyn and Jane did the dishes. The pie is good. She bakes very well.[25] The sentence usage in an elementary school dictionary is worthy of attention:

"Add: George soon learned that when you add 4 and 2 and 3, you have 9. She added sugar to her tea."[26]

"Argue: Columbus argued that the world was round. Her rich clothes argue her to be wealth."[27]

"Study: Joseph is studying to be a doctor. Her constant study is to please her parents."[28]

"Steep: She steeped the tea in boiling water. Professor Jones steeps himself in Latin."[29]

This same dictionary includes an illustration for the entry cradle. It portrays a man (a miner) with a miner's cradle looking for gold. The sentence examples for this word is She cardled the child in her arms.[30]

The following two examples are typical of the stereotypic barrage to be found in school health books:

"Unfortunately every boy can't be a leader of men, and every girl can't be a belle of the ball."[31]

"The first and most basic step toward sex education is a happy home and the good marital adjustment of parent."[32]

The Task Force has noted that criticisms of history and social studies texts reported by similar groups invariably point out that the contributions of women have been slighted—especially those of women's rights leaders like Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Sojourner Truth. The same goes for women's collective struggle to gain entrance into all-male colleges and universities, and their ever-continuing battles for equal employment opportunities.[33]

It is important to keep in mind that the object isn't to blame schools and the readers they choose solely for the sex role stereotyping that exists today. The point is that schools contribute to the detrimental conditions surrounding Kalamazoo school children.

The object also is not to force girls into male molds or vice-versa. The point is that role definitions on the basis of sex appear to severely limit the freedom of human beings to choose the roles they want. The following definitions are taken from two elementary dictionaries:

"feminine 2. like a woman womanly, weak, gentle.[34]

"masculine 2, like a man, manly, strong, vigorous.[35]

"manly: as a man should be strong, frank, brave, noble, independent and honorable.[36]

"womanly; 1. like a woman 2. as a woman should be 3. proper or suitable for a woman.[37]

"womanish: like a women, suitable for women rather than men, weak.[38]

"manful: manly, brave.[39]

"manhood: 2. courage, manliness.[40]

"manly: 1. like a man; as a man should be; strong, frank, brave, noble, independent and honorable.[41] (Women are not similarly defined.)"

All texts have stereotypes of the kind cited here—dictionaries and readers are far from alone.

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[23] *The World of Language, Teacher's Edition,* Follet Educational Corp., 1970, p. 29.
[24] *Language for Daily Use,* Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968, p. 27.
[25] Ibid., p. 304.
[26] *Thorndike Barnhart Junior Dictionary,* Scott Foresman and Co., p. 8.
[27] Ibid., p. 34.
[28] Ibid., p. 691.
[29] Ibid., p. 668.
[30] Ibid., p. 147.
[31] *Being Six, Teacher's Edition,* Scott Foresman and Co., 1967, p. 25.
[32] Ibid., p. 28.
[33] Op. cit., *Chase,* p. 34.
[34] *Thorndike Barnhart Beginning Dictionary,* Scott Foresman and Co., p. 279.
[35] Ibid., p. 410.
[36] Ibid., p. 407.
[37] Ibid., p. 724.
[38] Op. cit., *Thorndike Barnhart Junior Dictionary,* p. 775.
[39] Ibid., p. 395.
[40] Ibid., p. 395.
[41] Ibid., p. 396.

The Task Force believes that schools should strive to create a more open society in which girls and boys should both have the chance to fulfill their *human* potential, females without fear of being unsexed by ambition or success, males without worries about being called "sissy" for showing emotion or sensitivity or about entering "feminine professions like nursing or librarianship.

It has been found that the popular american belief that males in the society are not supposed to show any type of emotional expression or feeling about themselves or others is continually reinforced throughout these books. The detrimental effects of the stereotyping of males in this way creates an artificial barrier between males and females leading ultimately to the mistaken belief that because males show no emotion they have none. Most often it is males themselves who most vehemently believe this. Limiting the personality in such a way can only serve to stifle growth and maturity rather than further it. In one story, Kees is witnessing the water rising:

"He felt like screaming right there and then * * *. But just as he felt his tears welling up, he pulled himself together and bit his lower lip. He mustn't allow himself to become frightened. Nobody must notice how he really felt." [42]

Later in the story:

"Kees noticed his eyes were pricking, but he refused to cry so easily. Why, a boy of 13 didn't cry so easily. He kept swallowing hard instead." [43]

Finally, Kees cry:

"It was too much for Kees. Jacob put his arm around him and tried to comfort him, but Kees went on sobbing—no longer a big boy but an unhappy little child." [44]

In "A Feminist Look at Children's Books," a group similar to the Task Force makes the following comment with which we agree:

"Young women who have found it an uphill struggle to identify with the popular female image will recognize it as propaganda—and not simply as a natural reflection of life. Unfortunately, the girl and boy readers are not yet so experienced. Books that outline a traditional background role for women, praising their domestic accomplishments, their timidity of soul, their gentle appearance and manners, and—at the same time—fail to portray initiative, enterprise, physical prowess, and genunie intellect deliver a powerful message to children of both sexes. Such books are a social poison." [45]

Readers and textbooks are a top priority as we strive to genuinely allow children of both sexes to fulfill their human potential. This Task Force raises a difficult but not unsolvable question: Why shackle children with the outdated stereotypes that make for so many frustrated, unhappy adults?

### ADULT SEX ROLES

The adults who children see in their textbooks everyday are as sex stereotyped as the children who appear in these books. Adult males are portrayed in almost every conceivable occupation while adult females are seen working only at traditional female jobs and it is assumed that girls will follow these traditions (Appendix C). In the third grade handwriting text the section on America's workers pictures only males.[46] In the fourth grade handwriting text an exercise asks the question "What Shall I be"? Women are shown as secretaries and stewardesses, while men are pilots and doctors.[47] The section on patriotism in the sixth grade handwriting text, again, pictures only men as do all the historical stories in this text.[48]

The English texts are a continuation of this trend. The tenth chapter in "The World of Language," for sixth graders deals with American heroes, all of which are male. In the teachers edition, Harriet Tubman is listed "to keep the girls from feeling cheated by an emphasis on male heroes." [49] Whether or not Harriet Tubman is presented, however, is left entirely to the teacher's discretion. Science books show a great lack of active participation by females. "Exploring Science" a fourth grade book, shows seventeen occupations for males while the sole female activity is hanging up clothes.[50] "Science, A Modern Approach" includes 39 men, most of them scientists and two women, one watching Ben Franklin and one housewife.[51] Social Studies is another area where girls read almost exclusively about men in texts that overwhelmingly ignore female contributions to society. In the 22 fifth and sixth grade social studies texts read, men were listed in the index 1,500 times, while women were listed only 60 times. Occasionally, adult women in math texts do have jobs but no mention is made of their earning money, saving, investing or making large purchases. All of these activities are frequently discussed with males as subjects.

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[42] Op. cit., *Wide Horizons*, p. 65.
[43] Ibid., p. 81.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[45] *Library Journal, XCVI*, "A Femininist Look at Children's Books," January 1971, p. 336.
[46] *A New Universe*, Zaner Bloser Company, 1969, p. 5.
[47] *Gliding Along*, Zaner Bloser Company, 1969, p. 10.
[48] *Gaining Momentum*, Zaner Bloser Company, 1969, p. 11.
[49] *The World of Language*, Follet Education Corporation, 1970, p. 145.
[50] *Exploring Science*, Allyn Bacon, Inc. 1960.

Over all other traditional female jobs, the most highly valued role offered to girls is that of housewife and mother—the two appearing to be inseparable. Single women are misfits to be pitied in the textbook world. In the reader "Wide Horizons," Aunt Bet with her home sewing could keep herself but that was all. She was twenty now and ought to be married but had fancied none of the . . . boys around. People laughed at her and called her the Princess.[52] The message comes through very clearly: girls really ought to be married and become mothers. In health, handwriting, spelling, science and english books, women, when they appear, are overwhelmingly portrayed as mothers working at their domestic duties. In music books women are confined to this role in songs and illustrations. *This Is Music* has a song for girls entitled "Whom shall I marry?" "Rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief." [53] The theme is a popular one and the message is that girls have to find husbands and that is their first and most important job.

Though a girl may have a talent or interest, it is rarely developed for her own satisfaction but is viewed as bait for catching her husband. For example, ". . . she had grown up on a farm, learning how to spin, weave, cook, sew and keep house . . . the kind of training that would be useful to the wife of a hard working, enterprising young man.[54] In Vistas' a stanza from a poem by Robert P. Tristram Coffin, tells what american schoolmasters did for girls:

"They taught the girls such manners
As stiffened them for life,
But made many a fine speller,
Good mother and good wife" [55]

Yet even when a woman reaches that goal of marriage and motherhood, she still is not treated with respect or as a mature adult. The Task Force finds that mothers are second only to their daughters in dependency, passivity, incompetence, lack of imaginativeness and ingenuity and neatness. Even young boys are often shown saving older sisters and even mothers from disaster. In a story from "Wide Horizon" the son is helping to save his family from a flood which his sister sleeps through. Kees, the young hero, thinks to himself, Hadn't Mother and Trui gone through the same thing? And even if they were older, they were, after all only women. A big boy ought to be able to take at least as much as they could.[56] In Open Highways cousin Alma, a forty year old woman, is afraid to tions like this repeated time and time again in texts can't help but give children the opinion that women are extremely dependent and incompetent creatures.

Mother isn't too good at handling unusual situations either. In one story mother's son has to sit up in a tree for hours until father comes home and rescues him with a ladder. Apparently for mother to go out to the garage and get a ladder would have been outside her rigidly defined domestic role. It takes a father who is good with gadgets to come up with that clever solution . . . Back to the flood story for one more example of mother's reaction in a crisis. Kees was feeling much better now that there was a grown man in the house. Women were always so excitable and nervous. He saw that his mother was even more worried now that Houwelink had told her the latest news.[58]

Mother's activities consist of domestic duties, cooking, washing dishes, baking goodies (with her daughter or for her son) ironing, sewing and cleaning her always tidy house. An obsession with neatness is another characteristic of mothers. She almost always appears in a dress and quite often in high-heels and an apron. She constantly instills this passion for neatness and personal appearance in her daughters. In a story in "Friends Old and New" the family is expecting company. Mother says to her small daughter, I know that you want it (your hair) to look pretty when our friends come to visit.[59] This small child then sits under a hair dryer, suffering discomfort and boredom for the sake of "pretty hair," while her brother isn't even called into the house to change his clothes! In "Think and Do, Fun with Our Friends" the boys are going to the farm with grandfather. The girls want to go too but mother insists that the girls go with her. They are unhappy, but when they find out that they are going shopping for dresses, all is well. Jane and I want to go to the farm with the boys. But we like to go here too.[60] Apparently they do (in the textbooks anyway) because they are almost always pictured in pretty party dresses, good shoes and ribbons in their hair.

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[51] *Science a Modern Approach*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.
[52] *Wide Horizons*, Scott, Foresman Company 1965, grade 6, p. 154.
[53] *This is Music*, Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1963, p. 72.
[54] *Wide Horizons*, Scott, Foresman Company, 1965.
[55] *Vistas*, Scott, Foresman Company, 1965, grade 5, p. 158.
[56] *Wide Horizon*, Scott, Foresman Company, p. 97.
[57] *Open Highways*, 1965, p. 295.

stay alone, so she has two young boys come and stay the night with her.[57] Situa-

[58] *Wide Horizons*, Scott, Foresman Company, p. 41.

Adult women in the texts, unlike the men, are either job holders or mothers. Though the United States Office of Labor statistics stated that in 1970 57% of all working women have children under 18, we very rarely see a working mother in textbooks. As a matter of fact, mother rarely leaves the house or yard. When she does manage to get away, there almost always seems to be some kind of minor disaster, thereby emphasizing the point that mothers belong in the home. In More Friend's Old and New there is a story about a man who says his wife's work is easy so he stays home and she goes to the fields. He has so many problems that the closing line is "Never again did he offer to keep house." [61] The moral of the story—things are best the way they are now. Yet a mother's work is not only never done but it is never respected or looked on as very important. The textbook children never hush to allow their mother to concentrate. Does she ever concentrate on anything? Nor do the children ever bring her cups of tea while she relaxes with the paper the way they do for their father. Doesn't this imply that mother has no real work and therefore doesn't deserve a rest?

With the type of person mother is, it is no wonder that father is the exciting member of the family. He is the childrens only link with the outside world. Father does fun things with the children. Father solves problems and father makes decisions. Father knows something about everything!

Many of the Task Force members expressed concern about the manner in which marriage is portrayed in the textbooks. Since it seems to be an assumption that marriage is an inevitable step in one's life, why are all the marriages in these book so joyless. All demonstrations of affection are off limits, as are quarrels. The relationships between all people in the textbooks are lacking in human warmth. Their nonemotionalism makes them shallow, unrealistic and uninteresting. A child learns little about interpersonal communication from these books.

Even though there is no closeness between husband and wife—one doesn't find homes without both a mother and a father. What effect does the nonexistence of one parent families in texts have on the children who are presently living in such families? Approximatety 15% of the children in our schools live with only one parent and the number is rising every year due to the high failure rate of marriages in this country. Children whose backgrounds are significantly different from those found in all of their textbooks may choose to condemn themselves or their families for being atypical or abnormal. We do not feel that such a perception is healthy and positive steps should be taken to avoid it.

It is not only the portrayal of the family that suffers from a distortion of reality in these textbooks, for other real life situations are rarely seen on their pages either. People do not engage in artistic activities or become depressed; parents do not hire teenaged babysitters, adopt children or get sick, and children do not wear glasses, take music lessons or wonder about God. The textbook world might better portray varying life styles which would include children, both boys and girls, who occasionally get dirty, affectionate husbands and wives, working mother, and yes, even an occasional house-husband. In short, it is the belief of the Task Force that distortions of reality are not useful to young people as they develop and seek to attain a perspective of themselves and their world.

### *Conclusions and Recommendations*

It is the conclusion of the Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks that all of the texts reviewed are sexist and must be revised before going into a new printing. It is the recommendation of this Task Force that the Kalamazoo Public School System refuse to buy any new textbooks for any area of study, until they meet guidelines, as e.g., suggested and developed by the Instructional Media Department of the Kalamazoo Public Schools in their "Guidelines for a Non-stereotyped Portrayal of Human Roles in Media Center Materials (Appendix G)." We would remind the Board that their original motion which created and charged this Committee also instructed "the adminisration to look into the matter of working with book publishers after such a study was made. The Board has the power and the responsibility as a consumer of these textbooks to demand changes in them. We recommend that you write to the publishers telling them what, specifically, is objectionable in their texts that you will not buy their products until such revisions are made.

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[59] *Friends Old and New*, 1965, p. 106.
[60] *Think & Do, Fun With Our Friends*, 1965, p. 58.
[61] *More Friends Old and New*, Scott, Foresman Company, 1965, p. 228.

According to an article in the December issue of Nations Schools, "Sexism in Textbooks," only a few years ago educational publishers were chuckling over charges of sexism. Now they no longer find it so funny and they view sexism as analogous to racism. The article goes on to say that some publishers, such as Scott Foresman and Houghton Mifflin are already marketing new reading programs which they claim cancel out feminist criticisms of their earlier publications. For example Scott Foreman publishes a new second grade reader in which is included a story entitled "Lucky For Me". For years the venturesome hero went from ocean voyages to amusement parks all by himself. Now due to internal prompting by many of the company's female editors the hero is a heroine.

Another example of Scott Foresman's new style girls is Susie, the soap box derby queen. The illustrations accompanying this story show Susie, still wearing her helmet, and proudly displaying her trophy. However, we cannot help but wonder how Susie's t-shirt remained so spotless and her skin so free from any scrapes and smudges throughout the race that put her at the top. . . . Although such moves on the part of Scott Foresman to revise a few stories in a few texts may be considered by some a commendable solution to sexism charges, the Task Force feels that such token efforts fall short, far short, of eliminating sexism in the texts. We seriously question the new consciousness of Scott Foresman, particularly after reviewing *Windows, Doorways, Bridges*, a 1972 reader they are offering to schools. Out of a total number of 24 stories and poems in that reader, one poem and two stories feature girls as main characters, while the remaining stories and poems, 21 of them, are centered on male characters. This is not a significant improvement to be acceptable to the non-sexist consumer. No one, of course, expects publishers to conform to strict statistical probabilities in writing their texts, but the blatant bias which this study has shown to exist must be erased. If this is not done, then the Kalamazoo Public Schools must develop their own non-sexist reading program, calling upon the professional expertise already existant throughout the system.

Interested feminists, parents teachers, PTAs, administrators and Boards of Education all over the country are starting to demand that publishers abolish sex role steretoypes and publish materials that will encourage both boys and girls to fulfill their full human potential. No one is predicting how long such changes will take. Indeed, it may take a few years. In the meantime, however, there are a great many things that the Board of Education can do immediately to help counterbalance the destructive forces of the materials currently being used by the school system.

The most crucial and fundamental step that the Board can take is to help make all its elementary school staff aware of sexism in the materials they are using. There are a great many articles written on the subject of sexism in textbooks—a list of articles appears at the end of this report. The Task Force most highly recommends an excellent booklet published by Women on Words and Images entitled *Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Steretoyping in Children's Readers*. The booklet is an easily read eye-opener and it offers a comprehensive system for identifying sexism, which can be applied to texts of all subjects. This Task Force report itself can be used for this purpose and we recommend that it be distributed to all elementary school staff.

Once a teacher realizes the harmful effects of daily exposure to sexist materials there is really no limit to what he or she can do with the materials currently available. The aware teacher will recognize the sexist nature of the suggestion in the Teacher's Manual (*World of Language*, Follett Educational Corporation, 1970, p. 29) that ". . . you might suggest some objects with moving parts for the children to act out. Boys especially might welcome the opportunity to portray a jukebox or a can opener." Such a teacher, will, of course, see no reason why girls wouldn't like to or can't portray a jukebox or a can opener too. As children are reading their texts and seeing mothers who do nothing but housework, an aware teacher can suggest to the children that while mothers do work in the house, many mothers work outside the home as well. A profitable class discussion can be held about all the jobs in which working mothers are engaged. Children could also talk about hobbies that their mothers pursue, something never seen in these textbooks, or even the volunteer work their mothers do upon which our community is so dependent.

Once the process of becoming aware of the sexist nature of their materials and the harmful effects such materials have on their students has begun, the teachers themselves will find many ways of overcoming and/or supplementing these materials. A group of teachers, educational researchers, and graduate students met in Ann Arbor recently to invent easy ways to "Liberate" any classroom. Here are some of our and their suggestions.

Everyone likes to eat. Let's teach everyone to cook.

Encouorage girls to use manipulative materials like electric sockets and cords, screwdrivers and hammers. Making sewing machines and typewriters available to boys as well as girls.

Look for books with strong heroines and for superior biographies of women. Collect newspaper stories about women. Display pictures of working women.

Teach boys and girls inter sex sports like volleyball early.

Eliminate "girls' corners" and boys' corners.

Invite mothers and women friends with special skills to visit your class.

Teach girls as well as boys to help with audio-visual equipment, and boys as well as girls to clean up after messy projects. Choose boys and girls as library aides.

Write your own math problems. "Ann's mother needed six feet of lumber to make a bookshelf . . ." "Bill and John were cooking spaghetti for four friends. They bought . . ."

Encourage children to make their own studies of sex stereotypes on television, in magazines, and in books.

Learn about the history of women in America. If you are a woman, be aware that you are an important role model for your class. If you have a family, talk about it. If your husband shares the housework, mention it. If you experience discrimination, discuss it. If you are good at carpentry or baseball or car repair demonstrate it!

Have a "Woman of the Month" bulletin board.

Encourage your students to write their own non-sexist materials as a class project.

The Task Force recommends that the elementary school staff immediately adopt these and other methods that they themselves might develop as a means of combating current sexist materials.

Up to this point the recommendations made by the Task Force are things that can be done immediately with little or no cost to the school system. If these recommendations are carried out in a conscientious program, a good deal can be done to offset the currently available sexist printed materials.

We now recommend some steps that should be taken as soon as possible which would involve certain expenditures in staff time and money. As we have previously indicated, it may take a few years before publishers are printing books that are acceptable in terms of the guidelines proposed in Appendix G. Therefore, the Task Force recommends that as soon as possible the Administration design and produce adequate materials to be used as supplements to the present materials and distribute them throghout the elementary school system. We should like to remind you that not only staff, but the children themselves can design such materials.

The Task Force recommends that as soon as possible inservice training programs be conducted for all elementary staff for the purpose of increasing their awareness of the issue of sexism and its detrimental, dehumanizing effects on children.

The sincere hope of this Task Force is that the harmful sex stereotypes and discrimination seen in the materials used in the Kalamazoo Public Schools be eradicated. Parents, teachers, and concerned individuals can write to publishers demanding that textbooks be revised, and urge them to do so. But only the Board of Education can refuse to buy this material and provide adequate alternatives. The Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks asks you to do so.

## APPENDIX A

### TEXTBOOKS EVALUATION COVER SHEET

In evaluating the material, the primary concern is for a positive and honest portrayal of girls and women. As you can see, the evaluation sheet is primarily designed for reading texts and may be awkward when used for other subject texts. If so, use your own judgment and make whatever changes you think necessary, keeping in mind that our major points of concern are covered in the evaluation sheet.

As you investigate the material, consider the following questions:

—Are girls and boys participating equally in physical and intellectual activities?

—Do girls have a variety of choices and aspire to a variety of goals?

—Do the male characters respect the female characters and respond to them as equals?

—Are girls developing independent lives, independently meeting challenges and finding their own solutions?

—Are mothers employed outside the home? In what capacity?

—Are mothers only one-dimensional characters—namely, only mothers doing household chores?

—Are there any one-parent families?

—Are fathers and children of both sexes involved in domestic chores?

—Are fathers shown in any other than the stereotyped role of man going to work and doing male-type chores on the weekend?

—Does the home look "lived in" by real people or "ready for company?"

—Are girls portrayed as adventurous and aggressive as well as sensitive, and are the boys gentle as well as strong?

## APPENDIX E

**TEXTBOOK EVALUATION SHEET**

K through 6

RATED: ________ Excellent ____ Good ________ Acceptable ________ Unacceptable

by____________________________________

Subject__________________________ Trade_______________________________

Book Title________________________ Series______________________________

Published by______________________________ Date__________________________

Number of stories_______________ Number of biographies__________________
Males main character__________ of males __________________
Females main character__________ of females __________________

Sample types of activities - Boys ____________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

Sample types of activities - Girls ___________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________________

How are adults portrayed?
Men___________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Women_________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Give page number and brief description of illustration to be copied:

Give page and quotations to be copied:

How many stories are unacceptable?_______ List and give reasons.

Comments: (use other side of needed)

## Appendix C—Occupations of Adults

### READING TEXTS

This list is only one example of how completely we channel the aspirations of our female children. It is not difficult to understand why, after this socialization process, only the most enterprising of young women dare to challenge the established patterns of male-dominated activities.

### OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN

factory worker
librarian
dancer
seamstress
maid
lab technician
cafeteria worker

teacher
movie actress
ticket seller
nurse
store clerk
weather girl
telephone operator

housewife
secretary
scientist
singer
anthropologist
girl scout leader

### OCCUPATIONS OF MEN

train engineer
astrologist
farmer
doctor
author
band conductor
judge
school principal
skin diver
tailor
newscaster
mechanic
violin player
carpenter
taxi driver
contractor
fair manager
lumberjack
miner
fisherman
engineer
businessman
mineralogist
professor
forest ranger
fireman
auto worker
butcher
electrician
t.v. camera operator
blacksmith
weatherman
chef
museum guard

anthropologist
explorer
factory worker
cowboy
sailor
policeman
athlete
moviemaker
barber
rancher
station attendant
computer operator
astronaut
gardener
pilot
teacher
skier
sky diver
priest
oil driller
soldier
baker
glassblower
detective
salesman
captain
mountain climber
silversmith
truck driver
oceanographer
ophthalmologist
painter
mailman
health inspector

physicist
president
dentist
train conductor
inventor
politician
news reporter
orator
shoemaker
astronomer
meteorologist
garbage man
merchant
banker
metal worker
coach
jockey
matador
pirate
artist
industrialist
zoo keeper
hunter
lawyer
spy
telephone man
surveyor
veterinarian
mover
chemist
draftsman
bricklayer
bus driver
counselor

## APPENDIX D—REPRESENTATIVE ACTIVITIES OF CHILDREN

### READING TEXT: ACTIVITIES OF BOYS

rake leaves
plant garden
give magic show
ride in wagons
fix things
build play house
hide girl's toys
read books
get haircut
get cat out of tree for girl
direct traffic
make toys for girls
play on trapeze bar
shovel snow
go to store for mother
cook (in emergency)
build train track
make car into wheel barrow
make wheel barrow into sled
wash car
go camping
find fox
wipe dishes
take care of pet goat
climb trees
fly in helicopter
use telescope
row boat
shine shoes
shoot gun
write secret messages
live on houseboat
get ball down from tree for sister
help father pour cement
go to farm
play football
hike in woods
dig in dirt
ride in raft
rescue hat for girl
find sister when she is lost
play rough with dog
cook over open fire
paint
help girls out of trouble
fly toy planes
invent things
spray paint and build birdhouse
play fireman
go fishing
sell bike
stay alone with friend
rescue sister from closet
collect wild pets
tame wild horse
catch escaped goats
make telephone
watch parade and fireworks
dog sit
fish with harpoon
fill pool for sister
save family from flood
do headstands
play basketball
discipline sister
skate
put on puppet show for girls
ride bikes
ride horses
build beach chair
catch pet rabbit for girls
help with farm chores
fix toys for girls
play with trucks
squirt hose
make snowmen
play outdoors at night with flashlight
garden for neighbor
make and fly kites
build car
ride bike to park for picnic
swim
find bird for girl
build ship model
go to baseball game with friend
make flashlight
make animal cages
climb mountain
build go cart
play violin
play cowboy
ski
ride in motorboat
find bear for sister and mother
clean garage
watch workmen

## Appendix E—Representative Activities of Children
### READING TEXTS: ACTIVITIES OF GIRLS

model hats, coats, and dresses
walk with book on head
help mother with dishes
help mother cook
help mother clean
iron
dress up in mother's clothes
watch brother cook (in emergency)
get up on wall and can't get down
lose groceries through hole in bag
help brother in tug-of-war with dog
forget to take picture home
let pet bird out of house
save dog from drowning
get pretty clothes splashed with mud
play in house built by boys
look for toys hidden by boys
stay home while boys go to farm
talk on phone
sew
shop for clothes
skip rope
play with kittens
lose shoes
vacuum
jump rope
play in snow
lock self in closet
have tea party
worry about clothes
lose hat
watch boy's puppet show
get lost
march incorrectly
let pet rabbit get away
get dressed
get ball stuck in tree
play indoor hide and seek
have "pet" vacuum cleaner
forget book
ride horses
play with walkie-talkie
go to camp
play "statue"
sweep
play with dolls
get hair done in curlers
go to store for mother
make flower lei
sing
lose teddy bear
ride bike (in dress)
forget lunch money
dress up in grandma's clothes
cut flowers
read books

## Appendix F—Fifth Grade Class Evaluation of Second Grade Text

After a discussion about sex discrimination in reading texts with the 1971–72 fifth grade class at West Main School taught by Ms. Gregory, some of the members of the class decided that they would like to do a project on this topic. They read a second grade reading text, *Friends Old and New*, published by Scott Foresman to determine whether or not it was sexist. An evaluation form was designed for their use[1] and their findings are reported here.

Out of 40 stories that they read, 30 of them had boys as main characters while only 10 were based on female characters. These 5th graders also found that the activities of boys and girls were very different in the textbook. The boys are often busily engaged in active games such as baseball or football. They fly kites, visit friends or go to the park, build things and play with such varied toys as trains, cars, boats, airplanes, sleds, tools and drums. The girls, however, play with dolls, teddy bears, play stoves and dishes. They sit under hair dryers, have tea parties or do housework. When asked about exciting and interesting things boys do, the 5th graders found that boys play with dogs, ride bikes or go fishing while girls, once again, clean house or play with dolls. One of the girl students said, "Girls do nothing really, unless you call cooking and stuff like that exciting."

Asked whether or not the adults in the book look or act like their parents, teachers or other adults they knew, the 5th graders answered six to two that they did not, saying that the adults they know don't look like the pictures in the book, aren't as nice, and don't act as goofy. Finally, when asked if sex discrimination touched them, one girl said, "Yes. When I want to play a sport they won't let me because I am just a girl."

This exercise by these 5th graders resulted in two notable conclusions: (1) children *do* notice the distortions of reality presented in the textbooks and (2) their basic findings were the same as ours.

The Task Force would like to take this opportunity to thank Ms. Gregory and the following students for their participation in the work of this Task Force and their help in making this report more directly meaningful: Donna Ames, Gregg Blohn, Andrea Clason, David Collins, Roger Meint, Nate Stegall, Jacquie Stiltner, and Fred Webber.

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[1] See last page of Appendix F.

### BOOK EVALUATION SHEET

How many stories with boys as main characters? 31.

How many stories with girls as main characters? 9.

What are some of the activities of the boys? Help other people do things and play with toys.

What are some of the activities of the girls? House work.

What types of things do boys play with? (Boys' toys) Baseball, footballs, trains.

What types of things do girls play with? (Girls' toys) Doll, ball, bears.

What do the boys seem to think about girls? Nothing.

What do the girls seem to think about boys? Nothing.

Some examples of exciting and interesting things boys do: Helping and leading other people.

Some examples of exciting and interesting things girls do: Work, playing with dolls.

Do the adults in the book look and act like your parents and teachers and other adults you know? Yes No X.

How are they different? They're too goofy.

How are they alike? No way.

Can you give any examples of sex discrimination that you have seen or ways that sexism has touched you? Boys leading girls and having fast answers and ideas.

## APPENDIX G—KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS INSTRUCTIONAL MEDIA DEPARTMENT

### GUIDELINES FOR A POSITIVE, NON-STEREOTYPED PORTRAYAL OF HUMAN ROLES IN MEDIA CENTER MATERIALS

1. Are both parents and children of each sex involved in household tasks?
2. Are fathers shown in roles other than going to work or doing male-type chores? Are there family concerns, community concerns, personal growth concerns?
3. Are mothers shown in roles other than housework or child rearing? Are there family concerns, community concerns, personal growth concerns?
4. Does the home look lived in by real human people or is it a ready for company sterile home?
5. Are there accurate portrayals of one-parent families?
6. Are there accurate portrayals of multiple parent (divorce-remarriage) families?
7. Do the male characters respect the female characters and respond to them as equals?
8. Are mothers employed outside the home? In a stereotyping or a creative job?
9. Are boys and girls portrayed with a range of human responses—girls adventurous and aggressive as well as sensitive, boys gentle as well as strong?
10. Are boys and girls participating equally in physical and intellectual activities?
11. Are girls developing independent lives, independently meeting challenges and finding their own solutions?
12. Do girls have a variety of choices and aspire to a variety of goals?

Adapted from: *Little Miss Muffett Fights Back*, N.Y. Feminists on Children's Media. 1971; Citizens Study—Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools. 1972.

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## SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

The Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks has completed its study of the texts, supplements and sets of study prints approved for use in the 1971–72 school year by the Kalamazoo Public Schools. Our findings show that textbooks of all content areas consistently separate people into two rigidly defined molds which provide unfair and distorted stereotyped role models for both boys and girls. In textbooks the only acceptable role offered to girls is one of passivity, dependence, incompetence, emotionalism, and above all domesticity. The textbook male is creative, resourceful, assertive, brave and clever. Though he is more multi-densional than his female counterpart, he is provided with an almost impossible to achieve "superboy/superman" role model.

One of the most obvious findings of the Task Force is the great discrepancy between the number of females to males present in both illustration and content material, with males outnumbering females more than 3 to 1. There is a great lack of active participation by females in all texts. Though an adult female in a math text may have a job outside the home, no mention is made of her earning money, saving money, investing or making large purchases. These activities are frequently discussed with male subjects. Statistically, textbook boys earn money 2 to 1 over girls in the math texts and save money 5 to 1 over girls. In science texts girls are seen as timid observers while the boys actively execute the experiments and projects. In the 22 fifth and sixth grade social studies texts read, men were listed in the index 1,508 times while women were listed 60 times. Handwriting texts present drills which show America's workers as all males and drills seldom mention girls names. There are even two-thirds more males than females in spelling books. Can children help but get the impression that boys are more important, more intelligent, have broader career opportunities and considerably more fun?

From the simple text of the beginning readers to the sixth grade math and science texts, the activities of textbook boys and girls examplify their personality traits. The girls, being passive and indecisive individuals, are seen standing or sitting still, watching the boys build things or play games. Their fun is centered on their future families. They help keep house, give tea parties or play with their dolls. They often get themselves into situations where they are in need of help and it is always a boy who comes to the rescue. The textbook boys, being vigorous and inventive individuals, are seen playing with kites or chemistry sets. Boys are often shown having part time jobs or going camping, fishing or exploring on their own.

The adults who children see in their textbooks are as sex stereotyped as the children. Men are both fathers and job holders, seen in almost every conceivable occupation. Women are seen in the house or in jobs traditionally viewed acceptable for women—teacher, nurse or librarian. Despite the fact that 58% of working women have children under 18 years of age, we rarely see a working mother. Marriage and motherhood are goals of the textbook female, yet even when she reaches those goals, she still possesses the textbook female personality traits of passivity and incompetence. The textbook mother stays indoors, where she is always wearing a dress and usually an apron and highheels. Her activities consist of domestic duties: washing dishes, cooking, sewing and cleaning her always tidy house. There are no challenges in her life, no humor, warmth or flexibility. She is never seen reading a book, moving furniture, playing ball, voting, going to school or balancing a checkbook. Father is the exciting member of the family. He does fun things with the children, solves problems, makes decisions and seems to know something about everything.

Textbooks are not mirrors of reality. They abound in distortions. They do not deal with real life issues or situations that confront young lives daily. On their pages children don't wear glasses or braces and they don't take music lessons or wonder about God. There is no human warmth in the textbook child's relationships with family or friends. The non-emotionalism in all textbook relationships makes them shallow, unrealistic and uninteresting. The portrayal of adults is also greatly distorted in texts. Marriage, though it appears as an inevitable step in every adult's life, seems quite joyless in the textbooks. All demonstrations of affection are off limits, as are quarrels. Parents never get sick, engage in artistic activities, adopt children or hire a teenage babysitter. Even though one finds no closeness between husbands and wives, single parent families do not exist in textbooks. The Task Force is deeply concerned about the effects the non-existence of one parent families in textbooks has on the approximately 15% of the children in our schools living with only one parent.

Distortions of reality and rigid sex role stereotypes are very harmful and when they are presented to children at their most vulnerable and malleable stages of development. These textbooks do not encourage a girl to develop to her maximum potential. On the contrary they often imply that to do so is unfeminine. Such a restricted portrayal of womanhood causes girls to lower their aspirations and selfesteem. In effect, such texts program girls not to achieve. The textbooks have a powerful message for boys as well. The passive and dependent portrayal of the textbook female, coupled with the almost "superbeing" portrayal of the male, strongly implies that boys must prove themselves by being strong and brave. Textbooks continually reinforce the belief that boys shouldn't show any type of emotions. Stereotyping of males in this way creates an artificial barrier between males and females leading ultimately to the mistaken belief that, because males show no emotions, they have none. Limiting a boys personality in such a way can only serve to stifle growth and maturity.

It is the conclusion of this Task Force that all of the texts reviewed are sexist and must be revised before going into new printing. It is our recommendation that the Kalamazoo Public School System refuse to buy any new textbooks for any area of study, until they meet guidelines, as for example, suggested and developed by the Instructional Media Department of the Kalamazoo Public Schools. In the meantime, however, there are a great many things that the Board of Education can do immediately and the Task Force makes the following recommendations:

Encourage girls to use manipulative materials like electric sockets and cords, screwdrivers and hammers. Make sewing machines and typewriters available to boys as well as girls.

Everyone has to eat. Let's teach everyone to cook.

Look for books with strong heroines and for superior biographies of women. Collect newspaper stories about women. Display pictures of working women.

Teach boys and girls inter-sex sports, like volleyball, early.

Invite mothers and women friends with special skills to visit your class.

Teach girls as well as boys to help with audio visual equipment, and boys as well as girls to clean up after messy projects. Choose boys and girls as library aides.

Write your own math problems . . . "Ann's mother needed six feet of lumber to make a bookshelf . . ." "Bill and John were cooking spaghetti for four friends. They bought . . ."

Encourage children to make their own studies of sex stereotypes on television, in magazines and in books.

Learn about the history of women in America. If you are a woman, be aware that you are an important role model for your class. If you have a family, talk about it. If your husband shares the housework, mention it. If you experience discrimination, discuss it. If you are good at carpentry or baseball or car repair, demonstrate it!

Have a "Woman of the Month" bulletin board.

Encourage your students to write their own non-sexist materials as a class project.

These recommendations can be carried out immediately with little or no cost to the school system. The Task Force recommends that the following steps which involve certain expenditures in staff time and money be taken as soon as possible.

It may take a few years before publishers are printing acceptable, non-sexist material. Therefore, we recommend that the Administration design and produce adequate materials to be used as supplements to the present materials and distribute them throughout the elementary school system. We should like to remind you that not only staff but the children themselves can design such materials.

In addition, inservice training programs should be conducted for all elementary staff for the purpose of increasing their awareness of the issue of sexism and its detrimental, dehumanizing effects on children.

It is the sincere wish of this Task Force that immediate attention be given to the implementation of these recommendations.

## EVALUATION SHEET FOR SECONDARY TEXTBOOKS

The form is intended only as a guide for people studying sexism in books. More important than the specific information asked for is the reaction of the reviewer, the comments, objections and insights that come up while evaluating the book.

More help in evaluating textbooks may be found in *Need for Studies of Sex Discrimination in Public Schools*, published by the Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Department of Labor Building, Room 1336, Washington, D.C. 20210, and *Analyzing Instructional Materials, Content Analysis Procedures*, prepared by Sara Zimet, University of Colorado Medical School, for the NEA Conference on Sex Role Stereotypes.

### I. BASIC INFORMATION

Title________________________ Reviewed by______________
Author_______________________ Copyright date___________
Series_______________________ Publisher________________
Where used, school______________ Class__________ Grade________
How often is it used?_____________________________________
Total number of pages_______________ Size of page____________

### II. QUANTITATIVE INFORMATION

A. For all books:

Number of pages referring to women______________________
Cite page numbers______________________________________
Column inches or number of sentences referring to women______________
Number of photographs featuring women____________________
Cite page numbers______________________________________
What are women doing in these pictures?___________________
__________________________________________________________

B. For history and social studies texts, particularly

Name the women featured________________________________
Cite topics relating specifically to women that are covered______________
__________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________

### III. QUALITATIVE INFORMATION

Acceptable references to women.

Please feel free to add any information. Use the back for further evaluation.

Quotations, with page numbers

Unacceptable references to women, such as statements or innuendos demeaning women

Quotations, with page numbers

List notable omissions of prominent women----------------------------------------

List any significant subjects which have been omitted, such as, in history books, child labor, women's suffrage, or family life----------------------------------------

How would you improve a textbook for this class?

Have you seen other textbooks on this subject which you could recommend as non-sexist?

### ELEMENTARY TEXT BOOK EVALUATION COVER SHEET

In evaluating the material, the primary concern is for a positive and honest portrayal of girls and women. As you can see, the evaluation sheet is primarily designed for reading texts and may be awkward when used for other subject texts. If so, use your own judgment and make whatever changes you think necessary, keeping in mind that our major points of concern are covered in the evaluation sheet.

As you investigate the material, consider the following questions:

—— Are girls and boys participating equally in physical and intellectual activities?
—— Do girls have a variety of choices and aspire to a variety of goals?
—— Do the male characters respect the female characters and respond to them as equals?
—— Are girls developing independent lives, independently meeting challenges and finding their own solutions?
—— Are mothers employed outside the home? In what capacity?
—— Are mothers only one-dimensional characters—namely, only mothers doing household chores?
—— Are there any one-parent families?
—— Are fathers and children of both sexes involved in domestic chores?
—— Are fathers shown in any other than the stereotyped role of man going to work and doing male-type chores on the weekend?
—— Does the home look "lived in" by real people or "ready for company?"
—— Are girls portrayed as adventurous and aggressive as well as sensitive, and are the boys gentle as well as strong?

### TEXT BOOK EVALUATION SHEET (K THROUGH 6)

Rate: ☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Acceptable ☐ Inacceptable
By----------------------------------------
Subject------------------------------ Trade------------------------------
Book Title------------------------------ Series------------------------------
Number of stories------------------------------ Number of biographies----------
Males main charecter------------------ of males------------------
Females main character---------------- of females------------------
Sample Types of activities—Boys----------------------------------------
Sample Types of activities—Girls----------------------------------------
How are adults portrayed?
Men----------------------------------------
Women----------------------------------------
Give page number and brief description of illustration to be copied:
Give page and quotations to be copied:
How many stories are inacceptable?------------------ List and give reasons.
Comments:

# REPORT OF THE "STUDENT ORIENTED" TASK FORCE

(By Bridget Stover)

## THE STUDENT ORIENTED TASK FORCE REPORT

The "Student Oriented" Task Force has attempted to consider all things affecting students that are non-athletic and non-academic as being within its area of study. Since we felt our Task Force's charge was of an exploratory nature, no attempt was made to try to reach a large proportion or a scientific sampling of all people or activities concerned and, as a result, most of our information is anecdotal. However, we have tried to have contact with administrators, teachers, students and parents at the grade school, junior high and senior high school levels.

The Task Force members were constantly frustrated throughout the study because what little awareness there was of sex discrimination focused on athletics, personnel and course work, not in the areas we were to examine. So while a great deal of energy was expended we didn't always feel we were getting much information pertinent to our study. Before presenting the work that the committee did it seems appropriate to present some general impressions we had throughout our contact with the schools and individuals.

During the first part of our study we had complete and seemingly willing cooperation from our committee liaison and all school staff members. Dr. Hagen's letter to staff members opened all doors for us and we got immediate action and/or information on any request we made. During the second part of the study and with a change in administration and liaison we have not had the same high quality of cooperation. We were refused admittance to a school, information requested was a long time in coming and tasks assumed by the school were not performed at all or as outlined. This semi-cooperation made our task more difficult and raised the question in our mind as to whether this present school administration and/or liaison were truly committed to the task of examining sex discrimination in the schools. If this was the case it raises concern as to whether or not this same administration will act to further study sex discrimination (if necessary) in depth in the schools and then move to eliminate such discrimination where it exists.

The Task Force members were also struck by the lack of awareness by the people we contacted as to the problem and possibility of sex discrimination in the schools. Many of the people—parents, teachers, students, principals—hadn't thought about it at all or in areas other than athletics and personnel. As a result in many of our contacts we had to begin to educate people as to what sex discrimination might be and what forms it might take. In order to help them focus in on the topic we usually asked them if they were aware of any activity or programs, etc. where there were all boys or all girls or was there anything that boys could do and not girls and vice versa. This seemed non-threatening to people and helped them to think of possible situations of discrimination. While many of the people we talked with weren't able to think of any discriminatory situations or activities, we felt that they had at least been sensitized to a small degree. If they did in the future see something going on only for boys or only for girls they might evaluate the situation more closely for possible sex discrimination. We felt this was a valuable side effect of the study.

## SCHOOLS AS REFLECTORS OF SOCIETAL ATTITUDES

While it is probably obvious to all, we feel it should be pointed out how the schools reflected the wider societal traditional attitude about sex discrimination, women liberation, the appropriate role of boys and girls, etc. As mentioned above many people were unaware of and/or unconcerned about the possibility of sex discrimination and had never given the problem serious consideration. Such is the case in society at large. At one meeting we held at the administration building several men stuck their heads in the room, interrupted, made general jeering, ridiculing remarks about the committee, its task, its members, etc. Such ridicule of and about women and their concern re: sex discrimination is also very common in society. In discussions with teachers and administrators, a general picture of girls being passive, rope jumping, gossiping, silly, more academically skilled and boys being active, brave punishment accepters who can be spanked but who don't pick up basic skills as rapidly was often presented. These representations are the traditional societal views of boys and girls. The schools and the people involved in the schools reflected these views, acted in terms of them and as a result, reinforced and further imposed these traditional behavior models on the students.

While society gives lip service to the fact that both parents are responsible for the care of children and are concerned about their education, it was our impression that the mothers showed more concern about their children's school experience, were more involved in school activities and were looked to by the schools, for greater participation in the schools. The schools expected mothers to be "home room mothers", bring treats, transport children, come to school for routine illnesses and discipline problems, help with bazaars, lower level PTA tasks, etc, but fathers were looked to for construction projects, handling severe health problems and serious discipline problems and high level prestigious PTA positions. Usually when they did so, some thanks was given. However, fathers' help seemed to be considered extra special and effusive thanks were given for their usually limited involvement. In summary, it seemed that the traditional societal pattern of women doing most of the time consuming "chore" type jobs for men being called in to do the hard, "serious" or high status jobs and then getting the lion's share of the thank-yous was reflected in the school's view of expected parental participation in the schools and was in fact how most parents were involved in the schools.

It is now time to move from the general impressions of our experiences and the impression of the reflection of societal beliefs and attitudes in the schools to a consideration of the specific areas our task force explored.

## ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL POLICY

The "Administrative Procedure Bulletins" and the "Board Policy Bulletins" were examined to see if they contained any policies and procedures dealing with non-academic, non-athletic student-related activities which were discriminatory in terms of sex.

The following were the "Board Policy Bulletins" which were examined:

a. No 34—Student Publications June 16, 1969, Reissued August 11, 1969.

b. No 35—Involvement of Students in After-School Educational Activities June 13, 1970.

c. No. 38—Overt Discriminatory Behavior—Jan 4, 1971.

d. No 44—School Endorsement of Student Participation in Activities such as Sponsored and Initiated by Non-School Organizations—November 15, 1971.

We were very concerned with Policy Bulletin No. 38. Nowhere in the statement was sex mentioned as an area covered by the overt discriminatory behavior statement. We feel that sex must be included in this statement and that the statement should be revised so it reads as follows:

## BROAD POLICY BULLETIN NO. 38

Discrimination may be viewed as any action or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of race, religion, ethnic background *or sex*. The best definition of discriminatory behavior is an operational one. This means that it must be based upon the way people actually behave.

Overt discrimination is a detriment to the educational and social growth of the students in our school system. Behavior of individual staff members toward students and assignment of students to classes by counselors based on race, religion, ethnic background *or sex* is totally unacceptable in accordance with the philosophy of the Kalamazoo Public Schools.

Overt Discrimination, when proven, shall be considered grounds for dismissal. Examples of overt discrimination shall include, but not be limited to, the following:

1. Dealing with behavioral problems of students on the basis of the student's race, religion, ethnic background *or sex*.
2. Marking students for individual assignments or for a semester's work on the basis of religion, ethnic background *or sex*.
3. Exclusion of students from classroom and extra-curricular activities on the basis of religion, ethnic background *or sex*.
4. Assigning of students to class by counselors on the basis of race, religion, ethnic background *or sex*.
5. Refusing to confer or talk with students because of race, religion, ethnic background *or sex*.

6. Calling students derogatory names or referring to them by derogatory names such as: nigger, boy, wetback, greaser, honkie, *broad or chick*.

7. Failing to introduce comparative cultures pertaining to blacks, Mexicans, and American Indians; all religions and nationalities when called for by the curriculum; *accurate view of the contribution of women in all cultures*, our additions)

We feel that when the revised statement is adopted and when it is implemented great strides can be made to insure the full and equal participation of women in all areas of school programs.

The following "Administrative Procedures Bulletins: were examined:

a. No. 7—Participating in Activities Sponsored by Recreation Department dated February 16, 1959.

b. No. 11—Student Publications—June 30, 1971 (revised)

c. No. 23—Use of School Swimming Pools—Nov. 30, 1972, revised April 20, 1967.

d. No. 49—Re-enrollment of Junior and Senior High School Students, Sept. 1970.

e. No. 56—Procedure Regarding Overt Discriminatory Behavior, May 25, 1971.

f. No. 57—Aproval of Student Participation in Programs and Activities such as Contests, Recognitions, Competitions, and Performances initiated by Non-School Organizations, October 25, 1971.

Two of the above procedure statements gave cause for concern. In No. 57, regarding student participation in non-school initiated programs and activities, one of nine guidelines for whether approval for participation would be granted is whether or not the "program is open to all students, regardless of race or creed." *It seemed to the Committee that sex should also be added so that the question reads: "Is the program open to all students, regardless of race, creed or sex?" We also feel that this amended revision should be a requirement, not a guideline consideration for school endorsement of non-school initiated programs and activities.*

We are also concerned with No. 56 as it stands now. The procedures outlined in No. 56 are fine as steps to express grievances re discriminatory behavior. Our concern is that as it is now, it relates only to overt discriminatory behavior based on sex. The procedures outlined in No. 56 do not allow redress of grievances of a sex discriminatory nature. We feel it must do so. The revised statement coupled with the grievance procedure outlined in "Administrative Procedures" Bulletin No. 56 will give women an adequate procedure for taking action when they are subjected to discriminating action based on their sex, as well as race, religion and ethnic origin.

### DISCIPLINE

An analysis of the "Standards for Discipline" as adopted by the Kalamazoo Board of Education on February 1, 1971 was also made. In general, the statement makes no references concerning sex and as it stands, all provisions outlined would apply to both men and women students. This is as it should be. However, there are several additions which we feel are necessary.

First, in outlining responsibilities for discipline for students, parents, counselors, teachers, principals, the superintendent and the Board of Education, the general statement is made that each of the groups listed above "must work within himself (and related persons) to admit and eliminate prejudice of race, creed and social class". *We feel that sex must also be added so that all persons involved are responsible to admit and eliminate prejudice based on sex as well as race, creed, and social class.* (The feminine pronoun might also be added here to further illustrate the point.

Secondly, in many areas reference is made to calling the parent or guardian when there is a disciplinary problem. As we mentioned earlier there are differences in the application of this procedure. *When there are two parents in the home either or both parents should be contacted without regard to the seriousness of the problem.* Either the mother or the father can handle trivial or serious problems and should be expected to do so.

Thirdly, there did seem to be some instances of discriminatory use of corporal punishment as brought out in our discussions with elementary school principals. Female principals felt they could and would "spank" both boys and girls but men principals felt they could only "spank" boys. This seemed especially true when there was a difference in the race of the principal and the female child.

This later situation seemed to invoke the threat of general societal concern or outrage of a sexist and/or racist nature. It would seem that if corporal punishment is being considered that it should be applied within the general guidelines suggested in the discipline policy and that sex and race should not be considerations either in the application of force or in judging situations where force has been used.

Two further tasks were carried out within the general area of discipline. An analysis was done for disciplinary problems and action taken on those problems to see if there was a difference between boys and girls and the action taken for problems relating to boys and girls. This was done in one early elementary school. The disciplinary problems were placed in two categories—rowdy behavior (snowball throwing, yelling, etc.) and interpersonal conflict (fighting, pushing, name calling, etc.). There appears to be no discrimination based on sex as to the numbers of students "called to account" for either of these two problem areas. The two general categories of disciplinary action were talking to offenders and taking some further action (calling parents, spanking, etc.) and there appeared to be no differences on action taken for boys or girls. This was as it should be *and the task force felt that this type of analysis should be carried out by all the elementary schools to insure that both boys and girls are equally held accountable for unacceptable behavior and to insure that all disciplinary problems are handled equally and fairly.*

An attempt to analyze disciplinary problems and action for the Junior High and Senior High School was also made. Since there didn't seem to be any one person at each school who had information as to the number and type of disciplinary problems and the action taken on these referrals in the schools we were forced to use the figures on suspension for the schools. Since suspension is one of the last measures taken, and these are the only figures available, we were unable to ascertain whether or not referral for disciplinary action of a more routine nature was made for the same offense without reference to sex and whether the actions taken were equally applied for men and women students. *We feel that the schools should collect such information and that one person should have such data and should analyze it to insure that there is no sex discrimination in referrals and in action taken on such referrals.*

The following is a list of approximate percentages of male and female students suspended from Junior and Senior High Schools for the listed offenses from September 1972–March 1973.

| Offense | Percentage of those suspended | |
|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female |
| Fighting | 70 | 30 |
| Threats to harm | 65 | 35 |
| Defiance | 65 | 35 |
| Breaking rules | 60 | 40 |
| Profanity | 75 | 25 |
| Degrading words | 85 | 15 |
| Smoking | 61 | 39 |
| Truancy | 61 | 39 |
| Extortion | 100 | 0 |
| Assault and battery | 73 | 27 |
| Liquor and drugs | 92 | 8 |
| Destruction of property | 86 | 14 |
| Possession of weapon | 87 | 13 |
| Arson | 100 | 0 |
| Theft | 78 | 22 |
| Other | 91 | 9 |
| Total | 64 | 36 |

These figures would indicate that for all categories a much greater percentage of male students are being suspended than female students. School figures show that the split between male and female students for Junior and Senior Highs combined is 50% females and 50% males. The Committee felt that there might be variations within schools so percentages of male and female students suspended from each school were also tallied. The following shows the percentage of male and female students suspended from each of the Junior and Senior High Schools:

| School | Percent of total number suspended | |
|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female |
| Central | 71 | 29 |
| Norrix | 57 | 43 |
| Hillside | 59 | 41 |
| Milwood | 58 | 42 |
| Northeastern | 68 | 32 |
| Oakwood | 77 | 23 |
| South | 69 | 31 |
| Total | 64 | 36 |

Again, male students are suspended in a greater proportion then female students in all schools and there does appear to be a difference among the schools. A much greater proportion of men are suspended at Central than at Norrix and the Committee felt that an analysis should be done at Central to see if males are being discriminated against in the application of suspension procedures. Such an analysis is also suggested for Oakwood, South and Northeastern. The Committee recommends that the school system collect and analyzse data re the referral for suspension to see that these referrals are made without consideration of sex and to make sure that male students aren't being unfairly treated in this area of school action and in conflict with stated school policy.

In concluding the work of the Committee in the area of discipline it seems pertinent to note that in a survey of students (to be elaborated on later) 24% of the females surveyed in the high schools felt that there was discrimination by sex in the area of discipline and 30% of the males surveyed felt there was such discrimination. It seems that there may indeed be a basis in fact for such a feeling.

### GENERAL SCHOOL CONTACT

During the course of our study we felt it would be appropriate to visit several schools to try to get a "feel" for the schools and to see if in those limited contacts we saw or were told of any sex discrimination. This was done by walking around in the schools, observing classes in session, talking with principals as tone setters for schools and by reading publications of the schools. We attempted to do all these for elementary, junior and senior high school. Because of a lack of people power and time, not nearly as much observing as would be necessary and desirable for an accurate and comprehensive picture was carried out. However, we will present what our impressions were.

First, because concerns were expressed to us about separation of the sexes in activities in kindergarten and because this is the first experience children have in the public schools and as such, may set the tone for the whole school experience, we focused on kindergartens. (It should be noted here that when a male committee member attempted to set up a time to visit one kindergarten class he was, by lack of action on the schools' part in essence, not given permission to do so. This was the only negative school building contact our committee had). In summarizing the observations and discussions concerning kindergartens, it seems that effort are made to mix the sexes and possibly the fact that effort must be made indicates that there is already separation of the sexes and their "appropriate" activities by the time children enter the schools or in their early exposure to the school. The school may have to recognize this and thus fulfill the double responsibility of eliminating preconceived notions and consequent closed options and to make sure they don't perpetuate these preconceived roles. There was some indication that activities were separated into areas of dolls, doll cribs, toy appliances, dress-up clothes and areas of tractors, blocks, trucks and balls.

Where there was this clear separation, there tended to be separation of sexes with girls in the area with dolls, etc. and boys in the area with trucks, balls, etc. In some cases it seemed boys would take part in some of the traditionally female toy areas but didn't want the girls to play in the traditionally male toy areas. The Committee feels that if there are any separation in toy areas it should be based on other criteria than traditional female-male activities. Possibly the areas should be quiet play areas, active toy areas, manipulative toy areas, etc. and a blend of traditional boy-traditional girl toys should be within each area and efforts should be made to see that both boys and girls play in all areas.

Playground activities were also examined and it seemed that there was much segregation of the sexes on the playground. Some activities were exclusively male (softball, kick ball, toss) in some cases and some were exclusively female (jump rope). Some activities were mixed (field soccer, dancing, tree climbers) and the Committee feels these should be stressed and other joint participation including activities should be developed and encouraged on playgrounds. One situation was related where the boys used to play the girls in softball but the games were stopped because the girls always beat the boys. While this was related as a humorous story it seemed to the Committee to raise many very serious considerations and should be considered in terms of the message this gave to the little girls involved. In summary then it seems that in early school classrooms and play situations there is some separation of the sexes and that this separation is in some ways encouraged by the physical set-up and activities pursued. The Committee feels that the schools should carry out an analysis of the physical set-up of classrooms to see whether or not there is equal access to and use of all materials and classroom areas. If this is not the case, then immediate steps should be taken to remedy the situations. The schools should also make sure that activities that insure and encourage equal participation of boys and girls are encouraged within classes and on the playground. A step in this direction might be made by eliminating sex-segregated lines to and from the playground when they exist.

In our tour through other level schools and in our observations of classes in session, with the exception of the material mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, we saw no evidence of activities or class participation segregated by sex.

The Committee also reviewed a small selection of periodicals that are published by individual schools such as newsletters, year books, school newspapers and bulletins to get the tone of the schools and to see whether or not we found any overt discrimination in periodicals. We got our sample from periodicals belonging to committee members and from some of those sent to our liaison in the administration building by the schools. None of the articles we reviewed seemed sexist and there seemed to be fairly equal coverage of both males and females in the articles reviewed. This is one of the areas however, where we found differing levels of expectations for parents of either sex and where minimum thanks seemed to be given to mothers who exerted great effort in school activities. It is hoped by the Committee that school personnel involved in producing or helping students to produce school bulletins and other periodicals will be alert to the problem of sex discrimination and will make sure that men and women students and faculty are treated equally in the number and content of articles covered in school periodicals. We also recommend that each school do a thorough content analysis of all its publications on a regular basis (yearly) to see that there is equal treatment of the sexes in the publications .

As a further way to get the "tone" of the schools the task force members interviewed seven principals, 3 at grade school level and two at the other two levels. These were held because we felt principals set the "tone" for building and we wanted to get some idea of their impressions about the behavior difference between boys and girls, sex discrimination in their school or within the system, disciplining and a variety of other topics. We also used these interviews to tell them about the study, to get their approval to contact students and teachers within their schools and to get any ideas about possible areas to cover. All the principals interviewed were very cooperative and very open in their comments. All were very agreeable to our contacting other people within their schools. It seemed that most had never given much consideration to the possibility of sex discrimination within their schools. One principal felt there probably was sex discrimination in his school but felt that it was a result of the traditional patterns of behavior and behavior expectations and not determined by rules, laws, etc. No action was being taken to combat sex discrimination in that school.

When specific activities within the schools, such as seating in class, cafeteria or assemblies, club membership, behavioral expectations for boys and girls etc. were discussed, most of the answers seemed to show that the principals were not aware of discrimination within these areas. Several of the principals felt that the concern should be and was about racial discrimination and not sex discrimination. Some principals were unaware of and/or unconcerned about the problem of sex discrimination, some were aware of but not taking action concerning instances of sex discrimination; and some felt it was of secondary (or no) importance. The Committee feels that efforts should be made to familiarize principals with the problem of sex discrimination, the subtle and not so subtle way it is manifested and the seriousness of the problem and then to help principals examine every aspect of student life at school and to eliminate those policies or procedures or activities however large or small which are sexist in nature.

### TEACHERS

The committee members also met with teachers, singly and in groups, to find out if they were aware of sex discrimination. We attempted to focus on teachers that were aware of or involved in extra curricular activities (band, speech, drama, cheerleading, interest clubs) since this was our primary area of concern. It was in these discussions where the committee felt much frustration. The teachers interviewed felt there was much discrimination based on sex but most of the information they gave concerned athletics and personnel and not areas of our study and will not be presented here. One teacher mentioned that several women complained because there is a father's night celebration during or after football season but nothing for mothers. They were especially irritated as they felt they had had to do most of the work for the child involved in football and the fathers were getting the thanks. The Committee felt that if there are parent thank-you nights for football or any other activity that both parents should be invited and thanked for their extra efforts which allowed their child to participate in outside activities. Some of the teachers interviewed felt that there was differential treatment among activities (cheerleading gets more money than debate) and differential testimony of activities between schools (debate for Central and debate for Norrix) but they didn't have concrete examples of discrimination based on sex within activities except in the area of drama and debate. Several concerns were mentioned within these fields. First there was the expressed feeling that there is inherent discrimination against women in many plays in content and roles and authorship and that because of this schools would have difficulty in finding and producing a play which wasn't in some way discriminatory against women. The concern was also expressed by one coach that in debate girls usually had to be twice as good as boys to be judged competent. It was felt that this was due to the fact that most judges are men who tended to favor boys in this area.

While most teachers felt there were some sexist teachers and school policies they were not able to give any concrete examples. We felt this was probably due to lack of examination and awareness of the types of discriminatory activities that can go on, since as noted before, most, if not all, attention was focused on athletics and personnel matters and not on the outside activities and less obvious matters we were focusing on. The Committee feels that much work needs to be done to familiarize teachers with the problem of sex discrimination and the ways it is manifested and then to engage the teachers in an evaluation of their own discriminating remarks, rules, etc. and to help them eliminate and change any discriminatory practices they engaged in themselves and that they see others engage in. More specifically, as to the concerns re: drama and debate, the Committee felt that debate judging should be done in an impartial manner and that there should be equal representation of the sexes in the judges selected. We also felt that all teachers involved in presenting plays, at whatever level in school or of sophistication, should be encouraged to make sure that no plays of a sexist nature (in terms of content or role distribution) be presented.

### PARENTS

The Committee felt that it should have some contact with parents to see if they were aware of any sex discrimination in extra-curricular activities and other related matters. We had some discussions with parents and we also attempted to survey parental opinion through a questionnaire.

First, most of the parents we interviewed were mothers who were involved in the women's movement and thus were very aware of the problem of sex discrimination and the subtle forms it can take. Again, most of the areas where they felt there was unfair treatment was in the areas of athletics. In addition, there were concerns expressed regarding the separation by sex in lining up in the early grades and the feeling that this made children feel that the sexes should be separated. Concerns were expressed about the separation by sex in activities in class and on the playground and the feeling that this wasn't good. Some concern was expressed concerning a class play presented in the early elementary grades in which girls were presented as stupid, helpless and passive and that boys were presented as the smart ones who were able to plan and solve problems. This was felt to be inappropriate subject matter and to have a detrimental effect on girls and their view of themselves. Concerns were also expressed that many teachers seemed to have traditional views of the appropriate behavior for boys and girls and applied negative sanctions on boys and girls whose behavior differed from their views. Much of the material and activities presented by these teachers seemed to be geared to their views of the appropriate roles for boys and girls and resulted in a furthering of their views and an imposition of these behavioral standards on the children. Parents who had different views felt that it was not fair or appropriate to impose these possibly sexist standards on their children. The Committee concurred with this feeling.

In an attempt to reach more parents a questionnaire was designed to send to parents to see if their children were involved in extra-curricular activities; if they weren't, why not; and, to see if they felt there was discrimination between the sexes in a variety of situations. There were a number of problems with the questionnaire. First of all, we worded the last question in such a way that we were unable to tell which sex the parents felt were discriminated against in a variety of situations. However, the responses do show concerns re discrimination one way or the other in general areas and we feel that this is useful in helping the schools examine the problem of sex discrimination. Secondly, there was much confusion about the distribution of the questionnaire. The school administration assumed responsibility for reproducing the questionnaire, selecting a random selection of parents of Junior and Senior High School Students, and sending the questionnaires out to the parents. Originally we were advised the questionnaires were sent to 200 parents in November and that they would be filled out during parent-teacher conferences in April. We finally received 49 responses from the November mailing (which supposedly was not done) and received none from the parent-teacher conferences although we were advised by some parents they had filled questionnaires out. We have no idea what cover letter was sent with the questionnaires and no information from the schools as to how the sample was selected of how parents felt.

Ninety percent of the 49 parents have children who take part in extra-curricular activities. Of the 49 parents that responded, not one parent felt sex kept their children from taking part in extra-curricular activities whereas 47% felt that other factors (transportation, money, lack of time, job interference, lack of interest in existing activities, lack of skills) kept their children from participating in extra-curricular activities. 24% of the respondents felt that "men or women students have unfair advantages" in (their) children's schools in one or more of the following areas:

| Areas of unfair advantage | Percent of respondents who thought 1 sex had an unfair advantage | Percent of all respondents |
|---|---|---|
| Grading | 16 | 4 |
| Activities | 25 | 6 |
| Rules | 50 | 15 |
| Discipline | 50 | 15 |
| Special privileges | 8 | 2 |

As was mentioned the question was poorly worded so that we don't know which sex supposedly has an unfair advantage in which area. We did get the following comments added to the question:

"Girls have advantage in discipline."

"Dress Code more strict on boys."

"Boys have more sports activities than girls."

The Committee felt that the returns we received were thought-provoking and showed several areas for further examination despite the problems mentioned earlier. In summary it seemed that no parent felt sex kept their children from participation in extra-curricular activities but one-fourth of the parents felt there was sex discrimination in other areas of school life.

### STUDENTS

Since our task force was "student oriented" we also explored a variety of topics with a variety of groups of students to get their ideas on sex discrimination in the schools. One of the student members felt it would be interesting to ask students their opinions as to whether they would rather be a boy or a girl and if so, why. We thought some of their responses might show areas of preferential treatment and possible sex discrimination. This was done in a grade school class and a Junior High class. Nothing of value for our purposes was reported in the grade school class and the only possible significant points from the Junior High students were that no boys wanted to be girls and of the few girls that wanted to be boys, most wanted to be boys so they could take part in sports.

Two task force members went to a class at the Senior High School level to discuss sex discrimination. Only one student in this class was aware of overt discrimination in the schools. The rest never thought about it or were unconcerned.

We also had a number of discussions with small groups of students, all women, to get their ideas. Many concerns regarding sex discriminating practices were raised by these women students. The heightened awareness seemed to result from the knowledge of the women's movement and from being the target of discriminatory behavior. Almost all of these students felt that they were ridiculed by teachers and peers because of their knowledge, discussion and action in areas pertaining to sexism. This ridicule took place in both the Junior and Senior High levels. While this was the major concern, in addition these students related some of the following instances of sexist remarks or practice:

a. "Male teachers, especially, often make comments implying that the superiority of men and the dumbness (although 'cute') of women. Teachers seem very careful not to do this racially (implying white superiority) but, with women, either they don't realize what they are doing, or they think they are funny."

b. A teacher is quoted as saying "It isn't virile for men to sit with their legs crossed." He goes on to ridicule those that do.

c. Discussion in Driver's Education Class as to what poor drivers women are.

d. In First-Aid Class, women can be excused when films of accidents are shown since women "can't take it."

e. Only men were allowed in some organizations.

f. Janitor putting up a notice on the school bulletin board: "Boys for Stagehands." (In reality both boys and girls had been stagehands in the past).

g. Some assemblies were held only for men.

The Committee felt that the above are examples of discriminatory behavior and that the offenders should be required to stop. Some of the girls were concerned as they felt there was no place to go for help as the male administrators in the schools were not responsive to their concerns. The Committee feels that there should be a grievance procedure for the women or men students to use when they feel they are being discriminated against because of their sex and that they should be encouraged to file such grievances. The Committee also feels that there should be at least one female administrator in each Junior and Senior High School.

The last, and most major, task we carried out with students was a questionnaire which we designed for Senior High School students and for which the school assumed responsibility for duplication of the questionnaire, selection of a random sample, administering the questionnaire and collection of the completed questionnaires. It was our understanding that approximately 200 questionnaires would be sent out; however, we received only 141 back. It is our understanding that the questionnaires were sent to the Senior High principals and they were asked to select classes on each grade level and have the teachers have the students complete the questionnaire during classtime. We did not receive a copy of the cover letter if there was one. The questionnaire was similar to the one completed by parents and we sought to find out whether or not students took part in extra-curricular activities; if so, which ones; if not, why not; and, if they felt either sex had an unfair advantage in several areas of school life. There were 141 responses; 88 female and 53 male; 78 from Norrix and 63 from Central. 81% of the respondents take part in some extra-curricular activity. Approximately 11% of the respondents felt their sex kept them from participating in extra-curricular activities. This represented 14.5% of the female respondents and 3.8% of the male respondents. 56% of the respondents felt that "young men or young women students have unfair advantage in (their) school: In the following areas:

[In percent]

| | Thought 1 sex had unfair advantage | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | Females | All respondents |
| Grades | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| Activities | 15 | 31 | 25 |
| Rules | 24 | 12 | 17 |
| Discipline | 30 | 24 | 26 |
| Special privileges | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| Other | 7 | 5 | 6 |

Again, the question was poorly written so that we don't know who thinks which sex has the unfair advantage in which areas. It did seem very important to note that over half of the students did feel there was sex discrimination in some areas of school life. The Committee feels that further action should be taken to examine the student beliefs about unequal treatment and to then take action so that any inequities are eliminated.

### EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

It seems that there should be some discussion regarding extra-curricular activities in general and this information comes from our discussions with faculty and students and from the student and parent questionnaires. First of all, there seemed to be very strong distinctions made between athletic activities and other extra-curricular activities. It seemed very obvious that athletics received the most attention, prestige and financing caused the greatest concern regarding sex discrimination among the people questioned. Many teachers and students felt that males had a much greater opportunity to participate in athletics and they felt this was unfair. The Committee agreed. Concern was raised regarding the much greater funding for athletics as opposed to funding for other outside activities. The inequity between funds for athletics and extra-curricular activities also appeared in the area of pay for teachers performing extra duties. On the Junior High level, there were no items in the pay scale for extra duty pay in areas other than athletics and cheerleading. At the Senior High level the following pay schedule was used for extra-curricular activities:

| | *Percent of base pay* |
|---|---|
| Senior class sponsor | 3 |
| Junior class sponsor | 3 |
| Sophomore class sponsor | 2 |
| Debate and forensics coach | 9 |
| Assistant debate and forensics | 4 |
| Dramatics | 8 |

The athletic coaches (male) and associates get from 22% to 9% of their base pay for extra duties and the women coaches get from 7% to 4%. The disparities between athletic and non-athletic extra pay duties and the fact there are 24 extra duty athletic jobs and only six non-athletic extra duties jobs give cause for conconcern. If we want to encourage teachers to be involved in extra-curricular activities so that more students may take part, there may have to be more extra pay available for more assignments and greater equality between extra pay for athletic and non-athletic duties.

The information from the questionnaires gives us some picture of the amount of involvement in extra-curricular activities and also a picture of what keeps some students from taking part in extra-curricular activities.

Ninety percent of the parents said their children took part in extra-curricular activities and 81% of the students indicated that they took part in extra-curricular activities. However, 46% of the parents and 56% of the students felt they were kept from participating in extra-curricular activities to some degree because of problems with transportation, money, lack of time, job interference, sex, lack of interest in existing activities or lack of skill. Some effort should be made to see that these blocks to fuller participation are eliminated.

The Committee felt some concern because there were a few organizations mentioned where only men or only women were members. This was due in some cases to sex being a criteria for membership and by tradition in other areas. For example, *no women are allowed to belong to Varsity Club or the now defunct* Fellowship of Christian Athletes. Apparently, no men are members of Future Nurses or Future Homemakers but this seems to be by tradition rather than by sex being an overt criteria of membership. The Committee feels that no club or extra-curricular activity should exclude members of either sex by membership criteria or by subtle or not so subtle behaviors based on preconceived notions of what is appropriate activity for men or women. Efforts should also be made to insure equal participation in all activities by both males and females and greater effort may have to be made to recruit the under-represented sex group into activities where one sex predominates.

### CONCLUSION

The "student oriented" task force accepted as its charge the task of examining those elements in the students' school experience that are non-athletic and non-academic for the presence of sex discrimination. We had no idea how elusive that topic would be. We considered our examination to be of an exploratory nature and have tried to examine a number of facets of school life from a variety of perspectives. We have not examined all facets of school life or any single facet from all perspectives. We feel it will be up to the school system to do this. In our exploration we have tried to determine whether or not there is sex discrimination, not just discrimination against women. We feel we found this to be the case.

We found that sex is used as a differentiating criteria in many situations, and we felt that it is unnecessary and/or harmful in most of these. In many instances we found that, not only sex, but a whole host of traditionally held ideas regarding appropriate behavior and appropriate aspirations are used in evaluating students and in developing opportunities for students. The imposition of the traditional views is harmful and unnecessary when it results in a negative evaluation of and blocked opportunities for some students.

As was mentioned much earlier in the report, the traditional views of what is appropriate for boys and what is appropriate for girls comes from the larger society. The Committee was struck by how accurately and pervasively the schools reflect the traditional societal views and how they reinforce and perpetuate these views. The schools also reflect the societal views re sex discrimination. Some are concerned about it. Some ridicule it. Some are hostile toward it and, most are unaware of it. Because of these later attitudes, there is not widespread concern about the possibility of sex discrimination in the schools and the ramifications of such discrimination.

The Committee felt that they found cause for concerns in terms of sex discrimination in non-athletic and non-academic aspects of school life. We hope that the school system will share this concern and take the steps recommended in our report to further explore or eliminate instances of sex discrimination, be they large or small, by commission or omission.

Finally, we have been struck by many parallels the manifestations of concern re: sex discrimination has had to the manifestation of concern re: racial discrimination. We are aware of the steps the school system made in the past and is making now to eliminate racism in the schools. We feel the same high priority that has been given to the elimination of racism should be given to the elimination of sexism and that the procedures the schools have gone through with staff and students about racism should be gone through with staff and students about sexism. It is only when all levels of staff are made aware of sexism and its manifestations, both subtle and blatant, and its effects on both male and female students that the schools can make the sensitive, comprehensive study of all phases of student life that needs to be done and make the kind of recommendations for change that are necessary so that all students will have equal access and equal treatment in all areas of their school experience.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

### I. SCHOOL POLICY

1. The word "sex" should be added to the Administrative Procedures Bulletin No. 57 so that the question reads "is the program to all students regardless of race, creed, or sex?" This should then be a requirement for school endorsement of nonschool initiated activities.

2. Board Policy No. 38 should be changed to cover discriminatory behavior based on sex (see page 3 & 4). This will then further provide for redress of grievances based on sex discrimination under Administrative Procedures Bulletin No. 56 (see page 4).

### II. DISCIPLINE

1. In the "Standard for Discipline" sex must also be added so all persons involved are responsible to admit and eliminate prejudice based on sex as well as race, creed and social class.

2. When there are two parents in the home either or both parents should be contacted without regard to the seriousness of the problem.

3. An analysis of disciplinary problems and resulting disciplinary action should be carried out by all schools to insure that both boys and girls are equally held accountable for unacceptable behavior and to insure that all disciplinary problems are handled equally and fairly.

3a. An analysis should be done at Central to see if males are being discriminated against in the application of suspension procedures. Such an analysis is also suggested for Oakwood, South and Northeastern,

3b. The school system should collect and analyze data re: the referral for suspension to see that these referrals are made without consideration of sex and to make sure that male students aren't being unfairly treated in this area of school action and in conflict with stated school policy.

### III. GENERAL SCHOOL RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Any separation of toy areas in classrooms should be based on criteria other than traditional female-male activities.

2. Activities lending themselves to joint participation of both sexes should be encouraged for playround use.

3. The schools should carry out an analysis of the physical set-up of classrooms to see whether or not there is equal access to and use of all materials and classroom areas. If this not the case, immediate steps should be taken to remedy the situations.

### IV. STUDENTS

1. There should be a grievance procedure for the women or men students to use when they feel they are being discriminated against because of their sex and that they should be encouraged to file such grievances.

2. Action should be taken to examine students' beliefs about unequal treatment and to then set about to eliminate any inequalities.

### V. TEACHERS

1. If there are parent thank-you nights for any activity *both* parents should be invited and thanked for their extra efforts which allowed their child to participate in the activity.

2. All teachers involved in presenting plays, at whatever level in school or of sophistication, should make sure that no plays of a sexist nature( in terms of content or role distribution) be presented.

3. School personnel involved in producing or helping students to produce school bulletins and other periodicals should make sure that men and women students and faculty are treated equally in the number and content of articles covered in school periodicals.

### VI. STAFF

1. The same high priority that has been given to the elimination of racism should be given to the elimination of sexism. The same procedures the school has engaged in with staff and students about sexism. When all levels of staff are aware of sexism and its manifestations and effects on students, a sensitive, comprehensive study of *all* phases of student life at all grade levels should be made. The recommendations for change resulting from such a study should be implemented so that all students will have equal access to equal treatment in areas of this school experience including:

a. Efforts should be made to familiarize principals with the problem of sex discrimination, the subtle and not so subtle ways it is manifested and the seriousness of the problem and then they should examine every aspect of student life at school and eliminate those policies and procedures or activities which are sexist in nature.

b. Much work should be done to familiarize teachers with the problem of sex discrimination and ways it is manifested and to then engage the teachers in an evaluation of their own discriminatory remarks, rules, etc. and to help them eliminate and change any discriminatory practices they engage in themselves or see others engage in.

## REPORT OF THE SELECTED STUDIES TASK FORCE

(By Mickey Spieles)

### METHODS

The Selected Studies Task Force was implemented to evaluate a selection of courses at the secondary level (grades 7 through 12). It was originally planned to focus this study in three areas: textbooks, instructor attitude and student attitude. Upon selection of specific areas of study the intention had been to evaluate the written materials read by all students, interview the instructors, and question the students.

Of the 13 courses selected written materials were evaluated in 10. In the other three, beginning art, home economics and industrial arts no materials were available to us, because they use multi-media and library materials. Some of the courses had several books which were evaluated while others had only one.

We would have liked to interview all the instructors for each course, or a randomly selected sample from each course, it was stated by the administration that if interviewing of instructors was to take place they must pick the instructor and that the instructor must consent to be interviewed. If for any given course no instructor consents to be interviewed then obviously evaluation of the course must be on materials alone. One must realize that this type of procedure will obviously bias any data gleaned from such interviews, as it will eliminate those instructors who for whatever reasons refused to do an interview on sex discrimination or those that might be openly hostile to the idea of a study on sex discrimination. The task force was extremely unhappy with this procedure, but the matter was out of our hands. In order to get at least some cross sampling we asked the administration to pick at least one instructor from each of the 5 junior highs and 2 senior highs. This they did do.

The next section of the study, student questionnaires, was not done at all. The intention had been to sample all those students taking a selected course, we were informed by the administration that any student participation must be done completely on a random basis rather than the students taking a specific course. Since we were evaluating specific courses this type of random sampling would gather no meaningful data and therefore was eliminated.

### SELECTION OF COURSES

The Selected Subjects Task Force after some consideration decided to limit this study to specific areas. It is almost impossible at this time to examine every course, text, instructor and all supplemental materials used in the Kalamazoo Public Schools in grades seven through twelve. It is felt that the subjects chosen are those which most greatly influence the formation of values in young people and therefore a close look at these particular courses is necessary as a first priority. The subjects chosen are English, Social Studies, Home Economics, Industrial Arts and Business Education.

Within each of the departments of study mentioned many courses are offered and again a selection had to be made. Those courses finally chosen for study were selected in an attempt to get the courses which affected the most students. Therefore, when possible, required courses were chosen. At the high school level there are few required courses in these departments. In the English Department there are no required classes, therefore the two chosen were those which had the highest student enrollment.

Junior high: Beginning art, anthropology, English, homemaking, industrial arts, and U.S. history.

Senior high: Psychology, sociology, home and family living, merchandising, U.S. history, and good and bad heroes–mass media.

### SELECTION OF TEXTBOOKS

The original concept had been that for each course selected all written material read by all students would be evaluated. We spoke with the Academic Specialist of each Department and got their lists of books used. But since each instructor has a great deal of autonomy in choosing materials and we were personally speaking with only one, it was impossible to obtain lists of all supplemental material. We attempted to read the basic text for each course if one was used.

Admittedly, since each book evaluated was read by only one person some bias could not be avoided, but we don't feel that this can negate the findings which we report.

### EVALUATION OF TEXTBOOKS

The task force prepared an evaluation sheet which gave guide line in evaluating each text or paperback read. (see appendix A & B). These evaluation sheets included such questions as (1) number of pages referring to women and specific women mentioned (2) number of photographs of women and how they are depicted (3) acceptable and unacceptable references to women (4) personal critiques of the book rating it as: very good—i.e., non-sexist, good, fair and poor. This rating was based on the definition of sexism as those attitudes and actions which relegate women to a secondary and inferior status in society and prevents them from developing into full human beings, including those things which exclude women from a wide range of occupational pursuits and reinforce women's traditional role as mother and wife in society.

### INTERVIEWING

Of the 13 courses selected, interviews were conducted with 13 instructors—no instructor would consent to be interviewed in the senior high U.S. History class. We were informed of this by the administration and no explanation was given as to why no one would do the interview. Two instructors were interviewed in Mass Media.

The interviewing was done by three people using a form written by task force members and approved by the administration (see appendix C).

The form was written basically to discover what materials the instructor used and whether sexism in materials was considered when choosing supplemental materials. We also tried to discover awareness of any personal bias on the instructor's part and whether any such bias would significantly affect the teaching of the course.

### EVALUATIONS

The course evaluations that follow contain a synopsis of the book review as well as a brief discussion of those items in the instructor interview which are pertinent to the materials and the general structure of the course. General observations about the interviews are contained in a later section of this report.

### JUNIOR HIGH HISTORY AND SOCIAL STUDIES

These two courses are combined in evaluation because of a communication problem. We asked the administration if we might interview a 9th grade history teacher and received the name of an 8th grade social studies teacher. Therefore, we evaluated some of the books used in both courses.

*Rise of the American Nation*, Vol. 1 Todd, Curtis Publisher Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1968. The total number of pages is 704. Of that number there are 26 references to women and only three notable women mentioned—Ernestine Rose, Harriet Tubman and Dorthea Dix. There also is a capsulation of women in early history. There are five pictures of women in the whole book. Two were portraits, two of women working in mills and one of the Salem witch trials. There were 284 pictures featuring men. Our reader gave this book a poor rating with the suggestion that "period literature or books written to illustrate specific viewpoints to be used to cover the gaps obviously left as far as women are concerned."

*The Free and the Brave* + workbook, Henry F. Graff, publisher Rand McNally & Co., 1973. The total number of pages is 595. There are 14 references to women and of that 14 all but two were dealing with racial minorities. Sojourner Truth and the Grimke Sisters were mentioned as abolitionists with no mention made of their struggle for women's rights. Many chances to point out discrimination against women were missed. The writer dwelled on informing us of the passage of the 13th and 14th amendments, but failed to discuss the fact that this did not include black women. Nothing at all was written about the struggle to win passage of the 19th amendment giving women the right to vote. When he does speak of discrimination against women one gets the feeling that discrimination was to be expected. The causes of discrimination are never discussed. For example:

Women—even if they were educated—could not expect the kind of opportunities that educated men could. Nevertheless the heavy burden of housework became lighter.

There were 116 photos of men compared to 8 photos featuring women. The total coverage of the women's movement is detailed in the next paragraph.

As the 1970's began, people throughout the United States were speaking out about all kinds of wrongs. One of the glaring wrongs was the treatment of women. In response to the problems a group of women founded the Women's Liberation Movement, seeking an end to discrimination against their sex by employers. This kind of discrimination was (note past tense) the most common form, throughout the nation and millions of women were determined to end it once and for all.

*Selected Case Studies in American History* Vol. 1, Gardner, Beery, Olson, publisher Allyn & Bacon, 1969. The reader of this book rated it as fair with the suggestion that perhaps a few more stories could center around females. Queen Isabella was seen as a person acting in her own behalf. Leif Erickson's sister Freydis was said to have spent a winter on Cape Cod. It was a spinning whorl that evidenced a Viking settlement. The good thing about this story is that it is accepted as natural for women to be on the scene.

*The Afro-American in United States History*, Lashin, Dasilva, Sandifer, Finkelstein, publisher, Globe Book Co., 1969. This book was rated good. It did include several important black women in history. Of course Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth but also women like Prudence Crandall, teacher-Phillis Wheatley; poetess-Mary McCleod Bethune; leader of blacks: Gwendolyn Brooks, Pulitizer prize winner: Wilma Rudolph, olympic medalist. The major criticism was in the coverage of slave America. The importance of black females in the white family as nannies and surrogate mothers was passed over.

*Promise of America*, Cuban, Roden, publisher Scott, Foresman, 1971. This is a series of booklets three of which are used for 9th grade history. They are the *Starting Line, Breaking and Building, Struggling for a Dream*. These books are difficult to rate as sexist or non-sexist because of the general nature of the books. While most history books use historical personalities to illustrate the flow of events, Promise of America uses vignettes of daily happenings to portray an area. In *Struggling for a Dream* there is a four page summary of women's struggle for equality, quoting Sojourner Truth speaking at a women's rights convention. One criticism is the overwhelming number of photos featuring men. There were, in all three books, 107 photos featuring men while only 21 featured women.

*Negro Views of America*, Oliver, Newmann, publisher Xerox, 1967. This is a pamphlet used in the 8th grade social studies which is an anthology of writings by blacks on being black. This pamphlet had 10 sections none of which were written by or about women. There is only 1 picture of a female—a slave woman with a child. No mention is made of the hard times of the female slave as has been expressed in Linda Brents, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Out of a total of 17 photos, 14 feature men. One chapter dealt with statistics indicating the difference in wages, expenditures, education, etc. based on color line. No sex break down was offered indicating that the black female is the lowest on the wage scale.

*Black in America*, Hayden, publisher, Xerox, 1969, American Education Publication Unit. One interesting thing to note about this pamphlet is that at the end of each chapter there is a short section enitled "Their Names Survive". Out of 30 names mentioned four were females. Specifically mentioned were Lucy Terry, black poetess; Deborah Garnet, who masqueraded as a man to fight in the revolution; Mary S. Peake and Charlotte Forten, teachers. One cannot believe that these were the only black females who did something worthy of historical remembrance.

*Building Citizenship*, McCrocklin, publisher Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1965. Only 5 chapters of this book were reviewed, or 117 pages out or 580. The chapters are used as a structural background in government. The one reference to women was to Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone who "protested that such an arrangement (not being able to vote) implies that women were unfit to be voters as criminals, children or idiots." Of the 3 pictures of women there were suffragette marching, some women from the League of Women Voters and women working in a bank. It is interesting to point out that almost all of the organization charts used to show the decision making process pictured men at all levels. The implication being that women only enter the process in the voting booth.

*Poverty and Welfare*, Ratcliffe, publisher Houghton-Miffin Co., 1969. This is a booklet which is one of a series entitled Justice in Urban America. The women mentioned were welfare mothers seeking legal ways to obtain their rights. The photos were considered most demeaning to women. They show them sitting or slouching in dejection and frustration unable to cope with their situation while it is the husband who seeks and finds answers. But since it is women who most generally receive welfare and who have no husbands in their household one wonders how realistic this picture of urban America really is.

*Story of the American Nation*, Casner, Gabriel, Biller, Hartley, publisher Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962 with 1964 supplement. Except for brief mention of Virginia Dare, Elizabeth I and Queen Isabella women play no part in the first 360 pages of this book. There are 29 photos featuring women compared to 211 of men. These pictures depict such things as holding babies, watching, working in mills, throwing flowers at dictators, riding boats in frilly dresses, nursing in hospitals, distributing food. No mention was made of Eleanor Roosevelt or other influential women of the period. The women's sufferage movement was covered in 3 paragraphs in a book of 785 pages.

*Law and the Consumer*, publisher Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1969. This is one of the Justice in Urban America series. The reader of this booklet rated it as good, with the post script that the problems of poverty seem to cross all boundaries including those of sex.

*The Ways of Man—An Introduction to Many Cultures*, John Jarolimek, Barbara Davis, publisher, MacMillan Co., 1971. This book was rated as good with the following remarks. "As it treated economic revolutions, it should have treated the feminist movement as a revolution in the power structure and should have shown the relevance of the movement to all people getting their human rights. Only a few males were specifically mentioned (Ghandi, Commodore Perry) and the inclusions of women were deliberate and good. Sufficient thought questions were posed to counter-act the traditional sex roles so thoroughly detailed in sections on underdeveloped countries. However, the preponderance of male featured photographs and the fact that the females were pictured in traditional roles reinforces the title of the book. If the visual message influences more than the written word, then the good elements in the text are over-shadowed by the photos. The fact that the authors may have had some insight into the implications of the title "*The Ways of Man*" is evident by the fact that they chose to include "women" as a subject in the topical index whereas they did not for men. Matthew Perry and Ghandi, to give a couple of examples, were listed in the index, as were many male religious leaders, but the females mentioned in the text, such as Mauasaki Shikibu, the first novelist and Golda Meir, were omitted from the index.

The instructor interviewed was not noticeably aware of the new trends in the women's movement. Although conscious of racism in a text, the books had never been looked at for sexism. Even though this person felt the course was relevant and in tune with the recent changes that have taken place in society no attempt had been made to include an examination of the women's movement and how it can and will affect the government and the structure of society.

### SENIOR HIGH UNITED STATES HISTORY

The information for evaluating this history course comes entirely from the review of the textbook used, for no history teacher would consent to be interviewed.

*Rise of the American Nation*, Vol. II. Todd, Curti, publisher Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. The reviewer gave this book a rating of fair. References to women in the book are acceptable, with the exception of one which is included in a photo caption. The primary objection is that women are nearly invisible in the 789 pages of the book, both as individuals and as members of groups. There are 44 one-word references to women, in the contexts: "men and women", "women and children", "housewives", and so forth. Of the approximately 225 pictures in the book, 139 feature men and 13 feature women. Every picture of "men only" is literally that. Some of the "women" pictures have men or boys in them, with the woman most prominent. The remaining 73 which feature neither set include scenery and other non-human subjects; there are very few with both sexes in the same photograph.

Only 25 women are mentioned by name in this entire book, most of them given 1 or 2 sentences. In fact, five of them are included in a single sentence which describes expanded opportunities for women. Jane Addams was given the most space, with a capsule biography and account of the founding of Hull House which covered 3 paragraphs. The fact that "Andrew Johnson's" devoted wife taught him to read is noted, but the women is not named.

Subjects of significance to women are mentioned on 13 of the 789 pages and in no case are they given any extensive attention. Specifically, suffrage is treated in 1 paragraph, labor legislation in 2 sentences, the changing nature of the family in 6 paragraphs, women in World War II in 3 parargaphs and so forth. A subsection entitled "New Opportunities for Women" consists of 6 paragraphs and cites women's increased freedom from household drudgery, volunteer work in civic projects, and new job opportunities. The latter deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

"The rapidly multiplying machines in mills, plants and factories created new jobs for women, who could work on some assembly lines just as efficiently as men. This was especially true in the textile and tobacco factories that were springing up in the South. It was also true of the canning industry and of many other types of factory production. Moreover, women were finding increasing opportunities to work at selling jobs and as clerks and stenographers."

There is no accompanying list of jobs which could be performed efficiently by men; the implication is that men are qualified for any job they may choose. It is noteworthy that all the jobs mentioned here are characterized by monotony, low pay, and little chance of advancement into managerial or administrative positions.

There are significant periods of American History in which women played a large part, equal to that of men but different enough in quality to warrant special mention. We refer to: migrations to America from other parts of the world; the westward movement in this country; settlement of the frontier; Prohibition; and the movements for equal rights and for unionized labor. Nowhere in the treatment of these subjects are women given anything approaching adequate coverage of their contributions. Once again, if we are to judge from this text, women are simply invisible in the development of this country.

Even women of individual achievement are given only cursory notice. Surely there should be more mention of Eleanor Roosevelt than just one picture of her with the President. Her work for women's rights, for making a place for women in politics, as ombudsmen for the nation, as an author and United Nations delegate are important accomplishments. If Charles Lindbergh is mentioned for his aeronautical exploits—and he is—could space not also be found to mention Amelia Earhart? An opportunity to name Mrs. Rosa May Parks as a central figure in the beginning of the Civil Rights struggle was also overlooked.

These examples were included to show specific and indisputable instances of unequal treatment by the authors and publishers of this history text. The list of such omissions could be extended. Perhaps the most positive thing which can be said about this particular book is that the areas for improvement are so vast that any step in the proper direction will be immediately evident.

When looking at the texts which have just been evaluated one fact is apparent and that is the omission of women. This is done while also omitting the legal and social disadvantages which women face. Women are seen in passive roles enjoying all the benefits of a social and economic system which men have created and operate.

Women are omitted by topic and by virtue of the topics chosen. Those areas where women abound such as theatre, arts and dance are generally left out. It is interesting to note that inclusion of blacks into texts and use of texts about black history did not include the black female—she is as invisible as her white sisters.

In view of these kinds of things this task force has several suggestions to make. It is our hope that the contribution of women will be included in all areas of history. Women should not be added as post scripts to historical action but rather as the integral part of history that they are. Also it is suggested by this task force that at least one course related to women be added to the curriculum. Due to the fact that areas are only briefly covered in a history text, a class dealing specifically with the women's movement, its history, leaders and growth would certainly be in order.

## PSYCHOLOGY

Above all others, it is hoped that a course in psychology would be free from predetermined roles for male and female and that it would deal with individuals to help students understand themselves in a personal context and not in a stereotyped context. Unfortunately, this is not the case with the course we evaluated. Five books are used, one text and four paperbacks. The following are our evaluations:

*Psychology*, by Frank Cox, publisher Wm. C. Brown Co., 1970. There are few positive quotes such as:

Sad to say, . . . the role he (the male) decreed for the female was often designed to enhance him and control her . . . She has been bought and sold, rejected if she cannot produce sons, and often killed in infancy since she was considered to have little value. The right to determine her own life has largely been withheld . . .

The author has a heading in one chapter entitled "The Differences Between the Sexes." In it he describes only physiological functions of the female, menstruation, pregnancy, lactation and menopause and how each affects her emotionally. The male discussion deals with man's self image and how ability to sexually perform directly affects it. The author goes on to say,

"In a competitive society where man's success is measured by his productivity and achievement, the prosperous male must manage two marriages, the first to his vocation, and the second to his wife and family."

This leads into a discussion of "man's first obligation: work" which covers a page and a half with a footnote which reads:

"It is also true that marriage to a woman who is committed to a profession, nursing for example, dictates a different family relationship from what is common practice."

This kind of sterotyping is prevalent throughout the book. We do not necessarily take issue with Mr. Cox's explanation of certain male-female characteristics, but rather that is should be given without any discussion as to whether this role casting is for the betterment of all—male and female.

*A Primer of Freudian Psychology*, ed., Calvin S. Hall, publisher New American Library. This is basically an historical account of Freud's thoughts. Such a discussion in psychology is necessary. It is hoped that such discussions would be balanced with more current psychological thought and that Freud's view of women be explained.

*Learning Reinforcement Theory*, Fred S. Kellner, Publisher Random House, 1969. This is a rather technical book but nonetheless sexism is evident. The words "feminine" and "submissive" are used interchangeably which can only reinforce a stereotyped image of what being female must mean.

*Why Am I Afraid to Tell You Who I Am?*, John Powell, Argus Communication Co., 1969. This is a good book dealing with "insights on self-awareness personal growth and intepersonal communications." Most of the material is written in neuter terms and applies to all persons. When a difference in emotional behavior between men and women is noted, it is also noted that such differences are culturally derived.

*DIBS, In Search of Self*, Virginia M. Axline, Ballantine Books, 1964. This book deals with the counseling of a child and his mother to work out emotional difficulties. It was rated as good, but it is worth noting that the father did not actively participate in counseling leaving this important responsibility solely to the mother.

If the instructor interviewed for this course was aware of the sexist statements contained within the text, it was not indicated to the interviewer. For this class the text was used in its entirety, although not in the same order presented. Also used were the four paperback books evaluated as well as four books of the students own choosing. Judging from the material as well as the attitude of the instructor a very traditional and limited role for men and women is presented.

## SOCIOLOGY

The textbook, *Society Today*, published in 1971 by Communications Research Machines, Inc., states in its preface that "it presents, through today's sociology, a full view of society today." Actually, it falls far short of that in regard to exposing sexism. There was not time to review the entire text because the task force was not given the book until the end of the school year. However, two entire chapters were read.

The listings in the index were as follows: "Women, rights of, 266–67, 268," but there was no listing for "men," the implication being that the content dealing with men was so extensive that it was impossible to index. Another listing read: "father, role of, in socialization of children, 50", but there was no listing for "mother," the implication being that the things a woman does as a mother are too diffuse to index, whereas a man's contribution as a parent is precise and such a minor part of his life that it can be indexed and even described in one page.

The chapter on Family and Kinship declares:

"The institution of marriage reduces sexual competition among men by defining rights of legitimate access to women without implying either the subordination or the defeat of those excluded. For the partners themselves marriage serves to manage their sexual and psychological tensions and to reinforce their primary sexual identifications."

Women are viewed as objects of sexual competition and are told that the purpose of marriage for them is that their sexual identities will become stronger. In our society, this means they will know that they are second behind men. The text doesn't indicate how marriage might serve the interests of women.

The text notes that rights for women have become institutionalized and that women and men are beginning to relate to each other equally so that both parties recognize the other's needs. However, it notes that "extra-marital sexual outlets (prostitution, maintaining mistresses) have been allowed only to men, a fact that reflects both the social distribution of power and popular conceptions of the relative biological needs of the two sexes," and the text does not go on to point out that this is exactly what the women's movement is all about.

The authors apparently think that they are describing the most progressive trends in society when they write that "because of the greater participation in the raising of his children, the husband has developed some of the nurturant qualities that once were considered the unique province of the woman. The wife, on the other hand, has been encouraged to take more interest in her husband's work and in community, political, and social issues." Completely missed is the fact that women want to take interest in their own work and to become a part of the power structure and not merely tea-party politicians.

Although the authors state they foresee increased availability of daycare centers allowing mothers to pursue civic and occupational activities, they belie themselves by writing that:

"The more expressive aspects of family life, including the maintenance group solidarity and the reduction of both interpersonal and intrapersonal tensions, remain, however, the primary province of the wife-mother. Young boys and girls continue to learn distinct masculine and feminine sex roles. Boys learn the importance of aggressiveness, initiative, and success in the competitive world of sports and business, and girls learn the importance of charm, nurturance, and success in the competitive world of husband hunting."

To state as fact that boys must learn aggressiveness in order to survive in the business world and the girls must learn to compete so they can successfully husband-hunt is a sexist, bigoted, anti-humanitarian opinion completely out of place in a text book.

Pictures in this section showed a middle-class Caucasian male showing his son how to tie his tie, play golf, and plant a garden. He vacuums while his wife feeds the baby and both husband and wife wash the car. The message is superficial and, coupled with the written text hypocritical as well. The male is not really interested in changing his role if it means relinquishing power.

The chapter on Socialization stresses the importance of the development of a child's sex-role identification. It notes that the father's early responses to the child "may be expected to bolster the child's sense of competence and self-determination." It does not indicate that the mother can also foster these self-impressions. The text goes on to state the relationship with the father sets the stage for sex-role acquisition. It then defines what this acquisition encompasses:

"Male children, at least in American society, typically become oriented toward instrumental achievement outside the family context (in sports, in school and later in business or professional life) and learn to be active, somewhat aggressive, and overtly unemotional (except perhaps in expressing anger). For the male child, instrumental adequacy . . . is critical to the development of his self-conception. For the female child, . . . the goal tends to be the development of certain expressive abilities, empathy, nurturance, and aesthetic concerns rather than instrumental achievement. Thus . . . girls are likely to be less aggressive, more passive, more concerned with emotions, more willing to express their own emotions, and less concerned with instrumental achievement."

The authors do not even raise the question of whether or not such socialization ought to continue. They strongly imply that continuance is desirable because "problems stemming from inadequate, ambvalent, or incomplete sex-role identification are a fertile source of interpersonal difficulties and later neurotic disturbances. The authors note almost parenthetically that "the content of sex roles is immensely variable from culture to culture," and leave the reader with the impression that the American definitions of sex roles are immutable.

The authors indicate they understand the basic goals of the women's movement when they write:

"For women as well as for men, a commitment to work that is both personally fulfilling and sufficiently remunerative, coupled with assistance for parents is spreading both the burdens and the joys of child rearing, probably represents an ideal solution, but one unlikely to be often encountered in the United States."

And it will always be unlikely as long as textbooks keep perpetuating the status quo, as does this text. The authors also write that in marriage "the goals of stability and accomplishment can be mutually supporting, as when a promotion for the husband provides sufficient money to satisfy his wife's demands for material security and social prestige and causes her to support actively her husband's career objectives." The authors have unwittingly presented an extremely good argument supporting the women's liberation movement which would benefit both male and female.

The pictures in this chapter underscored the status quo content. A full-page color picture of three girls playing dress-up, one in a bride's dress and carrying a doll, opened the chapter. Others depicted a girl playing house and another playing mother. There were five pictures of mothers cuddling children. There were no pictures of fathers with children, and the one picture of a boy showed him assembling a model. Essentially, the visual message was that girls train to be mothers.

The sociology instructor interviewed uses supplemental materials besides this text which the teacher finds to be lacking in discussions of ethnic and cultural (including women's issues) societal forces. The instructor and students introduce relevant current events in class. For example, changes in life-styles are studied and the popular culture (soap opera, movies, advertising) is examined for its treatment of males vs females. The teacher has invited women having non-traditional careers to address the class. The teacher attempts to have the students apply the same scientific method of study to their own lives that they, as sociology students, apply to other people.

### JUNIOR HIGH ENGLISH

The heart of the problem for this particular course can be seen in the fact that of the textbooks reviewed, 6 are rated as poor and only 1 is even rated as fair. The one novel of this group is not rated, for it presents an historical perspective, rather than a current one. Though we might ask why this particular novel (*The Bridge of San Luis Rey*) was chosen, as opposed to some other, it may still serve as a take-off point for profitable discussion. Its treatment of women is what one might expect in the setting of Peru, some 200 years ago. Indeed, the author himself provides some positive insights that can be followed up in a classroom, without breaking continuity in the examination of this book as a literary work. For example:

"The Abbess . . . had fallen in love with an idea several centuries before its appointed appearance in the history of civilization. She hurled herself against the obstinancy of her time in her desire to attach a little dignity to women. Looking back from our century we can see the whole folly of her hope. Twenty such women would have failed to make any impression in that age." (pp. 27–28)

Quantitatively, in the 7 English books reviewed, females are the central characters of 33 stories, while males are the central figures in 156 stories. The total number of stories is somewhat larger than this, but these were clearly defined as focused on one sex rather than the other. The poetry section of one literary anthology contains works by 20 poets and only 4 poetesses.

Qualitatively, women suffer even more in these literature texts. References to them are most often made in terms of "mother", "grandmother", or some other role which is traditionally assigned to women on the basis of their alleged sexual predispositions, e.g. teacher, nurse, librarian. They are seen as passive, naive, non-aggressive, needing help and leadership from logical and mature men. For instance, women do attend meetings and help out with projects, but men chair these meetings and make the decisions as to which project will be undertaken. So far as could be determined, no one in the mother role is seen as having any other role, not even an "acceptable" one such as teacher. Does this mean that the two are mutually exclusive? If so, why is the role of "father" not also important enough to exclude any other career?

By far the majority of references to women are minor and made only in passing. When female characters are more specifically singled out, it is usually with descriptions that are less than flattering. Some examples of phrases referring to women are: "giggling girl"; "a lumpish awkward creature"; "a wife, nothing but a crab"; "girl tagging around after a boy"; "eccentric", and so forth. Photographs and illustrations of girls and women show them "sitting", "looking frightened", and "fashioning a wedding gown", to cite three typical examples.

Some of the worst treatment of women is seen in these two passages:

"In individual size and strength, of course, we men had the advantage, but in dirty fighting the girls were definitely more adept." *Counterpoint in Literature* p. 211.

"The matter was hushed up and Mateo married the girl. His wife Giuseppa presented him at first, to his fury, with three daughters, but at last came a son . . . "Ibid., p. 226.

The particular book from which these passages were taken has no treatment of prominent women at all, nor of significant subjects relating to women; with no positive or even neutral references to women, any "education" to be gained from this textbook soon becomes a mere reinforcement of the existing negative stereotypes and prejudices held about women.

Another collection features only 2 biographies of women—swimmer Gertrude Ederle and sculpturess Vinnie Ream—in its 511 pages. One unit in this same book is entitled "Giants of the Earth", and asks in its forward: "Why do you think the *men* whose life stories follow might deserve to be called the giants of the earth?" (underliing men). Another unit has a story which mentions the Women's Suffrage Movement in this context: "I'd like nothing better . . . (than) to inform all those crackpots in petticoats exactly what I think of their antics." A letter from Thomas Jefferson to his daughter exhorts her: "Nothing is so disgusting to men as a want of cleanliness and delicacy in women. I hope, therefore, the moment you rise from bed, your first work will be to dress yourself in such style as that you may be seen by any gentleman without his being able to discover a pin amiss . . ." Surely personal hygiene should be a matter of concern to persons of either sex for reasons of health and comfort. A failure in this regard should not be indicative of disrespect by a subordinate toward a superior in an unequal relationship.

Another facet of sexism may be seen in the fact that children's friendships are almost invariable portrayed as boy-boy and girl-girl. Are we to assume that there are no activities or interests shared by both boys and girls which could be the basis for simple friendships?

The quality of the lives lead by women is lower in intensity and variety than the males, who are seen as multi-dimensional persons involved in adventure and excitement. Only rarely in any of these books are women seen who exhibit courage, competence, and intelligence. One major exception, conspicuous by its singularity, is the inclusion of *The Diary of Anne Frank.*

Even spelling books show a disproportionate focus on men. One text has 35 roles and occupations for males represented in its illustrations, with 5 for females. (See Appendix D). The tests and questions refer to males 75 times, to females 14 times. Sentences mentioning girls say very little of real substance: "Jenny enjoys music." On the other hand, sentences referring to boys find them interested, active, involved: "Jay is training to be an underwater explorer." A steady dose of these subtle cues can only lead to expected conclusions in behavior patterns. Girls "learn" that it is "proper" for them to remain on the sidelines in life—passive, dependent spectators. Boys "learn" that it is "proper" for them to be the center of activity, to be in command, to be the decision-makers. Another speller reviewed by this Task Force had a dictionary section which included the word "male" but not the word "female". The same book had few sentences about women, and these were role-oriented. Typical examples are: "The old woman's arthritis made it a tedious job to vacuum the rug." (p. 91) "Mother served doughnuts and cider in her new crystal glasses." (p. 16) Male references were varied and not dominated by such stereotypes.

The teacher interviewed in conjunction with this course appears to be sensitive to the changing roles of women in our society and to the changes in the way females view themselves as persons. The class has discussed women's rights as a facet of civil rights. There has also been discussion of personal and individual right, as seen in various works of literature; this has lead to questions concerning responsible decision making. It is the teacher's hope that by allowing discussion of such topics as they arise, and learning to cope with current problems that "the students can mature enough to help educate themselves." Such a concern for personal growth and stimulation toward self-actualization can do much to reverse the standard female orientation as one who sits at the edge of the mainstream of life and waits passively for the tides to push her in one directon or another. This teacher feels also that "Women need to know they have a worth in order for our society to make progress." The sex ratio in this particular class is 2 girls to 1 boy, and the teacher estimates that one-half to two-thirds are college-bound.

### GOOD AND BAD HEROES—SENIOR HIGH ENGLISH

This is a one semester course of readings and discussion dealing with many aspects of heroes. The material used varies from semester to semester depending on the student makeup of the class and whatever happens to be crurent. The students also must read four addititonal books—two biographies, two autobiographies. In addition, biogrpahies are read of people whose names are familiar, but whose place in history is vague. Generally four works are always used.

*Johnny Got His Gun*, Dalton Trumbo, This novel presents a very strong anti-war message. It centers around a war victim. The women of his life seen in flash-backs were portrayed realistically in a manner fitting the setting.

*Jesus Christ, Superstar*, Andrew Weber. Tim Rice, 1960. This is a new telling of an old story. Women are handled with a traditional and biblical sense. Judging this from a sexist standpoint becomes difficult, but one can question why this work was chosen over others.

*Boewulf, A New Telling* taken from Practical English Magazine, This is a new English version of an old legend of the young hero conquering evil. From a sexist standpoint one cannot question the traditional treatment of women, but again one wonders why this particular heroic tale was chosen.

*The Black Hero*, ed. Murray Thomas, Publisher Scholastic Book Services. This book contains articles by 16 authors, three of whom were women. One story dealing with black women is "The Negro Mother" which points out the importance of the black women's rôle of support for the black man and her children in the struggle to get ahead. She is submissive, loyal and loving. This image may very well be a valid role model for some women, but perhaps another model could be presented for those women who do not wish to be mothers.

A problem with our society is that too often women are taught to be nothing more than possessions of men. The following quote is very exempliary of that philosophy:

If a woman is loved she is beautiful and I must tell my women that they are beautiful, first because I find them to be so, second because they need it as an extension of my manhood and my confidence in myself. I can say to them, "You are beautiful, you are not scrubbing the floors. That is not you. You are a queen. Ten thousand Queens of Sheba. Scrubbing floors on your knees. Get up. Walk. Talk. Be what you are. My woman whom I will defend and fight for to the death.

The instructor interviewed was aware of discrimination particularly racism, but was also conscious of the rather negative image women are given. The instructor was constantly changing the structure of the course to meet the needs of the students. He felt that studying heroes per se was simply a vehicle for teaching other concepts. But when asked, if for instance, the class was predominantly female would more material about females be included the answer was no. The interviewer felt that this instructor while aware of sexism was not aware to the point that he was actively trying to change sterotyped images through the material he selects for the course. This instructor suggested and it is also the suggestion of this task force that workshops be held among teachers which would point out the blatant and subtle forms of sexism.

### HOME AND FAMILY LIVING

In the Bulletin of Courses this class is described as "an attempt to understand the place of family life in the modern world, it stresses the need for self-understanding, and understanding those customs which lead to marriage . . .; readiness and adjustment in marriage; earning and spending more." The only problem with this description is that they omitted the word traditional. The only good things about the book used for this course is that the instructor we talked with didn't use it very much, but since there are other instructors, we obviously don't always have that assurance.

*Personal Adjustment, Marriage and Family Living*, Judson Landis and Mary Landis, Publisher, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. There was several complaints about the book many of which the instructor agreed with. The book was very middle-class. Blacks were the only minority presented which tended to make the attempt to be multi-ethnic contrived. The pictures were quite damaging and also somewhat contrary to the written contents of the book. The book mentions several times that marriage has been romanticized and then the pictures included reinforce such romanticism, showing blissful dating, weddings with few pictures of conflict in inter-personal relationships. The pictures reinforce the rather traditional child-rearing roles—with mother tending children and father shown actively involved with the children. Another area which made unacceptable references to women is premarital sex and early marriage. If one were to judge from this book alone one might conclude that girls are all to blame for early marriages which in general ruin the careers of young men. There are many quotes to support such a thesis such as the following. A section on negative affects of premarital sex states that girls view sex as a step toward marriage and will suffer emotionally, but a boy will be worse off if an unwanted pregnancy or early marriage impairs his future. "His future life achievements can be restricted by the early sexual involvement." Another says, "The girl who encourages the boy in extreme petting which leads to intercourse may put an end to his plans for his future education and vocation." Don't girls have a future? Why does the author blame only them for the pregnancies?

Another fault with this book is that it assumes everyone's goal is to be married. Quotes such as the following, "At this point in your life the important question is "Am I becoming a marriageable person." Another, "teenagers have freedom to test ones interaction with people of the other sex. As long as one is not yet married, there is still time to find a life-time partner with whom the most satisfactory marriage and family life is possible: one is not yet positively committed to trying to make the best of a bad choice."

This is a very traditional marriage textbook and it has such limited horizons that students aren't encouraged to look at various lifestyles. It stereotypes both male and female and makes many assumptions about male-female behavior which are not necessarily true. Rather than help a student discover his/her own potential as a member of this society, it has already cast everyone in the play of heterosexual love, marriage and family.

The instructor interviewed for this course uses supplemental materials in place of this text. This teacher attempts to show students the historical development of the concept of "family," sex roles within different cultures and socio-economic groups, and the realities of the profession of parenthood. Not only does the teacher introduce women's issues to the class, the students do also. For example, a couple of students reported on Women Awareness Week at Western Michigan University. The students are encouraged to examine their own lifestyles and beliefs and to consider a broader range of alternatives than they had previously. They are helped to see their own needs more realistically so that, for example, female students will see that marriage does not guarantee them financial security and males will see that babies do put demands on fathers which are not always pleasurable. The instructor encourages the students to evaluate their options and to have reasons for their choices beyond merely accepting a previously established pattern.

## MASS MEDIA

For this course we interviewed two instructors who used two different textbooks. Both of the books are used as background material with the bulk of course material coming from radio, television, newspapers and magazines. The differences in the way this course was handled points out how crucial instructor attitude and awareness can be. Both courses used the major forms of media as instructional material, but one teacher pointed out how the mass media uses women and sex to sell things and how the mass media treats women in general. On one evaluation sheet used by the students for television the teacher tries to get them to look at the role of stereotyping done within a television family. The question is also raised whether or not these families are like most of the people the student knows. In contrast the other instructor did not mention any such attempt to try to expose stereotyping. The text used by his instructor was rated poor, while the text used in the other class was rated good, mainly for the way it exposed the media's stereotyping of women. In view of this kind of contrast between two classes of the same course it is the recommendation of this task force the *school system with the utmost urgency develop an inservice training* *program to make teachers and administrators aware of the many forms sex discrimination can take. It is also suggested that each department hold informal sessions to deal with problems specific to their area of study. This could be discussions of subtle forms of discrimination as well as sexism in textbooks. It is hoped that lists of materials pertaining to women and written by women would be made available to all instructors.*

The following are the evaluations of the two textbooks used for this course. *Media and Comunication*, William Thomson, publisher, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. 1972. This book has 179 pages and contains a total of 12 references to women. There are many references similar to this, "Writing has enabled man to record his history, development, hopes, fears, thoughts and feeling and himself, about other men, about his world." Granting the fact that the English language tends to be masculine, one might thing sentences such as this could be better written to include the other 51% of the population. This book was rated poor.

*Coping with the Mass Media*, ed. Joseph Littell, publisher, McDougall, Littell & Company, 1972. This book dealt effectively with the media's stereotyping of women. It also went into the way mass media especially television perpetuated myths in our society. This book was rated as good.

## ANTHROPOLOGY

This course is entitled Man: A course of Study which one might assume means mankind, but judging from the material this might not be a valid assumption. It is an experimental course for seventh graders, which contain 24 books and pamphlets which are presented in a given sequence. The material contains studies of animal societies such as solmon, herring gull, baboons, chimpanzees and wolves. It also contains stories and legends depicting Eskimo life. The course is published by Curriculum Development Associates, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1971.

In evaluating this material it was determined that the content itself did reinforce the traditional male-female roles and adds to sex stereotyping of students, but that such role casting could be avoided if the instructor chose to do so. Given that anthropology studies different societies and their organization, traditional models must be shown, but if it were creatively taught, it would be very helpful to boys and girls in combatting the limitations of sex roles. In the Eskimo studies, it is shown several times that boys are worth more than girls.

They would like to have many sons and few daughters. If a girl baby has not already been promised as a future wife, her family may feel that they cannot provide for her. If there is no family to adopt her it is their custom to allow the child to die.

An astute instructor could point out the dangers of applying such standards as seen in Eskimo society to our way of life. Also the division of labor among the Eskimos could be defined and contrasted with the needs of our society.

An observation about the series was the general lack of females. In the animal studies all the pictures of humans are male. In the Eskimo studies the female activities, games and amusements while the men were away hunting were not mentioned. On the bright side, Jane Goodall's work was mentioned in the pamphlet entitled "Chimpanzee."

The one anthropology instructor interviewed is very aware of sexism and is making students aware. This teacher attempts to show the students that humans are more alike than different, and that differences are due to a learned culture. Students relate the classroom material to current events. For example, they examine sex roles for cultural differences and for indications of change. The teacher has read from the *Feminist Manifesto*, played the record, "I am Woman," and used the article, "Are You a Sexist?" for class discussion.

In conclusion one must say that again teacher attitude and awareness become the pivotal point around which the usefulness of making students aware of sex role stereotyping is centered. Again it is suggested that the administration set up programs which would aid instructors in making their courses non-sexist.

## INDUSTRIAL ARTS—7TH GRADE

The data for analyzing this class comes from the teacher interview. This teacher has only one section of this particular course, and the sex ratio in it is about 3 boys to 1 girl. He feels this is fairly common situation for other classes of this course.

In the past, discrimination on the basis of sex was automatic in the field of Industrial Arts. This is no longer true, and during his introductory statements early in the class he made girls aware of the job opportunities they now have in the field. This teacher uses his own outlines, ditto sheets, etc. for his classroom plans, as he feels this assures more complete and up-to-date coverage of specific skills, tools and machines. He does not feel restricted in his choice of materials to be used, except for financial considerations and necessary space for storing projects. The one-semester nature of the course also presents a time limitation, but there are apparently no ideological problems to be dealt with by him.

Most of the students are not college-bound, but this is not a matter of concern for the teacher. His own goals are to teach the students to work with their hands, to introduce them to basic tools and skills, to give them a chance to experience success. He does feel that the 7th grade boys and girls differ in their abilities. From his personal observations, girls have more patience for pursuing a project, while boys have had a greater amount of previous exposure to working with tools. He feels that these differences do not amount to an advantage for either group.

His closing remark was thoughtfully spoken: "Men don't realize that the sooner women are liberated, the sooner they (men) will be."

### HOME ECONOMICS—7TH GRADE

The data for analyzing this class comes from the teacher interview. This class, and the one like it that she teaches, have only girls enrolled. There is an exchange procedure during the year, in which girls take 2 weeks of Industrial Arts and boys take 2 weeks of Home Economics, at this particular school. There was opposition from the students at first, but in practice it worked out well. This opposition lead to a discussion of roles, and to the set ideas that students have about their future place in society. The teacher felt this was a productive and stimulating outcome, as she senses an apathy and detachment in her students, in so far as their life goals and specific plans for meeting them are concerned. Many of her female students see an early marriage as the *means* for achieving maturity, rather than a step to be taken by the mature.

In the foods, clothing and grooming units covered in 7th grade, she stresses basic skills for simple and economical living, practical things which will be of value to the students in whatever way of life they choose, and regardless of whether or not they ever have another course in Home Economics. She does not use any single text, but chooses specific chapters from a large number of books which she feels are more up-to-date or particularly oriented toward the student's interests or ability level. When asked about the relevance of this course for today's society, the teacher replied: "Yes, home life is the most important part of a person's life, and the more done to improve it and make it worth having, the better. We have a stronger hold on ourselves. The security status of individuals is improved. We are helped to become more independent as people."

For the purpose of making recommendations, the Industrial Arts and Home Economics departments will be treated as one entity. It is the understanding of this Task Force that changes are under way which will alter the course structure and enrollement access in these classes. There is a possibility, in so doing, that a subtle sexist error may occur which prevails in some other school systems. We refer to the notion that boys need to know only those homemaking skills which will tide them over the periods in their lives when females (mother, teacher, wife) are not "taking care of them". There is a parallel notion that girls need to know only those skills of home maintenance, wood craft, and auto repair to see them through an emergency situation, that is "until a male arrives on the scene to take charge." A class entitled "Bachelor Survival" or "Powder Puff Mechanics" is indicative of this short-sightedness. Such thinking prevents development of the full potential of each person who is subjected to it, and perpetuates undesirable sexual stereotyping.

### 8TH GRADE ART

Information for evaluating this course comes entirely from the teacher interview, for he does not use the Junior High Art Guide compiled by the Kalamazoo Public Schools in 1965. He does not regard it as useful, nor relevant to problems of Junior High Students. The materials chosen are from his personal library, the curriculum library, the art coordinator, and from ideas picked up at staff meetings. Only his own personal judgment is involved in this selection process, and he does not feel restricted by any factor except the limited attention span of this particular age group. Much of the focus of this course is toward the individual student as a person, enrichment of his or her perceptions of the visual arts, an expanded awareness of the beauty of scenery, etc. Current changes in society show up when choice of subject matter is left to the students, and he mentioned the local issue of busing and national issues of war and "Watergate" as examples. When questioned specifically about women's issues, this teacher said it had come up in a discussion of individual rights. He also volunteered that he had shared with the class on several occasions his family's personal techniques for dividing home responsibilities, including the fact that he often does the dishes with the help of his young son, and does not feel this detracts from his manliness. He tries to be as open as possible with students, to discuss their family relationships and problem with then when they come to him for help. When asked if he had a personal sex bias, one way or the other, he replied: "No, my expectations are the same for either sex, and the subject matter is of *their* choosing. I try to broaden their horizons of choice." It was my own feeling that he was as honest and warm in his dealing with students—many of whom came in just to say good-bye for the weekend on their way to the bus—as he was straightforward and cooperative with this interviewer.

### MERCHANDISING

The information for evaluating this course comes from the teacher interview and reviews of the two books used.

*Fundamentals of Selling*, Wingate, Nolan, publishers, Southwestern Publishing Company, 1969. Apparently the textbook is better than most of its treatment of women. It shows them in a variety of roles, not just as customers and salespersons, but also in positions of airline consultant, conducting a class for both men and women, handling complaints, taking inventory, feeling a computer, etc. illustrations, in particular were fair to women, showing them in interesting activities and commanding positions. Page references were fairly even; however, the text still used "he" and salesmen generally.

The accompanying study guide and projects handbook was not so acceptable. None of the examples referring to women were in the least notable or interesting but focused on mundane activities such as buying detergent, getting breakfast and complaining about jewelry, to cite three examples. There were no references to women in management or ownership positions. Surely the "real world" has many examples of women in such situations, and these could be included for the encouragement of girls who aspire to success in the realm of business. The fact that 60% of the class is female and 40% male seems to indicate the existence of just such aspirations.

The instructor does not use the text a great deal, but prefers a discussion-based class as being more stimulating for students. Many supplemental materials are used, including newspapers, magazines, charts and graphs from various sources. These are readily available, relevant to topics discussed, and can be purchased with government money available for vocational supplementary purposes. The person who interviewed this teacher had this to say afterward: "He was pleasant and cooperative, although somewhat hesitant and embarrassed to give his personal views. He attempts to develop skills in all the students which will make them knowledgeable consumers regardless of their further involvement in retailing. He could probably make some points stronger in class such as challenging whether retailers should sell by "psyching out" the woman buyer, and asking what will happen when more men are doing the buying. He might also encourage women to desire managerial positions and to not merely accept the readily available positions as clerks, buyers, and advertisers. It should be noted that his initial comment on the Elementary Textbooks Task Force Report was one of agreement—that sexism, like racism, needs to be dealt with by society.

### INTERVIEW EVALUATION

There are several things which need to be pointed out about the interviews which were done. One is that the sample is very biased due to the way the instructors were selected and Dr. Wickert's desire "to have this thing turn out all right." As pointed out in the methods section we had no control over the procedure and feel one must be very careful about any generalization drawn. Nonetheless there are certain trends which ran through the interviews which need to be pointed out.

Any quotes taken from the interviews will not be identified as to course since there is only one instructor from each (with mass media an exception-2) they would be easily identified which is something we want to avoid. The courses in which interviews were done were: 9th English, Home Economics, Industrial Arts, 8th Social Studies, Anthropology, Beginning Art, Psychology, Mass Media (2), Home and Family Living, Good and Bad Heroes, Sociology, and Merchandising.

There are 13 in all. The only course under study which did not have an interview done was Senior High U.S. History because no instructor would consent to be interviewed.

The first question asked was if they had seen the report of the Elementary Textbook Task Force which at the time had been completed for two months. In view of the recommendations in that report the answers were surprising. Not one respondent had actually seen a copy of the report or a summary. Of those who knew about it at all (9) they had read about it in the newspaper. The other 4 respondents had never heard of the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Schools or of the report.

This implies to use that the administration did not take the report too seriously and did not feel the need to have instructors at all levels obtain a copy or even a summary in memo form. This is very distressing in light of the kinds of findings and recommendations in that report which we believe would be useful to instructors at all levels of education. It is our belief that copies or summaries of all Task Force reports should be circulated to all personnel in the Kalamazoo Public School System. At best, this might generate some kind of positive reaction from the instructors, at least the knowledge about the study would be increased.

Another trend appeared in response to the question about the use of the textbooks. In 11 of the classes there was a given text and in 2 no text. Out of the 11 courses with a given text 1 was followed very closely, 5 somewhat, 4 very little, 1 not at all. There were several reasons given for not following the text closely such as: too difficult, outdated, racist, inadequate, misleading. All respondents said they used supplemental materials and when asked for the criteria for choosing such materials and whether they were restricted in their choice the majority said money was their criteria, practically the only restriction. The question that arises is this: If the textbooks are generally found inadequate and the only problem with buying supplemental materials is money, isn't the allocation of funds for materials somewhat misplaced. In view of the fact that 72.4% of the books evaluated for this study were rated fair or poor, it seems some changes should be made concerning the way in which material is selected and purchased. It is the suggestion of this task force that sexism be added as an evaluative tool for the textbook adoption procedure. If there are no books which are non-sexist then buy no books and put pressure on the publishers to devise non-sexist material.

In response to the question of whether some students got more out of the class than others, all answered yes, but that they could not categorize those who did. But in response to the question of whether the instructor could change the way a student comes to them, the general concensus was that the instructor could do very little. The implications of this statement are very broad. Any socialization which occurs in the school is done at a very early age. Adolescent values are pretty well established. This task force feels that such a response reinforces the recommendations made by the Elementary Task Force. When readjusting for sexism, is done, it must begin at the kindergarten level. Therefore, we wholeheartedly support the recommendations made by that task force.

In conclusion, we would like to make some general observations about several questions asked which we feel reveal the attitude of the teachers on sexism and sex role stereotyping. We feel that the instructors interviewed are, in general, aware of sexism in their teaching materials, but they are not yet at a level of awareness which we find satisfactory. Eight of the 13 teachers interviewed showed minimal awareness, 5 showed significant awareness. It must be remembered that these instructors were selected by the administration. Of the 13 teachers who were aware of sexism only 5 were actively counteracting sexism in their materials. Furthermore, several of the instructors verbalized a traditional view of male and female students while at the same time maintaining that they were unbiased in their teaching approach to males and females.

It is obvious that the administration does not make the teachers feel responsible for changing any sex bias in their own attitudes nor for constructively handling sex bias in classroom materials. We can only repeat our previous recommendation that in-service training to raise the level of teacher awareness begin immediately in the area of sexism, whether it be conscious or unconscious sexism.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The following are the recommendations that this task force has to make. They are listed according to the areas which are the most greatly affected.

### CURRICULUM

(1) It is recommended that women be treated as an integral part of history and be duly included in all history classes. If the text books fail to include the historical accomplishments of women then appropriate supplemental materials should be used.

(2) It is recommended that a course dealing with the history of the women's movement—it's leaders and growth—be added to the curriculum.

(3) It is recommended that the English Department set up their courses so that more material is included which is written by women and material in which women are the central characters.

(4) It is recommended that home economics and industrial arts be made available to all students. It is also suggested these classes be made coed, with the same course being used for both boys and girls rather then devising special home economics classes for boys and special industrial arts and mechanics classes for girls.

### ADMINISTRATION

(1) It is recommended that the school system develop an in-service training program to make teachers and administrators aware of the many forms sex discrimination can take. This training should include discussions on how to recognize sexism in written material as well as in personal actions. It should also include positive ideas on how to eliminate sexism from the schools.

(2) It is recommended that lists of materials pertaining to women and written by women be made available to all instructors so that they might easily know what supplemental material is at their disposal.

(3) It is recommended that copies or summaries of all Task Force reports should be circulated to all personnel in the Kalamazoo Public School system.

(4) It is recommended that sexism be added as an evaluative tool for the textbook adoption procedure.

(5) It is recommended that no books deemed sexist by a textbook evaluative committee be purchased and that pressure be applied to publishers to devise nonsexist materials.

### TEACHERS

(1) It is recommended that each department hold informal sessions to deal with problem of sexism within their specific areas of study.

## APPENDIX A

### EVALUATION SHEET FOR SECONDARY TEXTBOOKS

I. Basic Information Reviewed by ____________

Title ____________ Copyright date ____________

Author ____________ Publisher ____________

Series ____________

Where used, School ____________ Class ____________ Grade ______

How often is it used? ____________

Total number of pages ____________ Size of page ____________

II. Quantitative Information

A. For all books:

Number of pages referring to women _____

Cite page numbers ____________

Column inches or number of sentences referring to women ____________

Total photographs featuring women ____________

Total photographs featuring men ____________

Cite page numbers ____________

What are women doing in these pictures? ____________

B. For history and social studies texts, particularly

Name of the women featured ____________

Cite topics relating specifically to women that are covered ______

____________

III. Qualitative Information

Acceptable references to women.

Please feel free to add any information. Use the back for further evaluation.

## SECONDARY TEXT BOOK EVALUATION

Quotations with page numbers

Unacceptable references to women, such as statements or innuendos demeaning women

Quotations, with page numbers

List notable omissions of prominent women ________________________________
__________ ____________________________________________

List any significant subjects which have been omitted, such as, in history books, child labor, women's suffrage, or family life ____________________
____________________________________________________

How would you improve a textbook for this class?

Have you seen other textbooks on this subject which you could recommend as non-sexist?

Write a critique of book-rating it as : i.e., Non sexist

very good
good
fair
poor

## APPENDIX B

## RATINGS OF BOOKS EVALUATED

| | VERY GOOD | GOOD | FAIR | POOR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Exploration Through Reading | | | | x |
| Basic Goals in Spelling | | | | x |
| English for Meaning | | | x | |
| Counterpoint in Literature | | | | x |
| New World of Reading | | | | x |
| Lore of Our Land | | | | x |
| Spell Correctly | | | | x |
| Selected Case Studies in U. S. History | | x | | |
| Afro-American in U. S. History | | x | | |
| The Free and the Brave | | | x | |
| Free and the Brave Workbook | | | x | |
| Rise of the American Nation Vol 1 | | | | x |
| Promise of America 1,2,3 | | x | | |
| Negro Views of America | | | | x |
| Black in America | | | | x |
| Story of the American Nation | | | | x |
| Fundamentals of Selling | | | x | |
| Fundamentals of Selling Workbook | | | | x |
| Poverty and Welfare | | | x | |
| Building Citizenship | | | x | |
| Rise of the American Nation Vol 2 | | | x | |
| Coping with Mass Media | | x | | |
| Media and Communication | | | | x |
| Johnny Got His Gun | | x | | |
| Jesus Christ, Superstar | | x | | |
| Beowulf | | | x | |

| APPENDIX D -continued | VERY GOOD | GOOD | FAIR | POOR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Black Hero | | | x | |
| Personal Adjustment, Marriage and Family Living | | | | x |
| Psychology | | | | x |
| Dibs in Search of Self | | x | | |
| Learning Reinforcement Theory | | x | | |
| Why Am I Afraid to Tell You Who I Am? | | | x | |
| Law and the Consumer | | x | | |
| Society Today | | | | x |
| The Ways of Man-An Introduction to Many Cultures | | x | | |
| TOTAL 35 | 0 | 10 | 10 | 15 |
| | | 28.6 | 28.6 | 42.8% |

## APPENDIX C
## INTERVIEW SHEET FOR SELECTED SUBJECTS TASK FORCE-SECONDARY LEVEL

Introduce yourself by name, and as a member of the Sex Discrimination Study for the Kalamazoo Public Schools
"We are studying possible sex bias in randomly selected subjects at the Junior and Senior High School levels. Only factual data and examples of responses to our questions will be used in the final report on the study. No names will be included, so we hope your answers will be honest and candid, and that you will rest assured that your anonymity will be protected. We are approaching this subject by examining textbooks, sitting in on classes, talking with teachers, and hopefully talking with students.

1. Have you perhaps seen the similar study already completed by this Task Force at the elementary level? Yes___ No___ If yes, do you have any reactions to it that you would like to share with us?

2. How many other sections of this same class do you teach?

3. What is the approximate sex ratio of the one I observed?

4. How does that compare with the other sections of the same class?

5. What do you see as the purpose of this course?

6. The given text for this course is __________________________________

7. How closely do you follow it? Very closely___ Somewhat ___Very little_____

8. If closely, why?

9. If not closely, why not?
   Too difficult___
   Too easy ___
   Not adequate coverage ___
   Leaves out _____
   Other _____

10. Do you use supplemental materials? If so, what?______________________

11. How do you choose these supplemental materials? What are your criteria?____

12. If you could add any material of your own choosing, what would it be?_______

13. Are there things you leave out simply because there is not enough time to cover them? If so, what?

14. How much freedom do you have in choosing materials? (circle one)
    Great deal of freedom
    Some freedom
    Enough freedom
    Not enough freedom
    very little freedom

15. If your freedom is restricted, by whom or what is it restricted? (circle one)
    Board of Education
    Superintendent
    Principal
    Department Head
    Educational Specialist
    Parents
    Other __________________

Appendix C (cond)

16. Are most of your students college-bound, or do they ineend to seek employment after finishing high school? (circle one)
    Most college-bound
    Most employment bound
    Not sure
    Can't tell
    Doesn't matter in this course
    Other ________________

17. How do you feel your course is relevant to a student's occupational or educational aspirations? Explain

18. Do you feel there are some students that get more out of your class than others? Who? Which group or category? Why?

19. Is there anything you can do about this, or is it a matter that is out of your hands?

20. Do you feel your course reflects some of the current changes taking place in society? Yes ___ No ___ Explain

21. Do you feel you have a rapport with students? Do they bring questions of their own which, though related to this course, are not really part of their lesson plans? Yes ___ No ___ Explain

22. Can you answer their questions or deal with the difficulties they represent? Yes ___ No ___ Explain

23. Do students ask questions prompted by current events? Yes ___ No ___ Explain

24. Do you bring current events into your course at any point? Women's issues? Yes ___ No ___ Explain

25. Do you have different expectations for the male and female students in your class? Yes ___ No ___ Explain

26. What do you feel boys get out of this class?

27. What do you feel girls get out of this class?

28. Do you feel your course is relevant to today's society? Why or Why not? Explain

29. Do you feel you have a personal sex bias, one way or the other? Yes __ No __ For _______ Against ______ Explain

30. What does the interviewer feel is the attitude of the teacher toward being interviewed? (Co-operative, hesitant, condescending, reserved, pleasant, obliging, arrogant, or uncooperative, for example __________ or others)

## Appendix D

### OCCUPATION DEPICTED IN SPELLING BOOKS

*Male.*—Sanitary engineer, judge, lawyer, explorer, President of United States, baseball player, senator, buggy driver, UN representative, doctor, scientist, instructor, doorman, professor, hunter, astronaut, clown, student government spokesperson, basketball player, magician, detective, crook, mechanic, cowboy, sheriff, giant, warriors, Indian chief, guitar player, banjo player, conductor, drummer, truck driver, chauffeur, baker, and soldier.

*Female.*—Babysitter, cook, cheerleader, duchess, banjo player, and teacher.

Spell Correctly, Silver Burdett Co., 1971.

Exploration Through Reading, ed. Gunn, Devine, Statiger, Russell, Ginn & Co., 1967.

English for Meaning, McKee, Prestwood, Watson, Floyd, Houghton, Mifflin, 1967.

Law and the Consumer, publisher, Houghton Mifflin, Inc., 1969.

Poverty, and Welfare, Robert H. Ratcliffe, ed., publisher Houghton-Mifflin, Inc., 1969.

Story of the American Nation, Casner, Gabriel, Biller, Hartley; publisher Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962 with a 1964 supplement.

Building Citizenship, James McCrocklin, publisher Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1965.

Black in America, Robert C. Hayden, publisher Xerox, 1969.

Negro Views of America, Donald Oliver, Fred Newmann, publisher Xerox, 1967.

The Afro-American in United States History, Loshin, Dasilva, Sandifer, Finkelstein, publisher Globe Book Co., 1969.

Selected Case Studies in American History, vol. 1, William Gardner, Robert Beery, publisher Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1969.

Free and the Brave, Henry F. Graff, publisher Rand McNally & Co., 1972–73.

Free and the Brave Workbook, Thomas Metos, Charles Montgomery, publisher Rand McNally, 1971.

## Appendix E

### TEXTBOOKS, PAPERBACKS AND PAMPLETS EVALUATED

Rise of the American Nation, vol. 1, Todd, Curti, publisher Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968.

Promise of America, Cuban, Roden, publisher Scott, Foresman & Co., 1971.; Breaking and Building, The Starting Line, Struggling for a Dream.

The Black Hero, ed. Murray and Thomas, publisher Scholastic Book Services, 1970.

Johnny Got His Gun, Dalton Trubo, novel.

Beowulf, A New Telling, Robert Nye, publisher Scholastic Magazines, Inc., Datlon, Ohio, 1969.

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*Summary*

It was the duty of this Task Force to examine selected courses of study at the secondary level. We selected 13 courses:

*Junior High.*—Beginning Art, Anthropology, English, Homemaking, Industrial Arts, and U.S. History.

*Senior High.*—Psychology, Sociology, Home and Family Living, Merchandising, U.S. History, Good and Bad Heroes, and Mass Media.

For our evaluation we reviewed much of the written material for each course and interviewed an instructor for all courses but one. Our findings indicate that in history books women are almost invisible. In other course material women are given very sterotyped images. They are seen as passive watchers of a society created and controlled by men.

In view of our findings the Task Force would like to recommend the following:

*Curriculum*

(1) It is recommended that women be treated as an integral part of history and be duly included in all history classes. If the text books fail to include the historical accomplishments of women then appropriate supplemental materials should be used.

(2) It is recommended that a course dealing with the history of the women's movement—it's leaders and growth—be added to the curriculum.

(3) It is recommended that the English Department set up their courses so that more material is included which is written by women and material in which women are the central characters.

(4) It is recommended that home economics and industrial arts be made available to all students. It is also suggested these classes be made coed, with the same course being used for both boys and girls rather then devising special home economics classes for boys and special industrial arts and mechanics classes for girls.

## REPORT OF THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION/ATHLETICS TASK FORCE

BY KARLA ATKINSON, LEADER

The idea of "sound mind in sound body" has long been recognized as a valid truth. The earliest Greek and Roman societies realized that as the mind develops so should the body. Unfortunately our school system, like the ancient civilizations, has been guilty of applying such a truth solely to the male segment of society. Women in sport do not fit the traditional concept of femininity and in turn have been excluded from numerous opportunities to develop all of their human potential.

Our society begins to indoctrinate this myth that women are the weaker, docile sex early in life. "Infant girls are handled more gently than infant boys. In the preschool years girls are expected to stay clean, neat, quiet, obedient. Any of the unstructured play activities reserved for boys, such as wrestling and tree-climbing, are quickly frowned upon, on the grounds they are unladylike."[1] Even by the time a child reaches kindergarten age, the choice of toys is indicative of the roles the child is expected to play. Girls will *sit* to play with dolls, dishes, paints and jacks. Boys, however, will *run* with bats, balls, kites and skateboards.

Once elementary school begins, the school system takes over where the parents left off, continuing to advance the stereotyped roles for each sex in the area of physical education. No where is the discrimination so evident as in the budget for the sports programs. The disparity between the use of facilities and equipment, and overall expenditure is discouraging to the girl who wishes to actively seek self-expression through physical activity. And even if she does pursue her athletic interests, she is subject to criticism from her parents and peers, simply because she does not fit the expected cultural behavior pattern for a female.

Society, however, is generous enough to excuse these girls still in the middle elementary years. The tomboy is a late bloomer who hasn't as yet seen the importance of fitting into the feminine mold. Let "research on women who achieve and are successful in a wide range of endeavors demonstrates that most of them were tomboys . . . more independent, risk taking, adventurous, strong, achievement oriented than their passive, dependent sisters."[2] Unfortunately most girls get the message clearly so that by the time they reach high school, their love for physical activity has been channeled into that secondary role of passive supporter, rather than active participant. They become cheerleaders, join the pep club, bake brownies to raise money for a game bus, and sell pompoms. Sadly they come to see the playing field as a microcosm for the rest of their lives: If girl plays boy and beats him, she loses him. And since society primps her primarily as mother-housewife, she steps off the field, onto the sidelines, supporting and thereby winning the boy—but ultimately losing to herself in the long run. Rather than compete she forfeits, and the price of her default is immeasurable, as women are beginning to sense today.

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[1] Clarenbach, pg. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, pg. 5.

Now with the reassessment of sexual stereotypes and the refreshing change in social roles, it is becoming clear that women have been denied the opportunity to develop all of their physical capacities. Slowly our educational institutions are beginning to expose the myth that women have no place in sport, that they lack any spirited competitiveness and determination. Only recently have the courts legally opened the way for equal female participation in non-contact sports in the state of Michigan.[3] The MHSAA has taken a welcome step in the right direction by sanctioning the creation and improvement of women's programs at the state level. Equality of participation will be insured only when the sports programs for women measure up to the males' opportunities, in terms of both quality and quantity.

Many physical educators, administrators and parents are quick to argue that it makes little sense to spend time and money building programs for young women when they supposedly aren't interested. Such an attitude as this, was typical of a philosophy we wished to explore in our task force report. We wondered what roles, if any, physical education teachers had predetermined for their students, and vice versa. We were also curious as to what social and psychological benefits were gained in the physical education classes. Our tentative plan to interview all the physical education teachers in the Kalamazoo Public Schools was discarded when, after consultation with the Research Ed. Department at Western Michigan University, it was pointed out that such a technique would undoubtedly lead to subjective reporting, rather than objective fact-finding.[4] (The time factor also prohibited using such a technique). Thus we submitted a proposal to the school administration which we felt to be highly scientific in nature. Our planned procedure included tight control of all variables, and allowed us to randomly sample students and parents, thus guaranteeing that a broad cross-section of pupils and parents would be represented.

## PLANNED PROCEDURE

We devised five different questionaires to be distributed to the following groups: (1)45 forms to all physical education teachers at both the elementary and secondary levels (2)200 forms to elementary students in grades 1–3 (3)200 forms to upper elementary students in grades 4–6 (4)200 forms to students at the junior and senior highs (5)200 forms to the parents of Kalamazoo Public School pupils. Each of the questionaires was to be accompanied by a cover letter from the administration, explaining the purpose of our study and requesting a prompt rely. We asked for a mailing list of the parents, a list of the homeroom teachers at the junior and senior high schools, and a list of the classroom teachers at each elementary school. From these lists we would randomly select the students and parents, while at the same time making certain that all teachers, schools and grade levels were included in the responses. We proposed that the selection distribution and collection of these forms be our responsibility, as we anticipated set-backs if these duties were taken out of our hands and turned over to the administrative staff.

## ACTUAL PROCEDURE

Our planned procedure was denied, and what actually transpired accounted for the numerous frustrations and disappointments this task force has felt. When the administration decided that all the above mentioned responsibilities belonged to them, we lost total control of our study. We have no idea what procedure they used to distribute the questionaires. We have not seen a copy of any cover letter that accompanied the forms. We are unaware as to what judgments were passed by the Research Department of the Kalamazoo Public School, whose desks our questionaires had to clear. Nonetheless of one thing we are certain: It took almost a half-year to distribute and collect less than 1000 questionaires, from the time our planned procedure was submitted for approval in October, 1972 until last week when the results were still trickling in. In conclusion we cannot in all honesty justify the validity of our study, because we have absolutely no knowledge of the sampling techniques. Yet this is not to suggest that our findings are false. Quite the contrary, most of our discoveries are quite in tune with conclusions reached in similar studies, we regret only the fact that our planned procedure turned into mockery of the scientific approach to research when the administration usurped all our responsibilities.

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[3] Recently the Sixth U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in favor of Plaintiffs Morris and Barrett, upholding and modifying a preliminary injunction which prohibited the MHSAA from "preventing or obstructing in any way the individual plaintiffs or any other girls in the state of Michigan from participating in the scholastic athletics and athletic non-contact contests because of their sex."

[4] It would be subjective because only two people were to conduct the interviews.

The questionaires to students, teachers and parents revealed some enlightening yet disturbing facts. Generally by the middle elementary years the conventional roles for males and females are well understood by the children, though *not* necessarily accepted completely by this age group. However, at the high school level, not only were the male roles now accepted but carefully carried out in the gymnasium as well as the classroom, as most parents agreed they should be. Boys took their "natural" position on the field, frowning upon most of the girls who felt they should not remain on the sidelines. In light of this, it is all too sad that the success of our public school physical education/athletic program is being evaluated in terms of the male athletic prowess, at the expense of the minds and bodies of the opposite sex. "In sports the end in view is not success independent of physical equipment; it is rather the attainment of perfection within the limitations of each physical type."[6]

Thus the thrust of this report is to explore some of the myths that are perpetuated in the area of physical education, to expose the cause-effect relationship between attitude and sexist discrimination, to note the gross discrepancies in the athletic budget, and to offer recommendations that would erase the inequities which now exist.

## THE EARLY ELEMENTARY YEARS

The physical education program at the elementary level requires a minimum of 150 minutes a week, or 30 minutes per day. Generally each week the student receives two periods of instructional time from the physical education teacher and the other time is handled by the elementary classroom teacher. The classes in physical education at this level are coeducational.

Yet no matter how superficially similar these situations at each school may appear, young males and females in grades 1–3 do not feel equal in terms of their physical skills. Perhaps the reason young girls do not feel equal and capable is the notion that certain physical activities carry positive or negative acceptance for youngsters. Boys in grades 1–3 almost unanimously agreed (94.4%) they liked to play ball games in their gym classes, whereas only 26.7% liked to jump rope and 35.6% enjoyed skipping to music. On the other hand, 83.5% of the girls indicated they liked to jump rope and 64.8% responded to their preference for skipping to music. A large percentage of the girls (86%) in this age group also enjoyed ball games, though their ability to successfully master basic skill movements essential to ball games were doubted by themselves and their teachers (see next section).

Of the 15 phsyical education instructors at the elementary levet, 8 are femlaes. Despite the equality in numbers, the association between sports and the male athletic prowess is also reinforced by the teachers, as well as the children. As suggested in the questionaire responses of both sexes, the willingness or hesitancy of the teacher to join with the youngsters at play was dependent on the type of play involved. If it was generally considered to be an area of play relegated frequently to the male, e.g., games involving a ball, the physical education teacher was a frequent participant. Over half of the girls (52.9%) and half of the boys (55.6%) responded positively that the gym teacher played ball games with them. However, in an area of sport considered to be feminine in nature, e.g., rope jumping, skipping, he/she did not become part of the activities. Only 12.9% of the girls and 15.6% of the boys indicated the teacher joined them when they skipped to music. In a neutral area of play which has neither masculine nor feminine connotations, e.g., relay races, the teacher also chose to watch rather than participate. Only 17.6% of the girls and 71.8% of the boys noted that the instructor joined them in realy games. Thus the type of play promoted by all the physical education teachers was predominately male-oriented.

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[6] Hart, pg. 7.

If young girls feel incapable because it is assumed they have some inherent, natural inability to develop their eye-hand-feet coordination, physical education teachers and parents alike do not try and overcome this lack of coordination admitted so frequently by females in this study. Some rationalize that if she doesn't belong on the playing field or basketball court, why bother to equip her with basic skills involved? Reasoning under such false assumptions, it follows that girls who choose to pursue their love for physical activities find themselves ill-equipped and thus are easily discouraged on the playing field. Naturally there are no biological or physiological reasons why a young girl cannot throw, kick, bat, catch, shoot or jump as well as a boy. Marked sex differences in muscular strength do not occur until the onset of puberty, when the increases in female hormone production acts to reduce the growth of muscular tissue. Thus there is no excuse for the fact that young girls in our public schools have not developed fundamental motor patterns by the time they reach fourth grade. The failure lies within the methods of instruction, and limited opportunities, not within the sex.

Females in grades 1–3 did not feel they should be taking a passive position on the sidelines, *if* they were given the chance to be leaders and participate with the boys at play. 83.5% of the girls felt they could captain a team in gym class. A large majority of them (82.4%) also indicated they would prefer playing on a mixed baseball team. Yet the boys in grades 1–3 felt quite differently. 85.6% of the boys would not choose a girl as captain, and 77.8% indicated their preference for playing on an all-male baseball team. In a neutral sport area, 64.8% of the girls once again favored to run on a relay team composed of both sexes, as opposed to less than half (40%) of the boys who wanted to be part of a coed team.

It is quite clear in this study and others that even during these young childhood years, boys are beginning to place girls outside the world of sport by age six.[6] The girls, however, were reluctant to make a definite commitment to the conventional image of the young lady, as indicated by their choices of play activities. Such a conclusion in our study supports the thesis that middle-class girls do not show clear acceptance of their culturally imposed role in sport even by the age of eight.[7]

### THE LATER ELEMENTARY YEARS

For both sexes the picture changes somewhat during these developmental stages. In our study most boys continued to seelct active, vigorous competitive games involving manual skill and dexterity. Basketball, softball, and track/field ranked higest on a list of favorite activities, whereas square dancing, rope jumping and stunts/tumbling were at the bottom. Conversely, girls chose both active and inactive types of play. Rope jumping, running and volleyball were the greatest favorites; soccer, track/field, and square dancing were selected most infrequently.

Yet in this age group the association between sex and the type of play was not as strong as in the earlier grades. In the girls' questionnaire the teachers' favorite interests included volleyball, soccer and running. The boys ranked volleyball, soccer and basketball as the instructor's preferred activities. Similary 68.8% of the girls and 81.4% of the boys believed that their teacher would not like to teach dancing in gym class. In the remainder of the girls' responses, the attitudes remained consistent with those given in grades 1–3. 85.7% still felt capable of assuming leadership positions, though almost half of the girls (41.4%) had doubts regarding their ability to catch a ball as well as a boy.

On the other hand, the boys' responses reflected an interesting and promising trend, namely that the boys in grades 4–6, as opposed to the boys in grades 1–3, were much more willing to include girls on their teams, offering them leadership roles and choosing to have gym class with them, rather than having an all-male class period. Surprisingly this tendency for socialization and interaction with the opposite sex in the later elementary grades runs contrary to some data collected from other studies. Nonetheless it is not our purpose to conjecture why such an attitude exists among boys in grades 4–6. The important thing to note is that such a healthy attitude exists, and little is presently being done to capitalize on a situation that offers great potential for eliminating sexist discrimination in the area of physical education and atheltics. (See section on recommendations).

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[6] Mussen and Conger, pg. 326.

[7] *Ibid*, pg. 327.

Whereas 85% of the boys in grades 1–3 refused to let a girl captain the team, only 45.4% of the boys in grades 4–6 still remained hostile to this idea, Similarly 21.9% more boys in grades 4–6 selected to run on a mixed relay team. More importantly the response of the boys in grades 1–3 (10%) for a coed class jumped to 50.5% or the boys in grades 4–6 opting for a coed gym program. The girls in grades 4–6 also suggested an identical reversal in attitude, in that 64.3% favored a mixed gym class, when in earlier years only 14.8% selected coed opportunities for play.

Such replies are indicative of a desire on the part of both boys and girls in grades 4–6 to cooperate, compete and fulfill their physical potentials at play, with regard for sex being pushed aside. The chance to further foster such a wholesome relationship between the sexes is pointed out in the students' need for after school recreational programs. A slim minority of both boys and girls in grades 1–3 (26.7% and 30.6% respectively) indicated their desire to stay after school for some supervised play program, but in grades 4–6 a majority of the youngsters, 81.4% of the boys and 60.7% of the girls, now responded positively to the idea of an intramural team program at their school.

It is our conclusion that these later elementary years present the ripest opportunity to explode the myth that girls have no place in sport. If changes are not instituted during these years, as has been the case, the end result is the perpetuation of discriminatory attitudes and practices which remain permanently fixed for a lifetime, as is evidenced in the results of our junior-senior high school questionnaires.

### THE JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH YEARS

From the results of our questionnaires in this area, we were not able to determine exactly when, i.e., at what grade level, or precisely why male attitudes shift so radically from late elementary school to these years at the secondary level. We strongly suspect, however, that much of this attitudinal change comes during the junior high years, when classes are no longer predominately coeducational as they were at the elementary level. The separation of the sexes at the junior high level seems to stem from the adult expectation that youngsters should be preparing to fulfill conventional role models if they are to comfortably adjust to the final three years of high school. The necessity for "grooming" the junior male athletes, for developing more sophisticated skills and bigger bodies, also contributes to the justification for separating the sexes in the physical education classes once the elementary years are over. The tomboy is no longer tolerated once seventh grade begins.

That chauvinistic, discriminatory attitudes in grades 7–12 lay the foundation in creating a false impression of young women in sports is all too clear. Young men and women in this age group have almost totally different perspectives of the role of woman in sport. Young men have definitely decided women have no place in their "domain;" conversely young women are willing to argue just the opposite. A slim percentage of the boys (24.5%) agreed that young women are just as active as the boys, unlike the majority of the girls (80.8%) who indicated an equal degree of activity. 62.7% of the young men responded that they have more interest in physical activities than the females; only 8.5% of the girls agreed that this statement was true. 87.2% of the women noted that team sports are just as appropriate for them; only 31.8% of the boys agreed with them on this issue. By a large majority (70.2%) the girls believed they are more creative than boys; 22.7% of the boys were willing to concur. In only the myth question did the young men and women come close to sharing a common point of view. 72.3% of the girls and 49% of the boys concluded that young men are less sensitive than young women.

The most glaring area of outright male favoritism was found in the response to the question of equal use of physical education facilities. Only 50% of the men stated they believed in equal use and time; 80.8% of the young women would not take a back seat, however.

The responses to the notion that young adults of both sexes should have equal exposure to male and female instructors, and the notion that male physical education teachers often present an image of favoring an all-male class, is also covered in our research. 82.9% of the women, whose contact with sports is predominately female at this age level, stated their physical education teacher would like to teach young men in her classes. Yet only 48.1% of the young men, whose contact with sports at this age level is predominately male, thought their instructor would like to work in a coed teaching situation. Evidentally the female who teaches physical education at the junior-senior school neither resents nor fears nor dislikes having young men in her classes. But the male instructors appear to feel differently. And though these men may contend that they are not prejudiced, that they would gladly teach young women, a great many of their students are getting the opposite impression. Indeed, the "we-don't-want-'em here" image needs remodeling.

There was more agreement between the sexes regarding choices for interscholastic teams. From ten alternatives the males selected basketball, swimming, tennis and trackfield as those team sports which should exclusively have separated teams for the women. The young women chose basketball, softball, tennis and track/field as those activities wherein they would like to compete separately. Yet both sexes felt coeducational teams involving skiing, tennis and swimming were also favorable alternatives if the creation of separate programs were not immediately possible.

Personal preferences for physical education activities also overlapped somewhat. From a list of fifteen activities, the boys ranked baseball, swimming, basketball and self-defense (in that order) as favorites. Girls chose swimming, softball, gymnastics and basketball (in that order). It is interesting to note that the first three male choices have interscholastic programs now running. Only the second and fourth choices of the females have programs currently available.

The overall picture these young adults presented is both good and bad. It is good in that the young men's main interests in sports programs are being served, as the budget allotment and curriculum suggest. It is also good in that young women see themselves as active and interested in self-expression through physical activity, that they do not view their physical activities limited to individual pursuits within a intramural program, and that they recognized their right to equal use of physical education facilities and equipment. What is sadly paradoxical, is that young men view these healthy female attitudes as being unhealthy!

For women the lack of separate sports programs, the meager budget allotment and the general false impressions that persist among males are all factors which have helped to squelch whatever chances male students in the elementary grades had for developing positive, reinforcing roles for their female friends. Similarly these factors also account for the success of the pep club and the cheerleading programs. If that which young women desire is not available, they must settle for second best . . . and a poor second it is, to say the least.

### THE PARENTS

If there is any truth to the adage that parents know their kids best, then the task force would have to conclude on the basis of the parental responses that parents of Kalamazoo Public School children share few of the myth beliefs that their older children do. In most cases the parents are enlightened and aware of the importance of a total physical education program. Nonetheless their consciousness of culturally determined behavior patterns for both sexes is still evident.

When asked to note what kinds of instruction should be offered in junior and senior high school, they reflected what society feels to be "safe" sports of either males or females. They ranked soccer, basketball and baseball as male activities to be taught separately. Females should have separate instruction in the areas of basketball, swimming and gymnastics. Those activities appropriate for coed classes included dance, tennis and golf. What is interesting to note, is the attitude underlying these choices and the acceptance of the notion that certain sports are appropriate for either sex, or both. The female who wishes to develop skills in soccer or conversely, the male who might wish to receive some instruction in contemporary dance would find themselves out of luck because instruction in these areas is not offered. Clearly the only justification for singling out these parential preferences is what society deems "proper."

Our task force is not, by any means, suggesting we drill females to the point where almost any girl could qualify for a men's team. We recognize that certain differences in muscular strength are apparent in adolescents, and we are not so bold as to try and overthrow Mother Nature. What we are demanding is that any girl at this age be exposed and given instruction in many more physical activities, so that she may be free to choose and develop as she desires. Limited instruction necessarily presupposes a limited freedom, and parents who sanction only those activities which they feel "respectable" are hampering the growth and human potential of all tomorrow's children.

When questioned as to what varsity sports should be available to men, women and both sexes, the parents' responses were again indicative of their social consciousness. Separate male teams in football, baseball and wrestling were chosen most frequently, as were separate women's golf, basketball and swimming teams. The favorite choices for coed participation included golf, skiing, and tennis. 88.7% of the parents believed equal use of the physical education facilities should be guaranteed, and the greatest majority (70.9%) responded favorably to a required physical education program in grades K–12.

In response to questions dealing with the myths of women in sport, the parents, more often than the physical education teachers, denied the persistent claim that women are inactive and disinterested in physical activities. 56.2% believed girls were just as active as boys, 17.8% responded that girls are less interested than boys; only 10.9% suggested that team sports are more appropriate for boys. Over 60% of the parents also indicated that girls are not more creative than boys, and that boys are not less sensitive than girls.

With the exception of a few replies, there was agreement among all the parents that coed instruction at the elementary level include instruction of basic movement skills, large and small group play, high and low organized team play and a variety of other activities including rhythms and physical fitness. The most disturbing fact that emerged, was that 38.4% of the parents felt that physical education instruction was more important in grades 7–12 than in grades K–6. Evidently there is a failure on the part of some parents to realize that if children do not develop fundamental motor patterns by the time they reach early adolescence, they will find themselves lost without the basics from which to build more sophisticated skills taught at the junior-senior high level. A girl cannot run till she learns to walk, and by the same token cannot learn to play basketball until she can properly throw, catch and jump. And sadly, it is the female school population in Kalamazoo who is being short-changed most often, as the middle elementary girls and many of the physical education teachers have testified in their questionnaire responses.

### THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION TEACHERS

The responses of the physical education teachers indicated that some of the attitudes regarding women in sports were indeed healthy, non-biased opinions, over 80% felt that team sports were just as appropriate for girls as well as boys and that a wide variety of activities should be offered as part of the curriculum. Over 70% also did not believe that girls are more creative than boys, and did not conclude that boys are less sensitive than girls. Approximately half of the teachers (48.1%) indicated that girls were just as active as boys, and agreed that girls have just as much interest in physical activity as do boys. 66.6% also noted that some physical activities are appropriate for either sex.

The teachers' comments were more disheartening when they were asked to assess the skills of their students. Only 33.3% believed that the girls eye-hand coordination in physical activities was equal to that of boys; 66.6% also noted that girls cannot throw a ball as skillfully as boys; 40.8% responded that boys and girls excell equally in rhythmic activities.

The conclusions reached by our task force as a result of studying these teacher responses are quite similar to the ones reached by the students themselves, especially those children in the elementary grades. Generally the girls are active and interested in sports, and willing to join teams in suitable kinds of organized play. The only drawback is that both students and teachers admit they are not equipped to do so.

Three other areas of interest which support the task force's recommendations were covered in the teacher questionnaires. First, there was unanimous agreement that equal use of facilities be given to females. Secondly, the greatest majority of the teachers indicated that physical education should be required in grades K–12. (The policy now standing is that physical education be required in grades 7–8 and 10–11, 9th and 12th grade physical education is on an elective basis. Requirements can also be met through participation in varsity athletics). Thirdly, over 40% of the teachers commented that the effect of Senate Bill 1106, which has already passed and allows female participation on boys' teams involving non-contact sports, would result in enlargement of the girls' programs, creation of new opportunities for them, and an increased athletic budget, with more money allotted for girls' programs.

## THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION/ATHLETIC BUDGET, 1972–1973

Nowhere is the discriminatory attitude of the school administration more evident than in the budget allocations for the intramural and athletic programs. The discrepancies between coaches' salaries and the number of tokenisms to girls in terms of equipment and use of facilities is inexcusable. A closer analysis of the budget is justified, not only to support the above statements but to lend weight to the task force's recommendations in this area.

The budget allocation for physical education is equal for both boys and girls at each of the three levels: $2532 for boys and $2532 for girls at the elementary level; $3770 for boys and $3770 for girls at the junior high schools; $3350 for boys and $3350 for girls at the senior high level. Yet it is in the area of athletics which includes all interscholastic programs, where inequities begin to arise at the junior high level and become most conspicuous at the high school level.

In the junior high programs $1500 is given to equip and supply the girls' athletic activities; $2500 is allocated to the boys' program for the same purposes. Thus the boys receive 40% more money, almost a 2:1 ratio. The figures for the operating budget are more alarming. The total operating budget for the boys' junior high athletic programs is $8950, of which football claims a highly disproportionate share ($6100). The total operating budget for the girls' program, which also includes five sports, is $2725, of which $625 is given to the cheerleading cause. Thus the ratio is more than 3:1. (Here we must insist that cheerleading is not considered by this task force to be a sport and therefore should not fall under the jurisdiction of the athletic department.) After the funds for cheerleading are subtracted from the girls' operating budget, the ratio grows even more disturbing: 8:1. The coaching salaries are in turn indicative of this misplaced emphasis. $4550 goes into cheerleading coaches' salaries at the junior high level; only a slightly greater amount, $5380, is allocated for all the other coaches' salaries within the girls' program. Overall the women's coaches receive anywhere from 3% to 7% of the teacher base salary for their work. The coaches for the men's programs receive anywhere from 5% to 18% of the teacher base salary for their work.

The KCEA takes seven factors into consideration when negotiating the salaries for coaches: (1) the length of the season (2) the amount of responsibility (3) the pressure on the coach (4) number of students participating (5) number of practice days and matches (6) quality of the competitions involved and (7) the prestige of the sport. One example from the junior high girls' program will serve to point out which of these negotiating factors holds top priority.

The cheerleading program at the junior high level involves 81 total practice hours, 18 matches and has 720 participants. All the other three sports which constitute the remainder of the whole athletic program (basketball, tennis and track/field) combine for a total of 172 practice hours, 23 matches and include 275 girls. Thus the task force suspects that the "prestige" factor accounts for and influences the fact that over 40% of the girls' coaching salaries are directed toward a program that involves less than half of the practice hours and 5 fewer matches than the other sports combined.

It is not surprising, however, that cheerleading receives such a disproportionate share, at the expense of the other activities, because the largest amounts of money for the men are directed to the football and basketball program. The school system seems to be reasoning, "What's a football game without the gals to help lead us onto victory?" The cheerleader becomes the epitome of the heights to which a girl can strive. Sadly enough some are content to support rather than participate, and more than half of the total funds are pumped into a program that will insure this.

At the senior high level the ratio is almost 10:1 regarding the financial allotment for equipment and supplies. The boys' program receives $39,422 and the girls receive $4028, out of which $1000 goes to support the cheerleading cause. The total operating budget, which does not include coaching salaries, is $36,474 for the men; the women rate $5216. Again the inequity in salaries could be noted in detail. Suffice it to say that $58,000 is set aside to hire the men's coaches; $15,000 is given to the women for an identical purpose.

The administration attempts to justify such gross inequities by reasoning that more money ought to be alloted for the men, since the gate receipts from the football and basketball games help to support other athletic activities. The rationale goes something like this: More money develops better teams; better teams draw larger crowds; larger crowds built gate receipts; large gate receipts insure more and better programs. What is most serious, is this profit motive that pre-determines athletic budget expenditures. No public school system, including Kalamazoo, is set up to be run as a profit-making institution, and those administrators and members of the Board of Education who operate under such a premise should immediately juggle their priorities and reorder their values. When the quality and quantity of the women's athletic programs is indirectly dependent upon how much profit is gained from the gate receipts of the men's events, there is cause for alarm. These athletic activities need to be brought back into some kind of proper perspective wherein they serve as recreation for many, rather than profit for a few.

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## A SUMMARY OF THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION/ATHLETICS TASK FORCE

Our community as well as our public schools must begin to realize that there are a great number of girls and young women who are interested in pursuing their love for physical activity. However, up to this point they have been severely restricted in seeking to fulfill themselves in this area. Minimal financial allocations offer few opportunities to develop quality programs for females, and this fact, along with the sexist attitudes of junior and senior high male students, account for the frustrations many girls have sensed when they attempted to enter a field considered to be exclusively for the men.

Programs for women at all comparable levels of athletic ability must be initiated immediately, and the need must be generated by professionals in the field of physical education/athletics who are aware of the various facets which constitute a good program. Simply waiting for students to discover their interests is a false step, for our study shows that girls have little or no experience from which to determine their needs. That women are interested but not equipped with basic skills has been demonstrated through the responses to the questionnaire distributed to students at all grades levels and to the physical education teachers.

With these ideas in mind, the task force offers the following recommendations which we hope will generate more enthusiam among professional physical educators to improve the quality of their programs, especially for women.

### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ELEMENTARY LEVEL

I. Recognizing that the primary responsibility of the physical education program at grades 1–3 is to build fundamental motor patterns, and at grades 4–6 to further refine each child's motor skills, within the framework of a comprehensive physical education curriculum, we recommend that each instructor continually reevaluate his/her teaching methods to insure that these objectives are being met. As our study demonstrates, young girls are entering junior high school with little attention given to these essential needs.

II. The task force recommends that the ultimate direction of the physical education program move toward five instructional periods a week, rather than the current two days a week. Realizing that such a change could not be instituted immediately, the task force suggests that beginning with this next school year, a minimum of three instructional periods be guaranteed to each student in the elementary grades.

III. We recommend that one of the primary criteria for hiring elementary school teachers include some training and study in the area of "Physical Education for the Elementary Classroom Teacher." If a teacher has excellent credentials but lacks such study, the physical education coordinator must make certain the teacher has continual consultation with a physical education specialist who would help direct his/her teaching responsibilities in the area of physical education.

IV. Because a sound intramural program is lacking in grades 4–6, where our study notes it is needed immediately, we recommend the creation of a position entitled "Coordinator of Elementary Intramural Activities." With the responsibility for the establishment, direction, control and supervision of all intramural programs and informal interschool activities falling under his/her jurisdiction, the position should be filled by one who has had numerous experiences in teaching physical education at the elementary level.

V. We recommend that the creation of all intramural programs begin in grade 4, be geared toward coed participation, and include physical activities appropriate for both boys and girls, in addition to separate activities for the sexes.

VI. We recommend that each elementary school have a director for its intramural program, who would report directly to the Coordinator of Elementary Intramural Activities. First preference for filling the director positions should be given to a physical education teacher at that school. Hiring outside the school is not suggested, unless it is necessary to insure the existence of an intramural program at that school.

VII. We urge that the creation of all recommendations dealing with intramurals be instituted as soon as possible, and that the "busing" factor play absolutely no role whatever in implementing such programs. Too many gymnasiums and playing fields are idle within each neighborhood school to think that transportation could be a thorn in the development of these intramural programs.

### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SECONDARY LEVEL

I. We recommend that the development of a varied intramural program be continued at the secondary level, with stress on separate programs for young men and women, in addition to coed activities including activity clubs. The task force points out that a strong intramural program cannot be built with the current funds available. The financial allotment for intramurals must be increased next year. If not, then funds must be generated from the varsity sports' current operating budget. The total physical education program must serve the needs of many young adults, rather than a few talented males.

II. We recommend that greater emphasis be placed on the educational benefits of the intramural program, with more attempts being made to instruct young women, as well as provide a framework for recreation and informal competition.

III. We recommend that the physical education coordinator for the Kalamazoo public schools continue to educate the entire community, stressing the values in all kinds of physical activities, and that the Board of Education support him in his efforts to improve and create new programs, especially to bring the quality of the women's programs up to an equal level with the men's opportunities.

IV. We recommend that in addition to current offerings, the number of interscholastic sports programs for women be increased immediately, with top priority given to the creation of separate gymnastics and swimming teams, and the further development of the field hockey program.

V. We recommend that the interscholastic women's programs at the senior high schools include comparable levels of competition and scheduling, with the expectation that women will be going outside the greater Kalamazoo area to seek such competition.

VI. We recommend that the competition sought for the junior high school interscholastic programs be limited to the greater Kalamazoo area.

VII. Noting that the quality of coaching is not what it should be, we recommend that all coaches at the secondary level have state certification.

VIII. We recommend that in screening and hiring coaches, more emphasis be placed on the positive values of competition, not on the "winning or else . . . "philosophy. Only those applicants who promote such values as playing to the best of one's ability, winning and losing graciously, respecting one's opponent, should be hired to fill coaching positions. The leader who sacrifices the dignity and self-respect of his students at all costs just to win does not belong in a coaching position.

IX. With the realization that such a recommendation at this time must be carried out over a long period of time, we recommend that more physical education teachers be hired. Hiring more physical education instructors would lower the teacher-pupil ratio, provide a greater offering of activities, and decrease the teaching load, thus allowing the physical education teacher more time to pursue coaching responsibilities which he/she, by the very nature of his academic training, is best qualified to assume.

X. We recommend an uninterrupted K–12 physical education program, based on a progressive curriculum with allowances for elective programs.

XI. To expand the potential for the growth and development of all young adults, especially women, we recommend a greater choice of instructional physical activities, more coed classes and more team-teaching situations.

XII. We insist that equal use of the physical education facilities be immediately guaranteed to women, and that the physical education coordinator and athletic directors insure that women will equally share in the "prime time" now reserved exclusively for men.

XIII. Because it reinforces the role of women as passive supporter, we insist that the cheerleading program will immediately be dropped from the physical education budget, and that all responsibilities for the financial operation and supervision of the cheerleading program no longer fall under the jurisdiction of the physical education/athletic department.

XIV. We insist that money will not be a deterrent to providing more and better programs for women and to paying women's coaches on a more equitable basis. Within the next *two years* when the intramural and interscholastic programs for women will have been successively launched, we demand *exactly equal funding* as the men shall receive for their activities.

## REPORT OF THE PERSONNEL TASK FORCE

(By Hilde Curran, co-leader, writer, and Allene Dietrich, co-leader, writer)

### INTRODUCTION

The Personnel Task Force was formed in March, 1972. A list was drawn up of women who were active in various kinds of women's organizations in the community and who, past experiences indicated, would invest time in the project if they consented to serve. A strong commitment to women's rights was not a criterion but dependability was, as was some knowledge or experience in doing studies. Each was called, the project explained, and as a result 10 women who ranged from strong activist sympathies toward women's rights to some who had no strong feelings either way formed the committee. Their common goal was a picture of women in the school system.

Several women professionals in research were contacted to act as consultants. We appreciate their time and expertise. Our purpose was to identify the areas of inequality. One source would be areas where school personnel themselves felt there were inequalities. Another would be the committee's own feelings and third would be areas discovered in other studies of sex discrimination.

It appeared that a questionnaire, answered by school personnel on a voluntary basis, would provide the broadest base and one was developed. (See Appendix C.) If the responses were in significantly large numbers we hoped to develop a profile of the Kalamazoo school system employees and computerize the results.[1] We recognized that factors such as sex, age, race, marital status, educational level, job category and experience might influence one's point of view; therefore, a fact sheet, minus name to protect confidentiality, was necessary. If we were able to feed our material into a computer, the above factors would be important.

At this point a complication arose. One school liaison warned us that too many separate questionnaires would be burdensome to teachers at this time of year (June was approaching) possibly cutting down on responses. Since other Task Forces were doing questionnaires she advised us to combine ours with others. The only other one ready to go was an attitudinal questionnaire so these two were combined.

This had unfortunate repercussions. Our fact sheet coupled with our questions and the attitudinal ones led some recipients to believe that, although no names were asked for, recipients could be identified in some cases and their attitudes noted. Attitudes were a particularly sensitive area at that time due to the recent concern over racial bias.

This fear was unfounded. While someone in administration familiar with the individuals in the staffing of individual schools might have been able to recognize some, one committee, totally unfamiliar with either, could not do so, and we were the only ones who could see the questionnaires.

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[1] In the end, however, we did not get enough replies to warrant using a computer.

Nevertheless, individuals did protest to the administration and individual Board members, and though 1215 were distributed only 509 came back and only 392 of these were relatively complete. While some gave evidence of thoughtful, conscientious answers, others reflected impatience and still others open hostility to the whole project.

In the light of the above, the results were simply used to show areas of some concern. No attempt was made to interpret extent or depth of concern. We give them in the following synopsis, omitting those questions where even in one sample there seemed little concern.

1. Of the 26 areas listed in Question 1, more women than men felt there was unfair treatment based on sex in teaching drivers' training, selection of department heads and building assignment. *More women* than men felt there was unfairness in participation in conferences, control of master keys and parking spaces, and that this unfairness was based on one's position. Men and women equally felt there was unfairness in lunch duty based on sex. In study hall, hall duty, kinds of classes and problem classes, *more men* felt there was unfair treatment based on sex.

3–4. When asked if they were aware of unfair treatment in the system to others or themselves, the response was overwhelmingly negative. Of those who did feel there had been unfairness, more women felt it was based first on sex and second on race and men felt it was based on race and age.

5–8. Most promotions took place in the last five years. Most men and women do not apply for promotions and of those who do, with the exception of last year, more men apply than women. Most applications are for jobs in their own category.

9. Twice as many men as women were interested in administrative jobs, seven times as many women said they were not interested.

10. The respondents overwhelmingly rejected the thought that there would be any discrimination on promotions. Of those few who did, women felt it would be on sex.

11–14. In assignments that were not promotions, very few apply and of those who do there are more women than men, the applications are for jobs in their own category, and more are accepted than rejected.

15–17. Transfers between buildings occur but not in large numbers. In the few who asked for them women outnumbered men and more transfers were granted than not. By far, most people did not transfer nor did they ask to be.

20. Only 14 men and 17 women held another paying job.

21. Women were fairly evenly divided on whether the pay increments applying for military leave should apply also for maternity leave. Men were overwhelmingly against.

22. Equalizing military leave and maternity leave brought few answers from men and these few equally divided into yes and no. Many women answered and they were more than 2 to 1 against.

This synopsis leads us to believe that discrimination or unfairness works both ways and it behooves any administration to insure that sex is not used as the main criteria for decisions.

The lack of awareness of sex discrimination reminded us sharply of the same unawareness of racial bias some years back. Programs on awareness need to be instituted.

Once more, as in race, women need to be made aware of and encouraged to apply for promotions and administrative jobs. We do not imply that large numbers of women crave to move to administration—we believe, however, that any who do should be permitted and encouraged to do so.

The whole area of military and maternity leaves needs to be thought through.

Any inequalities need to be rectified. To neglect them because they are not widespread or "statistically significant" is to invite their spread.

## FINDINGS AND COMMENTARY

Personnel in the schools are a molding factor in the development of children's attitudes and life styles. To indicate its significance, we observe that this year 79% of the school budget goes to personnel.[3] Because there has been concern about sex discrimination in the school system, this task force attempted to evaluate the possible existence of discrimination in the field of personnel. We feel that the presence of sex bias there would particularly influence the attitudes, feelings, behavior, selection of careers, and future plans of the students.

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[3] Total amount for personnel in the school, excluding public libraries: $13,914,973. Figures taken from the "School District of the City of Kalamazoo Department of Business Affairs 1972–73 School Budget, August 29, 1972".

Defining sexism as those attitudes and actions that relegate women to secondary and inferior status and prevent their equal participation on all levels of our society, the Personnel Task Force in March, 1972, began to study personnel practices and working conditions. By June 1972, we had talked with teachers and students, surveyed the employees, and read school documents relating to personnel practices and procedures. In early 1973, we analyzed the male/female compositions at all levels of employment as well as at each school, interviewed people involved in decisions on hiring and promotion, and tried to determine what civil rights legislation applies to the Kalamazoo Public Schools. A summary of the research and methods used is in Appendices A–E.

We feel the existence of sex discrimination in our society is obvious, but recent legislation makes it possible to bring about long awaited changes. In reviewing the legislation that might apply to the Kalamazoo School System regarding sex discrimination, we found the following laws specifically applicable:

(1) Executive Orders 11374 and 11246 and Revised Order #4
(2) Equal Pay Act of 1963, extended in 1972
(3) Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, extended by the EEOC Act of 1972
(4) Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 [3]
(5) Michigan Fair Employment Practice Act, Act 251 P.A. 1955

Members of the Division of Personnel and other staff went to considerable trouble to answer questions that we asked, and spent time in patient consultation with committee members on personnel matters. We extend to them our appreciation for their cooperation.

In working with the Division of Personnel to compile the percentages of men and women in various employment categories within the system, we all were hampered by a change in the school's computer system which makes some previously available information unavailable at present.[4]

The highest policy-making level in our school system is the Board of Education, where there are six men and one woman. Is it possible that this preponderance of males might affect the practices of the system?

The highest administrative level we grouped to include the superintendent and 3 assistant superintendents, 32 principals, and 8 directors of divisions. This represents 45 employees, of which 12 (26.5%) are women. Of these 12 women, 9 are early elementary principals. Once children leave early elementary school, their only chance to have a female principal is at Hillside Junior High or the Continuing Education Center for pregnant girls.

The next category consists of assistant directors, assistant principals, coordinators, and those personnel with supervisory positions. Out of 53 people, only 7 (13%) are women.

In the next category are the professional employees, teachers, librarians, nurses, and others included in the Kalamazoo City Education Association contract. Approximately 891 persons are included in the teaching classification. Of these, there are 587 (66%) women. Of these 587 women, approximately 350 (66%) are employed in the elementary schools.

In most of the other positions, with the exception of bus drivers where the women are 57% of the total, the jobs are very highly sex stereotyped. The percentage of women office employees and cafeteria workers is 99%. It increases to 100% for media clerks and media assistants. Activity helpers—or lunch room supervisors—are 93% women, while women are 86% of the teachers' aids. Of the custodial and grounds personnel, only 3% are women, and the skilled tradesmen and apprentice instructors are all male.

The number of women administrators and teachers is highest at the early elementary level, and decreases through junior high and high school. The same pattern emerges as we consider the ratio of teachers to top administrators. Women teachers are a majority, but at the highest level of administration, the superintendent and his four assistants are all male.

Comparing these figures with those of ten years ago would help to determine whether or not there has been a change in the relative positions of women in different categories. Unfortunately, those figures are no longer available.

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[3] "Equal Rights for Women Educators Promised With New Legislation". *Dushane Fund Reports*. National Education Association. August 25, 1972. pp. 1–2.

[4] For administrators, supervisors, and teachers, we were dependent on the Directory of the Kalamazoo Public Schools and Kalamazoo Library System, 1972–73. The remainder were secured by the Personnel Division.

After seeing the sexual imbalance in the foregoing figures, we attempted to determine the factors that could have brought about the disparity. Recognizing that no explanation could be a simple one, and that the causes for the seeming inequities would be found outside the school system as well as in, we studied conditions that might lead to discrimination against women.

The school system operates under Board Policy #41, "Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunity", adopted February 1, 1971. The policy states that the schools shall—

> Continue to implement affirmatively equal employment opportunities to all qualified employees and applicants without regard to race, creed, color, age, sex, or national origin. . . .

The Director of the Division of Personnel is responsible for "ensuring compliance and continued implementation of this policy".[5]

Because of the importance of the Division of Personnel to the evaluation and implementation of affirmative action, we looked at the people who comprise the division. There are three men and three women. The three women are secretaries. The men are the director, who is responsible for secondary school hiring, the assistant director, responsible for elementary school personnel, and the assistant, responsible for non-certified personnel. We learned that the men have had no professional training in personnel work. No study of their attitudes toward women and the kinds of jobs they should hold has been made. We found no evidence that existing civil rights legislation pertaining to sex discrimination had been compared to present practices in Kalamazoo. This lack of specific awareness and concern about legislation and attitudes extended to principals hiring and promoting.

We found two areas in which the existence of sexism would inevitably affect the Division of Personnel itself, attitudes, and written policies and procedures.

One's attitudes are of public concern only when they result in discriminatory behavior, which we define as any action or institutional structure which deters a person or group solely because of sex. The following ideas expressed by people throughout the system reflect attitudes that can result in discriminatory behavior:

(1) Women don't want to work for another woman, especially a friend.

(2) Women don't like to be promoted because they then lose their friendships with other women.

(3) We already have too many women in the schools.

(4) Women don't want the responsibility of the job.

(5) Women refuse promotions or transfers which add to their work load.

(6) Women need to learn "better followership" in order to have a female boss.

(7) Women who want to get ahead are too aggressive.

(8) Women don't train for higher positions and are not interested in them.

(9) Women need to be patient; we're working on the whole problem.

(10) We can't hire women for this job because they would have to: carry pails of water; handle machinery; clean the boys' bathroom; and supervise the boys' locker room.

(11) Women cannot or will not get involved in student disturbances.

(12) Men are better disciplinarians and can handle large classes better.

(13) Men are not interested in this job because of low pay.

(14) We were thinking of a man for that position.

Reverse discrimination is evident in some of the attitudes toward men in elementary schools. "The role of men in early elementary, while very popular with most parents and children, is feared, mistrusted, and/or discouraged by administrators on every level", wrote one teacher. A man who wanted to teach kindergarten said he liked to get down on the floor with the children and put his arms around them. The personnel man indicated he would have to know a lot more about him before putting him in a kindergarten.

The afore-mentioned attitudes reflect the current myths in our society about men and women and their roles. These myths seem to explain the actual practices, policies, and procedures of the public schools. To discuss the different procedures and policies, we shall use the outline found in Board Policy #41 on "Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunity":

(A) Hiring, placement, upgrading, transfer, or demotion.

(B) Recruitment, advertising, or solicitation of employment.

(C) Treatment during employment.

(D) Rates of pay or other forms of compensation.

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[5] The last published Division of Personnel report which analyzed sex composition was dated May, 1972.

(E) Selection for training.
(F) Layoff or termination.

*A. Hiring, placement, upgrading, transfer, or demotion*

The attitude that certain jobs are meant for women is reflected in the job application blanks, job descriptions, and contracts. On job application blanks in 1972, cafeteria, secretarial, and clerical employees were assumed to be female, although page 2 of the secretarial and clerical application asks for husband's or wife's name. The office employees contract agreement allows for no military leave. The "Salary and Fringe Benefit Provisions, Kalamazoo Association of School Administrators, 1971–1972", uses the masculine pronoun throughout, as does the contract for maintenance workers.

The Organization Manual, Fall, 1970, uses "he" for all of the 61 jobs listed, except for three: the assistant supervisor of physical education, health and safety education; the group tester; and the director of practical nursing. One of the others defines the Accounts Payable Supervisor in part: "*He* will also aid the accounts payable girl" (emphasis added).[8] Some progress is indicated in the most recent job descriptions, dated July 21, 1972, where all 11 are written without sex identification.

Replies to our questionnaire indicated that the areas of promotions and hiring is a matter of concern to employees. A number of women said they felt they might be refused a promotion because of their sex. Other answers indicated similar unhappiness and uncertainty about the qualifications for promotion. Promotions for teachers are most frequently moves to principalships or to supervisory or administrative positions.

These moves are implemented by committees which make recommendations to the superintendent. For example, a typical screening committee to hire an elementary school principal is composed of:

(1) the director of the Personnel Division.
(2) an elementary school teacher.
(3) an elementary school principal.
(4) the supervisor of elementary education.
(5) a representative from the superintendent's office.

Based on the percentage of women in each category, the "elementary school teacher" is likely to be a woman, but the rest are likely to be men.

Athletic directors and coaches are chosen by a commitee typically composed in this way:

(1) Physical education coordinator.
(2) A principal.
(3) An athletic director.
(4) Director of the Division of Personnel.
(5) A coach.

Of people serving on screening committees between March, 1972, and October, 1972, four were women and sixteen were men. Surely, women need greater representation on these influential committees.

It is clear that each of these processes is dominated by men in that these decisions are made by groups and structures composed almost completely of men. Members of the Division of Personnel, all male, often work with a principal, most likely a male, to hire a teacher.

It was maintained by some teachers that certain teaching positions, such as drivers' training, were traditionally given to men. Other teachers claim that some personnel are hired to teach social studies primarily because they can be coaches rather than because of their qualifications in social studies.

Teachers frequently mentioned summer school hiring as a cause for concern. The process is that the summer school principal is chosen first. Then he lets the personnel department know what people are needed, and together they make the appointments. Some teachers feel this results in jobs being given to "friends of the summer school principal".

Illustrative of this problem is last year's faculty:

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[8] Organization Manual for the Kalamazoo Public Schools, p. 63.

| | Men | Women | Summer school percent women | Regular school, percent women |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Secondary: | | | | |
| Principal | 1 | | 24 | 45 |
| Counselors | 2 | | | |
| Nurse | | 1 | | |
| Librarian | 1 | | | |
| Teachers | 22 | 7 | | |
| Elementary: | | | | |
| Principals | 2 | | 66 | 84 |
| Librarians | | 2 | | |
| Counselor | 1 | | | |
| Teachers | 13 | 26 | | |

Note that the percentage of women teachers is much lower during summer school than during regular school. Our questionnaire indicates that despite the administration's assertion that "women don't want to teach summer school", women felt there was sex discrimination in summer school hiring. That feeling itself might lessen the number of applications from women.

*B. Recruitment, advertising, or solicitations for employment*

Available positions are required to be posted publicly. Teaching positions which will occur the following school year are announced in the Superintendent's Bulletin in March, April, and May. "All openings for administrative or supervisory positions which provide opportunity for advancement for staff members shall be announced in the Superintendent's Bulletin. Notices will include minimum qualifications, date of vacancy, required certification, information concerning securing and deadline for filing the application," state the KCEA Articles of Agreement, p. 11. Despite this regulation, some employees feel that decisions have already been made as to who will fill the vacancy before it is announced.

The methods of recruitment and the way advertisements are written reflect the attitudes of the person doing the hiring. For example, one supervisor who participates in hiring said that women should not work night shifts or carry pails of water; therefore, he wouldn't consider women for such work. An employer with that viewpoint would not recruit from the female employees in the system nor encourage women to apply. Eliminating people from consideration for night work or heavy work on the basis of sex rather than individual ability and desire is clearly contrary to equal opportunity practices.

*C. Treatment during employment*

The questionnaire distributed to all school personnel included a chart of areas in which some Kalamazoo Public School employees had found discriminatory treatment. All respondents were asked to check the areas in which they felt unfair treatment on the basis of sex exists.[7] The chart pertained chiefly to teachers. Of the 290 teachers who answered, the following found sex discrimination in these areas:

| *Area* | *Respondents* |
|---|---|
| Lunch duty | 48 |
| Selection of department heads | 43 |
| Problem students | 37 |
| Hall duty | 32 |
| Building assignment | 31 |
| Study hall duty | 26 |
| Participation in conferences | 20 |
| Kinds of classes assigned | 18 |
| Extracurricular assignments | 17 |
| Pay scale for similar jobs | 14 |
| Room assignments | 14 |

The majority of respondents said they were not aware of any unfair treatment of anyone on the basis of sex, but 8 males and 20 females said they have personally experienced discriminatory treatment because of their sex, while 15 males and 40 females said they were aware of discrimination on that basis toward someone other than themselves.

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[7] We noted that race, age, or position were also thought to be elements of discrimination.

Some men feel a reverse discrimination. One wrote, "Men are discriminated against. Women seldom do hall, study, lunch, and riot duty." Another said, "Men are often asked to do extra physical labors to help female teachers." Another stated that in terms of discipline and control, "women receive the same pay as men but cannot or will not get involved in students' disturbances."

A different viewpoint is expressed in this quotation from a man's questionnaire: "I have a feeling that women are not always given equal consideration for promotions and the reverse is also true in that women are not given as much responsibility as men. Both situations are bad."

"Some large classes are given to men because it's believed that women can't handle them as well. Many women perpetuate the myth" wrote a woman teacher.

Although employment in the public schools has been traditionally considered an occupation for women, we now find that males dominate the higher levels. "Have you noticed that the Howard Street administration is MALE?" one asked. Another commented, "Only males have been hired lately in administration." "Innovative and administrative positions in career programs are consistently given to males," stated another. A number of respondents told of qualified women who had been turned down in favor of sometimes less-experienced and less-qualified males. One female indicated, "I applied and was refused because the administration desired a man."

One person interviewed said there were no female applicants for the last principalship filled. "Women are not encouraged to prepare for an administrative position." Another said, "There was no screening for the last three elementary principalships. Those meeting the positions were simply appointed."

There appears to be commendable progress in the area of administrative appointment, indicated by tnese figures for the past year:

| Position | Date | Applicants |  | Appointments |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  | Men | Women | Men | Women |
| Junior High principal | Mar. 23, 1972 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Elementary principal | July 27, 1972 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Junior high assistant principal | Aug. 18, 1972 | 9 | .......... | 2 | .......... |

Even when she does reach administration, "a woman is expected to do much of her own secretarial work. Women feel they must get a man to express their viewpoints as the men in the top administration and on the board do not credit women's professional advice", wrote one employee.

A few women questioned the restriction that only five days each year may be allowed for absences due to the illness of members of the family and deducted from sick leave. Such a limitation, it is felt, is an undue hardship on those people who are most likely to stay home during children's illnesses. "If you have thirty days of sick leave to your benefit", one woman asked, "why is there this stipulation?"

*D. Rates of pay or other forms of compensation*

### *Salaries and Wages*

Salary schedules by sex are not available at this time. That information would be helpful in determining whether salary inequities exist. In Michigan, we found that of 334 assistant elementary principals, 127 femlaes with average experience of 23 years were making an average of $13,397 ,while 207 males with an average experience of only 15 years were earing $13,421.[8]

We also need salary comparisons between sex-typed men's and women's jobs with similar degrees of responsibility. Evidence shows that sex-typed women's jobs, such as matron, often carry lower salaries than similar sex-typed male jobs, such as custodian.

Discrepancy in salaries is most evident when one reviews the extra duty salaries in the KCEA Articles of Agreement.[9] Extra-curricular athletic pay is figured in two different ways. In intramurals, each instructor is paid on a flat hourly rate of $6.00 per hour, regardless of sex. In other extracurricular athletics, the teachers are paid on a percentage of the base salary. (See Appendix F.)

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[8] "Professional Personnel in Michigan Public Schools 1968–69 Status Report Book Three: Assignment Patterns", Michigan Department of Education, 1969. p. 10.

[9] "Articles of Agreement Between the School District of the City of Kalamazoo and the Kalamazoo City Education Association for the 1971–72, 1972–73 School Years". Appendix C.

For men's athletics there are 83 positions with salary compensations of 5% to 22% of the base salary. There are 44 possible athletic coaching positions for women with salary compensations of 3% to 7%. Although these jobs are supposedly open to men and women, in fact men hold all of the jobs for coaching boys and two of 58,240 for coaching boys sports, and a budget of $15,689 for coaching girls.

Calculating the base salary of $8,000 as it was in 1971–72, we find a budget of $58,240 for coaching boys sports ,and a budget of $15,689 for coaching girls' athletics. We question whether the number of activities for girls and the rate of compensation for coaching them affords equal opportunity to female students.

The percentage of the base salary is determined in negotiation with KCEA, and is based on seven criteria: length of season, amount of responsibility involved, number of students participating, number of practice days, pressure on the coach, prestige of the activity, and degree of competition. Criteria of this kind allow a subjective determination of salary.

A subsequent inquiry disclosed that the percentages for coaches' pay were determined by the rates paid other coaches at nearby schools.

Of the other extra duty salaries that provide supervision or assistance to both boys and girls, 23 positions are held by men, and 11 by women. This group includes, among others, debate and dramatics coaches, class sponsors, and co-op and department heads.

In some traditionally labelled women's categories, such as cafeteria employees, the pay is low, thereby making the jobs unattractive to men. One supervisor said, "Men call and then are not interested because of the low pay".

From our questionnaire we learned that some employees held these views:

(1) Secretaries' wages are lower in the schools than elsewhere.

(2) Library assistants felt they were not compensated for extra work.

(3) Athletic extra pay is higher than academic extracurricular pay.

These three items form an interesting contrast when one considers that the low pay in the first two categories goes to women, and that the athletic extra pay primarily goes to men.

### *Insurance*

Professional employees of the Kalamazoo Public Schools are insured with the Michigan Education Special Services Association and the non-professional employees with Blue Cross. Under both policies, the benefits to the spouse are the same whether it be husband or wife. Maternity costs are covered for wed and unwed teachers as well as daughters of those with family coverage; however, under MESSA coverage, maternity, now defined by the courts as a disability, receives only $50.00 *maximum* for the full period of disability, while other kinds of disability receive from $20.00 to $200.00 *per week* based on income and type of coverage. MESSA covers abortions for any reason, while Blue Cross covers abortions only if medically indicated.

### *Retirement*

In reviewing the pamphlet, "Information . . . Michigan Public School Employees Retirement Fund 1970" [10], we find several instances of discrimination against women that are intrinsic to the system.

1. *Retirement Board.*—The retirement system is administered by the Retirement Board which consists of seven members: the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and six other members appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Three of these six are specfied: at least one shall be a woman teacher; at least one shall be a non-teaching public school employee; and at least one shall be a public member with experience in the insurance, actuarial, or institutional investment field. This results in a possible ratio of six men to one woman.

2. *Basis for Allowance,*—Sections 12, 13, and 14 under the Retirement Board Rules indicate that all school salaries are credited toward retirement, fractional parts of which will not be credited unless they, added together, make a full year, and that allowances are computed on the basis of compensation received at the time of employment. (pp. 3–4.)

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[10] "Information . . . Michigan Public School Employees Retirement Fund". Michigan Public Schools Employees' Retirement Board. 1970.

Because retirement allowances usually provide a major base for the economic well-being of the retired person, any practices, such as forced maternity leave or discriminatory awarding of promotions or extra pay jobs, which inhibit a person from accumulating the maximum available are discriminatory.

Pages 6–9 deal with military service, sabbatical leave, out-of-system service, and overseas service. Any policy relating to those areas can be discriminatory if decisions on sabbatical leave, out-of-system service, and overseas service are not based on equal opportunities being made available for all, regardless of sex. Here also the question of military leaves being permitted to count towards minimum service requirement and not to interfere with step increases can be discriminatory, while maternity leave permits neither and is considered an illness.

Arbitrary requirements (which no longer apply in the Kalamazoo Schools) to stop teaching at specific points in time during pregnancy despite the teacher's ability and desire to continue can result in fractional years that may not total enough to make an additional year; this practice has penalized the teacher at retirement time.

Paragraph three, p. 11, points out that all pay from schools influences one's retirement allowances; thus, evening school, summer school, drivers' training, and all or any extra, paid duties must be available equally to woman. Because these jobs are not equally awarded to men and women in Kalamazoo, and because women's chances for advancement are fewer and their jobs are more likely to receive lower pay, the retirement allowances of female employees of the Kalamazoo Public Schools will be lower than they might have been without discrimination.

3. *Dependents.*—Should an employee die before retirement and have fifteen years of creditable public school service, three classes of dependents automatically could be entitled to a retirement allowance: widow; dependent and disabled widower; and orphan children under 18, (p. 13.)

In discussing this with an employee at the state office, it was eplained: a widow of a male school employee is assumed to be dependent. The widower of a female school employee must be proved to be dependent and disabled. If not dependent on the employee for 50% or more for his personal support, then such a person will receive a refund of the employee's contribution.

The assumption that women are dependent and men are independent indicates a double standard based on sex, and discriminates against men in this case.

### *E. Selection for training*

The selection process for training and conferences is largely a male process, as they are the decision makers in the schools. A number of teachers felt that teachers were discriminated against when it came to attending conferences.

Board Policy Bulletin No. 25 limits professional leave to twelve month employees who are supervisors or higher. This policy apparently discriminates against all teachers, and especially women, as the number of women employed in such positions is miniscule.

### *F. Layoff or termination*

Because the study of teachers' concerns was completed in spring, 1972, one question was raised that has since been solved. A number of women teachers were displeased at having to take maternity leave earlier in the pregnancy than they wanted to. Since last year, the courts have determined that pregnant females must be treated the same as any other employee. Women cannot be refused jobs because they are pregnant, nor can they be forced to leave at a specific stage of pregnancy.[11] Kalamazoo Schools' current policy is that women in all departments may take either maternity leave or sick leave, depending on how long they want to be off. If they take maternity leave, they are not paid, but are assured of returning to the first vacancy that occurs when they want to return. They may or may not get the same job back. If they take sick leave, they receive all their sick leave benefits and return to the same job.

## CONCLUSIONS

Having evaluated the possibility of sex bias in the area of personnel in the Kalamazoo Public Schools, the Personnel Task Force concludes that it does exist, occasionally in obvi[illegible] ways, but more frequently in subtle ways that most personnel are unaware of.

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[11] "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex".

On the administrative level, 12 of 45 employees are women, and 9 of these women are principals in early elementary schools. On the supervisory level, only 7 of 53 persons are women. In the teaching classification, 66% are women, and 66% of those women are in elementary schools.

In the highly sex-typed positions, women comprise 90% of office employees and cafeteria workers, and only 3% of the custodial and grounds personnel.

A look at opportunities for summer school employment for teachers reveals the following:

[In percent]

| | Percentage of women employees | |
|---|---|---|
| | Regular schools | Summer schools |
| Elementary | 84 | 66 |
| Secondary | 45 | 24 |

For coaching positions, we find 83 positions for coaching boys' activities with salary compensations of from 5% to 22% of the base salary for a minimum budget of $58,240. We compared that with girls' activities, where we found 44 positions with salary rates of 3% to 7% of base pay for a minimum budget of $15,689.

Although the school system operates under a board policy to insure equal employment opportunities, it is apparently not working. The hiring and promotional procedures which are primarily under male jurisdiction contribute to and perpetuate these inequities. Many of the inequities are based on current myths in our society about men and women and their roles.

Though it is evident that there have been during the past year of our study some beginning changes in sensitivities, attitudes, and policies, indicating an increased awareness of the subtleties about which we speak, the progress toward equality has only begun. There is great need to:

1. familiarize personnel in the Kalamazoo Public Schools with the current civil rights legislation,
2. increase their awareness of how their own attitudes and the attitudes of others interefere with their seeking and obtaining equal opportunity, and
3. develop practices, policies, and procedures which will assure more equitable opportunities for women.

As children in the school system begin to observe equal employment opportunities, their concept of employment potentials for themselves will be expanded. The low number of women teachers in the upper grades and of women administrators at every level deprives all students of personal contact with highly competent, sensitive women who will encourage them to aspire to lives of accomplishment.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The members of the Personnel Task Force give the following outline of action, based on our research, to the Board of Education, the Administration, and the Division of Personnel. Some items are repeated if they apply to more than one category.

We ask that the School District of the City of Kalamazoo, in following these recommendations, work closely with the associations representing its employees to eliminate sexist practices wherever they exist.

### A. BOARD OF EDUCATION

1. Implement changes to eliminate the inequalities described in this study.

a. Strengthen Board Policy #41, "Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunity," by authorizing the preparation of a comprehensive affirmative action program for women with goals, timetables, and an evaluation process.

b. Revise Board Policy #38, "Overt Discrimination," to include sex discrimination.

c. Call for an administrative study to determine the funds being used for personnel, equipment, and supplies for educational and recreational opportunities for boys as compared with those for girls.

2. Request a follow up study of sex discrimination in the schools in 1978 to evaluate the progress made.

3. Through Governor Milliken and the State of Board of Education, seek changes in the retirement law so that:

a. women are equally represented on the Retirement Board, and

b. pensions are equally available to male and female beneficiaries.

### B. ADMINISTRATION

1. Develop inservice training programs to sensitize all employees, especially those making personnel decisions, to their own attitudes toward women, and how those attitudes affect their decisions.

2. Distribute to all personnel information on recent civil rights legislation, relating it directly to the treatment of female students and employees. Especially important is the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's pamphlet, "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex".

3. Revise the Organization Manual so that job descriptions are neither male nor female in context. The use of the masculine pronoun implies to women that men are preferred.

4. Publicly encourage women to apply for administrative positions and stress their right to do so.

5. Encourage leadership positions for women to enhance their possible promotion to administrative duties.

6. Provide specific job descriptions which include neecssary qualifications, enabling people to apply or prepare for these positions. Make sure these job descriptions are used to make decisions on hiring, promoting, and evaluating personnel.

7. Wherever makeup of decision-making committees is spelled out, insure that women will be equally represented on such committees.

8. Add sex to the anti-discrimination clauses in labor contracts.

9. Distribute copies of this report to interested parties, such as the Division of Personnel and all employee associations or unions.

### C. DIVISION OF PERSONNEL

1. Update existing affirmative action policy to establish methods, goals, and guidelines for implementation.

a. Maintain statistics on the sex compositions of elementary and secondary teachers, principals, supervisory personnel, and personnel receiving extra pay for additional duties. Include non-professional personnel by pay levels.

b. Assure equal participation of women on screening committees.

c. Hire women in the Personnel Division at an administrative level.

2. Develop inservice training on:

a. new legislation pertaining to sex discrimination, and

b. Sexually biased attitudes, which affect the status of women.

c. the methods and goals of affirmative action programs. An excellent source is *The Building Blocks of EEO*, by Dean B. Peskin, World Publishing Company, 1971.

The above recommendations will affect the six areas of employment practice previously outlined. The recommendations that follow deal more specifically with the separate categories.

### A. HIRING, PLACEMENT, UPGRADING, TRANSFER, OR DEMOTION

1. Plan to hire more part time skilled or professional personnel, allowing more women to participate on those levels.

2. Review job categories in which men or women have not previously been employed in reasonable numbers, and take appropriate actions to correct.

3. Periodically review promotions to insure efforts providing equal opportunities.

4. Evaluate summer school positions to assure equal opportunity.

5. Revise job applications so they apply equally to male and female.

6. Make sure all applicants receive definite answers as to disposition of their applications.

### B. RECRUITMENT, ADVERTISING, SOLICITATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

1. Establish active recruitment and promotional programs to accomplish the upgrading of women in all levels of employment, particularly in areas where they are most under-represented.

2. Send women with recruitment teams to colleges and universities to encourage women applicants for higher positions.

3. Search for outstanding women to promote or appoint to decision-making positions.

### C. TREATMENT DURING EMPLOYMENT

1. Assign task on other basis than assumed sex-orientation of task. For example, put extra duties, such as lunch room, hall, and study duty on a rotating basis.

2. Remove the limit on sick leave days used for family illness.

3. Inform employees of methods of recourse if they feel they are being discriminated against.

4. Grant maternity/paternity leave to any teacher—married or single, male or female—who adopts, bears, or assumes legal responsibility for a child.[12]

### D. RATES OF PAY OR OTHER FORMS OF COMPENSATION

1. Salaries

a. Determine the average salaries for men and women in each level of employment and correct the inequities.

b. Compare salaries for jobs that are generally held by women with those having similar duties or equal responsibilities held by men, and correct the inequities.

c. Develop a more equal distribution of extracurricular compensated activities for women, both in number of positions and amount of reimbursement.

2. Retirement

a. Seek change in retirement law to make pensions equally available to spouse of deceased, whether male or female.

b. Allow maternity and paternity leave to count toward retirement time in the same way military leave does.

c. Eliminate any practices which inhibit women from accumulating the maximum retirement compensation.

d. Work for equal representation of women on the Retirement Board.

3. Insurance

a. Revise disability insurance plans to make sure they treat disabilities caused or contributed to by pregnancy, miscarriage, abortion, childbirth, and recovery therefrom, as temporary disabilities for all job-related purposes.

b. Make sure that all costs and benefits are the same for men and women.

### E. SELECTION FOR TRAINING

1. Identify interested and potentially qualified women employees and encourage them to apply for specific training programs.

2. Provide additional training to women teachers to increase their ability to deal with problem students.

3. Assure more equitable participation in conferences.

### F. LAYOFF OR TERMINATION

1. Insure representation of women in layoff and termination decisions.

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[12] "Michigan Federation of Teachers Recognition of Women's Rights". Michigan Federation of Teachers. May 10, 1972.

## PERSONNEL TASK FORCE REPORT

### Appendix A

Interviews were conducted between April, 1972, and February, 1973, with the following people:

Henry Goodwyn, Mahlon Lantz, and Allen Seaboldt, Division of Personnel
Ruth Calhoun, Supervisor of Food Services
Rudolph Gant, Supervisor of Operations
Gerry Hollowell, Kalamazoo City Education Association
Luther West, Assistant Director of Buildings and Grounds
Teachers and students in elementary and secondary schools

### Appendix B

The following documents were studied in April, 1972, and February, 1973.

Administrative Procedures Bulletins, as of April, 1972
Application for Assistance under the Emergency School Act January 3, 1973
Board Policy Bulletins, as of April, 1972
1972–73 Budget
Curriculum notebook 1970–71
Directory of State and Federal Projects, February 28, 1973
Employees contracts, 1972
Job application blanks 1972
Job descriptions, July 21, 1972
Organization Manual, Fall, 1971
Organizational Scheme, 1972–1973
1972–73 Performance Objectives
Personnel Directory, 1972–1973
Personnel Division Personnel Reports, February, 1972 to December, 1972
Personnel lists, 1971–72
Retirement Funds Report, 1970

Appendix C, Page 1

May 22, 1972
To: All School Personnel

Schools -- Return to Building Principal by May 26
Adm. Bldg. Return to Superintendent's Office by May 26

A citizens task force has been instituted by the Kalamazoo Public Schools in studying discrimination against personnel on the basis of age, sex, or race. Would you help us in our study by answering these questions and expressing some of your own feelings on this subject. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated. (All responses are confidential). If you have any questions please feel free to contact:

Marilyn Bell 343-6264
Allene Dietrich 381-3752

AGE
______under 25
______26-30
______31-40
______41-50
______51-60
______over 60

EDUCATION
________high school
________some college
________B.A.
________B.A. plus grad. hours
________M.A.
________M.A. plus grad. hours
________Ph.D.

SEX
______Male
______Female

RACE
______White
______Black
______Other

Marital Status
______single
______married
______divorced
______separated
______widowed

If you have children, please list by age and sex
__________age ________sex
__________age ________sex
__________age ________sex
__________age ________sex
__________age ________sex
__________age ________sex
__________age ________sex

Length of time teaching______________________(To the nearest full year)

Length of time with the Kalamazoo Public School System________________________

Name of School______________________________

Position
______Central Office
______Building Administration
______Teachers
______Librarians
______Counselors
______Social Workers
______Office Employee
______Other

Appendix C, Page 2

Personnel Questionnaire

1. Check below the appropriate column or columns if you think there is unfair treatment in these areas. If you need to explain, use #28. (People may be treated unfairly because of their race, sex, or position. An example of discrimination because of position is if teachers are less often picked to go to conferences than are principals.)

| | | Age | Position | Race | Sex |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | lunch duty | | | | |
| b. | participation in conferences | | | | |
| c. | teaching drivers' training | | | | |
| d. | selection of department heads | | | | |
| e. | building assignments | | | | |
| f. | room assignments | | | | |
| g. | study hall duty | | | | |
| h. | hall duty | | | | |
| i. | extracurricular assignments | | | | |
| j. | summer school jobs | | | | |
| k. | field trips | | | | |
| l. | assignment of desk and other equipment | | | | |
| m. | allotment of materials and supplies | | | | |
| n. | use of duplicating equipment | | | | |
| o. | control of master keys | | | | |
| p. | parking spaces | | | | |
| q. | kinds of classes assigned | | | | |
| r. | number of class preparations | | | | |
| s. | size of class in same grade | | | | |
| t. | size of class in same school | | | | |
| u. | problem students | | | | |
| v. | pay scale for similar jobs | | | | |
| w. | paid overtime, voluntary | | | | |
| x. | unpaid overtime, voluntary | | | | |
| y. | paid overtime, required | | | | |
| z. | unpaid overtime, required | | | | |

Others: please name

2. How many persons, including yourself, do you support or help support? ______

3. Are you aware of unfair treatment of someone else in the Kalamazoo school system because of race ___ sex ___ age ___? Not aware _____.

4. Have you personally experienced any unfair treatment in the Kalamazoo school system because of your race ___ sex ___ age ___? Have not ___.

5. Have you been promoted in the last 5 years ______ 6-10 years? ______

6. Have you applied for a promotion in the Kalamazoo Public Schools during the last year ____ 1-2 years ___ 3-5 years ____ 6-10 years ____? Have not ____

If you have not applied, skip the next two questions.

Appendix C, Page 3

7. Was the application rejected ___ accepted ___ withdrawn ___ or is it undecided?

8. Was the position one in your own job category ___ or in another ___?
If another, please name.

9. Are you interested in having an administrative position? Yes ___ No ___

10. Do you think if you requested a promotion you might be refused because of your race ___ your sex ___? Neither ___

11. Have you been given a new position which was not a promotion in the Kalamazoo schools in the last 5 years ___ 6-10 years ___?

12. Have you applied for a new position, not a promotion, in the Kalamazoo schools in the last year___ 1-2 years ___ 3-5 years ___ 6-10 years ___? Have not ___

If you have not applied, skip the next two questions.

13. Was the application rejected ___ accepted ___ withdrawn ___ or is it undecided?

14. Was the position one in your job category ___ or in another ___? If another, please name ____________________.

15. Were you transferred between buildings in the last year ___ 1-2 years ___ 3-5 years ___ 6-10 years ___? Have not been transferred ___

16. Not counting the assignment preferences requested from teachers and building administrators by the school administration and KCEA in 1971, have you asked for a building transfer in the past year ___ 1-2 years ___ 3-5 years ___ 6-10 years ___? Have not asked ___

If you have not asked, skip the next question.

17. Was the requested rejected ___ granted ___ withdrawn ___ or is it undecided?

18. How many hours a week do you spend on your job at school? ______

19. How many hours a week do you spend doing work outside of school that relates to your job at school ___?

20. Do you hold another paying job? Yes ___ No ___

21. Men's pay increments continue during military service. Should the same principle apply to maternity leave? Yes ___ No ___

22. Military leave is four years. Maternity leave is one year. Should the time allowed be equal? Yes ___ No ___

23. Please give any instance you can of unfair treatment.

24. List any other areas of discrimination that should be studied.

25. What do you not like about your job?

26. Comments:

## APPENDIX D

### ANALYSIS OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL BY SEX

| | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|
| Administrative: | | |
| Superintendent | 1 | |
| Assistant superintendents: | | |
| Instructional management | 1 | |
| Operational management | 1 | |
| Program development | 1 | |
| Secondary principals | 6 | 1 |
| Elementary principals | 15 | 10 |
| Director of elementary instruction | 1 | |
| Director of secondary instruction | | 1 |
| Director of personnel and negotiations | 1 | |
| Director of business affairs | 1 | |
| Director of buildings and grounds | 1 | |
| Director of student affairs | 1 | |
| Director of community education | 1 | |
| Director of research and development | 1 | |
| Director of categorical aids | 1 | |
| Total | 33 | 12 |
| Supervisory: | | |
| Assistant principals | 13 | |
| Deans of students | 2 | |
| Project director vocational education special needs programs | 1 | |
| Coordinator instructional media | | 1 |
| Coordinator career education | 1 | |
| Supervisor apprentice program | 1 | |
| Coordinator art education | | 1 |
| Coordinator physical education | 1 | |
| Coordinator music | 1 | |
| Supervisor, special education | 1 | |
| Program specialist, special education | 2 | |
| Assistant director, personnel | 1 | |
| Assistant to director, personnel | 1 | |
| Internal auditor | 1 | |
| Supervisor of food services | | 1 |
| Assistant supervisor, food services | | 1 |
| Supervisor, transportation | 1 | |
| Supervisor of data processing | 1 | |
| Accountant | 1 | |
| Purchasing agent | 1 | |
| Assistant purchasing agent | 1 | |
| Supervisor, supplies | 1 | |
| Assistant director of buildings and grounds | 1 | |
| Supervisor, maintencnae | 1 | |
| Supervisor, Operations | 1 | |
| Foreman, grounds | 1 | |
| Heating and plumbing | 1 | |
| General repair | 1 | |
| Painting | 1 | |
| Leader, pre-school | 1 | |
| Supervisor, information services | | 1 |
| Adult education principal | 1 | |
| Community school leaders | 2 | 1 |
| Specialist, personnel skills development | 1 | |
| Specialist, computer based accountability | 1 | |
| Testing specialist and health services coordinator | | 1 |
| Assistant for child accounting | 1 | |
| Project director ESEA title I | 1 | |
| | 47 | 7 |

KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOL PERSONNEL BY SCHOOL AS OF FALL AND DECEMBER 1971, LISTS (INCLUDING KNOWN CHANGES)

| School | Level | Principals | | Assistant principals and deans | | Teachers plus aides | | | | Other staff: counselors, librarian, secertary nurse | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Full time | | Part time | | | | | |
| | | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Arcadia | K to 3 | | 1 | | | | 20 | | 3 | | 2 | | 26 |
| Brucker | K to 3 | | 1 | | | | 8 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | 1 | 14 |
| Burke | 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 2 | 7 | 2 | 3 | | 2 | 5 | 12 |
| Central | 10 to 12 | 1 | | 3 | | 53 | 30 | 4 | | 10 | 13 | 67 | 41 |
| Chime | K to 3 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Continuing special education | | | 1 | | | 1 | 5 | | | | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Edison | K, 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 7 | 15 | 2 | 5 | | 3 | 10 | 23 |
| Greenwood | K to 3 | 1 | | | | | 11 | | 3 | | 2 | 1 | 16 |
| Hillside | 7 to 9 | 1 | | 2 | | 15 | 21 | 3 | | 2 | 8 | 22 | 27 |
| Hull-Paulson | Special | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | 3 |
| Indian Prairie | K to 3 | | 1 | | | 1 | 13 | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 18 |
| J. F. Kennedy | Special | 1 | | | | 5 | 17 | | | | 2 | 6 | 19 |
| Lakeside | Special | | | | | 3 | 4 | | | | | 3 | 4 |
| Lakewood | K to 3 | 1 | | | | 1 | 6 | | 4 | | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| Lincoln | K, 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 6 | 15 | 2 | 2 | | 4 | 9 | 12 |
| McKinley | K to 3 | | 1 | | | | 11 | 2 | 3 | | 3 | 2 | 18 |
| Milwood Elementary | K to 3, special | 1 | | | | 1 | 33 | | 4 | | 4 | 2 | 41 |
| Milwood Junior | 7 to 9 | 1 | | 1 | | 24 | 14 | 1 | | 5 | 6 | 30 | 19 |
| Loy Norrix | 10 to 12 | 1 | | 3 | | 53 | 25 | 3 | | 8 | 13 | 64 | 36 |
| Northeastern | 7 to 9 | 1 | | 1 | | 14 | 15 | 1 | | 2 | 6 | 18 | 20 |
| Northglade | K to 3 | 1 | | | | | 14 | 2 | 4 | | 2 | 3 | 20 |
| Oakwood Elementary | K to 3 | | 1 | | | 1 | 12 | | 4 | | 2 | 1 | 19 |
| Oakwood Junior | 7 to 9 | 1 | | 1 | | 14 | 17 | | 1 | 2 | 6 | 17 | 23 |
| Parkwood | K, 4 to 6 | [1]1 | | | | 2 | 11 | 2 | 2 | | 2 | 5 | 15 |
| Roosevelt | K, 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 5 | 11 | 2 | 4 | | 3 | 8 | 18 |
| South | 7 to 9 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 27 | 24 | 1 | | | 3 | 30 | 28 |
| South Westnedge | K to 3 | | 1 | | | 1 | 14 | | 3 | | 2 | 1 | 20 |
| Spring Valley | K to 3 | | 1 | | | | 13 | | 3 | | 2 | | 19 |
| Upjohn | Special | [1]1 | | | | | 23 | 1 | 1 | | 4 | 2 | 27 |
| Vine | K, 4 to 6, special | 1 | | | | 4 | 12 | 4 | 2 | | 3 | 9 | 17 |
| Washington | K, 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 4 | 18 | 1 | 6 | | 3 | 6 | 27 |
| West Main | K, 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 5 | 9 | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 7 | 13 |
| Westwood | K, 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 3 | 9 | 1 | 2 | | 3 | 5 | 14 |
| Wilson | K to 3 | | 1 | | | | 10 | | 5 | | 2 | | 18 |
| Winchell | K to 3 | | 1 | | | | 16 | | 3 | | 2 | | 22 |
| Woodward | 4 to 6 | 1 | | | | 1 | 10 | 1 | 3 | | 4 | 3 | 17 |
| Adult education | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | | 25 | 10 | 12 | 1 | 253 | 507 | 40 | 79 | 29 | 125 | 346 | 711 |

[1] The same person serves as principal of Parkwood and of Upjohn.

Note: Since part-time people are shown by school, the actual total of personnel is less than total shown. Chart includes known changes up to July 8, 1972.

## Appendix E

### LEGISLATION COVERING SEX DISCRIMINATION

Executive Orders 11374 and 11246 prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of sex by contractors and subcontractors who are awarded contracts of $10,000 or more by the federal government. (A "federal contract" has been loosely defined as something which benefits the federal government. Asked the difference between contract and grant Mr. Jack Hazard, the contract-grant officer for federal projects in Chicago, said that "at this point in time the two terms are used interchangeably." According to Peter Wallus, director of categorical aids in Kalamazoo, the Kalamazoo Public Schools presently receive 18 grants from the federal government, each in excess of $10,000.)

Revised Order #4, 1971, requires federal contractors to analyze their staff to decide whether women are being underutilized, to establish goals and timetables for correcting deficiencies, and write affirmative action plans.

Equal Pay Act of 1963, extended in 1972, now covers teachers on all levels, principals, librarians, counselors, deans, research personnel, and administrative staff. "Where men and women are performing equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions in the same establishment, they must be paid equally."

The Equal Employment Oppirtunity Act of 1972 extends the enforcement powers of the Equal Opportunity Commission and the Coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Sex discrimination is forbidden under Title VII in

> hiring, firing, layoff, recall, recruitment, wages and conditions of employment; promotional opportunities; assignment; sick leave, vacation and overtime; insurance and health benefits; retirement; or advertising employment preferences based on sex.

Title IX of Education Amendments of 1972 states, "No person in the U.S. shall on the basis of sex be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program receiving federal financial assistance." Broad coverage is provided for female students and teachers who participate or want to participate in federally funded education programs.

Note: The information on federal legislation was extracted from "Equal Rights for Women Educators Promised With New Legislation," *DuShane Fund Reports*, National Education Association, August 25, 1972.

## Appendix F

### EXTRA DUTY SALARIES

A. The following pay scale shall apply to fully certificated, qualified teachers for performing the following extra duties. The percentages shown are of the base or starting rate for the Bachelor's degree: (B.A. base 1971-72—$8,000.00)

|  | Male | Female | B.A. base (percent) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Senior high school: |  |  |  |
| Athletic director | 2 |  | 22 |
| Head football coach | 2 |  | 18 |
| Head basketball coach | 2 |  | 18 |
| Head swimming coach | 2 |  | 14 |
| Head wrestling coach | 2 |  | 14 |
| Head baseball coach | 2 |  | 13 |
| Reserve football coach | 1 |  | 10 |
| Reserve basketball coach | 2 |  | 11 |
| Head track coach | 2 |  | 10 |
| Cross country coach | 2 |  | 9 |
| Tennis coach | 2 |  | 9 |
| Golf coach | 2 |  | 9 |
| Assistants: |  |  |  |
| Football coach | 6 |  | 10 |
| Baseball coach | 2 |  | 9 |
| Swimming coach | 2 |  | 9 |
| Track coach | 2 |  | 9 |
| Wrestling coach | 2 |  | 9 |
| Women's field hockey |  | 2 | 5 |
| Women's tennis |  | 2 | 5 |
| Women's basketball |  | 2 | 7 |
| Women's track |  | 2 | 5 |
| Women's softball | 2 |  | 5 |
| Department heads | 9 | 5 | 7 |
| Co-op heads | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Senior class sponsor | 2 |  | 3 |
| Junior class sponsor | 2 |  | 3 |
| Sophomore class sponsor | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Debate and forensics coach |  | 2 | 9 |
| Assistant debate and forensics |  |  | 4 |
| E.B.Y. liaison teacher | 1 |  | 3 |
| Dramatics coach | 2 |  | 8 |
| Faculty game manager | 2 |  | 10 |
| Cheerleader director—football |  | 2 | 4 |
| Cheerleader director—basketball |  | 2 | 7 |
| Junior high school: |  |  |  |
| Athletic director | 1 |  | 22 |
| Head football coach | 5 |  | 7 |
| Assistant football coach | 15 |  | 6 |
| Head basketball coach | 10 |  | 7 |
| Track coach | 5 |  | 5 |
| Tennis coach | 5 |  | 5 |
| Wrestling coach | 5 |  | 5 |
| Girls basketball coach |  | 5 | 5 |
| Girls' track and field hockey |  | 5 | 4 |
| Girls' tennis coach |  | 5 | 4 |
| Cheerleader director—football |  | 5 | 3 |
| Cheerleader director—basketball |  | 10 | 4 |
| Other assignments: |  |  |  |
| Summer school classroom teaching |  |  | $6.75 |
| Adult education teacher |  |  | 6.75 |
| Driver education teacher |  |  | 6.75 |
| Music teacher |  |  | 6.75 |
| Intramurals |  |  | 6.00 |

B. A maximum of five (5) years' credit outside Kalamazoo may be allowed, provided however, said experience is from a school comparable to Kalamazoo Central or Low Norrix. Allowable experience shall be Senior High School experience in the specific sport and in the coaching position.

## Appendix F

C. No coach shall be assigned to more than two coaching positions except in emergency situations.

D. Add to the salary of each coach 2% of the coaching base for each year of allowable Kalamazoo coaching experience, said experience shall be limited to ten (10) years and shall be in the same capacity being coached, provided, however, that this shall not apply to elementary intramurals. "Coaching base" is the dollar amount arrived at by multiplying the base salary for the B.A. degree by the appropriate percentage specified above.

E. The Senior High Athletic Director shall be assigned five (5) class periods, one (1) planning period.

F. Intramural assignments and activities shall be made by the Physical Education Supervisor. No time will be authorized without his approval.

G. Bookstore Managers shall have no homeroom assignments.

Taken from "Articles of Agreement between The School District of Kalamazoo and the Kalamazoo City Education Association for the 1971–1972, 1972–1973 School Years."

Our sex analysis was added from figures provided in March, 1973 by Mr. Fletcher Lewis, coordinator for physical education and health.

APPENDIX F, PAGE 3

MINIMUM SALARIES FOR EXTRA-CURRICULAR ATHLETIC ACTIVITIES 1972-73 FIGURED ON B.A. BASE OF $8,000

| Positions | Number | Percent | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| BOYS' ACTIVITIES | | | |
| Senior High School: | | | |
| Athletic director | 2 | 22 | $3,520 |
| Head football coach | 2 | 18 | 2,880 |
| Head basketball coach | 2 | 18 | 2,880 |
| Head swimming coach | 2 | 14 | 2,240 |
| Head wrestling coach | 2 | 14 | 2,240 |
| Head baseball coach | 2 | 13 | 2,080 |
| Reserve football coach | 1 | 10 | 800 |
| Reserve basketball coach | 2 | 11 | 1,760 |
| Head track coach | 2 | 10 | 1,600 |
| Cross country coach | 2 | 9 | 1,440 |
| Tennis coach | 2 | 9 | 1,440 |
| Golf coach | 2 | 9 | 1,440 |
| Assistants: | | | |
| Football coach | 6 | 10 | 4,800 |
| Baseball coach | 2 | 9 | 1,440 |
| Swimming coach | 2 | 9 | 1,440 |
| Track coach | 2 | 9 | 1,440 |
| Wrestling coach | 2 | 9 | 1,440 |
| Junior High School: | | | |
| Athletic director | 1 | 22 | 1,760 |
| Head football coach | 5 | 7 | 2,800 |
| Assistant football coach | 15 | 6 | 7,200 |
| Head basketball coach | 10 | 7 | 5,600 |
| Track coach | 5 | 5 | 2,000 |
| Tennis coach | 5 | 5 | 2,000 |
| Wrestling coach | 5 | 5 | 2,000 |
| Positions, all held by males | 83 | | 58,240 |
| GIRLS' ACTIVITIES | | | |
| Senior high school: | | | |
| Women's field hockey | 2 | 5 | $800 |
| Women's tennis | 2 | 5 | 800 |
| Women's basketball | 2 | 7 | 1,120 |
| Women's track | 2 | 5 | 800 |
| Women's softball | [1] 2 | 5 | 800 |
| Cheerleading, football | 2 | 4 | 640 |
| Cheerleading, basketball | 2 | 7 | 1,120 |
| Junior high school: | | | |
| Girls basketball | 5 | 5 | 2,000 |
| Girls track and field hockey | 5 | 4 | 1,600 |
| Girls tennis | 5 | 4 | 1,600 |
| Cheerleading, football | 5 | 3 | 1,200 |
| Cheerleading, basketball | 10 | 4 | 3,200 |
| Positions, 42 held by females 2 by males | 44 | | 15,680 |

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[1] Positions held by males.

### CORRECTIONS

### PERSONNEL TASK FORCE REPORT

Page ii:
- line 1, *One* should be *Our*
- line 14, *one* should be *our*

Page 3:
- line 22, *four* should be *three*

Page 4:
- line 19, *secondary* should be *elementary*
- line 20, *elementary* should be *secondary*
- line 23, subsequent to our meeting with the director of personnel, we learned from other members of the division that the assistant director is finishing an Ed.D. in Educational Leadership with specialization in personnel and that the other assistant has an MA in Guidance and Personnel

Page 6:
- line 26, delete "The office . . . leave."

Page 24:
- line 18, *positions* should be *assignments*

Page 25:
- line 4, delete *outstanding*
- line 13, *maternity/paternity* should be *parental*

Page 26:
- line 21, delete *and potentially qualified*
- line 24, *to women* should be *for all*

Appendix D:
- Secondary principals, female, should be *2*
- Elementary principals, female, should be *9*

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### LETTER TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS FROM THE COMMITTEE TO STUDY SEX DISCRIMINATION IN THE KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MAY 22, 1973

At the informal Board of Education meeting on May 14, 1973, when the Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program was recommended by the reading committee, we stated that the proposed books discriminate against women and girls and are illegal. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Section 901(a) states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance . . ."

We believe that Michigan state law also precludes such inequal treatment, as in the Michigan Public Accommodations Act, Chapter 21 of the Civil Rights Act, Equal Public Accommodations, Section 146 (M.C.L.A. 750.146): "All persons within the jurisdiction of this state shall be entitled to full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of . . . public educational institutions . . . subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens . . ."

Relying in part on the above quoted statutes, we ask you to defer your decision on the reading program until you have investigated alternate means of teaching reading which treat all children equally. We feel that irreparable and immediate damage will occur to the school system by spending money which will be wasted if the books are found to be discriminatory and, therefore, illegal. More important, irreparable damage would result from the use of books which affect adversely the self-image of boys and girls by presenting a male-dominated society.

We believe that the purchase of the proposed Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program will constitute violation of the quoted federal and Michigan statutes and subject the Board of Education and the use of the books to legal measures which could jeopardize the school system's receipt of federal monies.

This matter is of sufficient importance that we will, if necessary, seek remedies available under Title IX and relief through the courts.

Signed by
Jo Jacobs, Chairwoman, Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools
732 Garland Avenue

Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008
Phone: 616-345-5853

Note: Please write to Jo Jacobs for a copy of the HEW complaint, to be ready May 31, 1973.

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### MICHIGAN CONVENTION OF PTA—SPRING, 1973

#### A. SEXISM IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

1. Chase, Dennis, "Sexism in Textbooks, "*Nations Schools*, December, 1927, pp. 31–35.
2. *Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers*, Women on Words and Images—a Task Force of Central New Jersey N.O.W. Available for $1.50 from Women on Words and Images, 25 Cleveland Land, RD #4, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540.
3. *Federal Laws and Regulations Concerning Sex Discrimination in Educational Institutions*, The Project on the Status and Education of Women. Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.
4. "A Feminist Look at Children's Books," SCHOOL LIBRARY JOURNAL, January, 1971, pp. 19–24. Available for 50¢ plus a stamped, self-addressed, legal-sized envelope, from Feminists on Children's Media, P.O. Box 4313, Grand Central Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10017.
5. Key, Mary Ritchie, "The Role of Male and Female in Children's Books—Dispelling all Doubt," WILSON LIBRARY BULLETIN, October, 1971, pp. 167–176.
6. *Little Miss Muffet Fights Back*, Feminists on Children's Media, New York, 1971. Available for 50¢ and envelope (see #4 above).
7. Miles, Betty, "Harmful Lessons Little Girls Learn in School," REDBOOK, March 1971, p. 86.
8. "Report of the Elementary School Textbooks Task Force," Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools, February, 1973. Send $1.00 to Ms. Marion Schippers, Kalamazoo Public Schools, 1220 Howard Street, Kalamazoo, Michigan. 49008.

#### B. SEXISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools. Reports available now for $1.00 (address in #8 above) are the "Personnel Task Force Report" and "In Search of the Freedom to Grow." Ready in June, 1973, will be reports on vocational education, student activities, testing and counseling, and selected subjects—a look at value forming content areas such as history, psychology, home and family living.
2. *Discrimination Against Women:* Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, Second Session, on Section 805 of H.R. 16098. Available FREE from your congressperson.
3. Emma Willard Task Force on Education, *Sexism in Education*, available for $3.50. 1520 W. 27th Street, Minneapolis, Minn. 55408.
4. Federbush, Marcia. *Let Them Aspire: A Plea and Proposal for Equality of Opportunity for Males and Females in the Ann Arbor Public Schools*, May, 1971. Available for $2.25 from Marcia Federbush, 1000 N. Cedar Bend Drive, Ann Arbor, Michigan. 48105.
5. *Report on Sex Bias in the Public Schools:* revised edition ($2.25) New York City Chapter N.O.W. 28 East 56th St. NY. 10022.
6. *Sexism in Education, Joint Task Force Report 1972.* Pennsylvania Department of Education. Write Louise Oncley, Planning and Research Division, Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, 100 North Cameron Street, Harrisburg, Penna 17101.

| From Dick and Jane as victims | Allyn & Bacon | American Book Co. | Bank Street | Ginn | Harper & Row | D.C. Heath | Houghton-Miflin | Laidlaw | Lyons & Carnehan | Mac-Millan | Open Court | Science Research [illegible] | Scott Foreman | New S.F. Reading System | Singer/ Random House | Sullivan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of books read | 3 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 2 | [illegible] | 13 | 12 | 5 | 21 |
| Total number of stories | 85 | 175 | 116 | 361 | 130 | 176 | 151 | 81 | 100 | 165 | 81 | [illegible] | 321 | 110 | 94 | 393 |
| Featuring boys | 21 | 42 | 43 | 107 | 40 | 49 | 61 | 10 | 34 | 48 | 4 | [illegible] | 116 | 28 | 30 | 116 |
| Featuring girls | 7 | 25 | 17 | 31 | 13 | 12 | 24 | 1 | 6 | 13 | 3 | 17 | 42 | 11 | 0 | 99 |
| Featuring adult males | 1 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 21 | 4 | 3 | 12 | 7 | 24 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 2 |
| Featuring adult females | 0 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Boy and girl | 8 | 16 | 18 | 79 | 6 | 20 | 5 | 3 | 10 | 15 | 4 | 13 | 76 | 9 | 3 | 105 |
| Male animal | 2 | 6 | 1 | 12 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 21 | 4 | 8 | 24 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 14 | 1 |
| Female animal | 3 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Male folk fantasy | 7 | 17 | 2 | 34 | 16 | 21 | 9 | 22 | 6 | 16 | 14 | 15 | 6 | 7 | 12 | 6 |
| Female folk fantasy | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 3 |
| Male biography | 16 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 18 | 12 | 6 | 7 | 13 | 17 | 0 | 15 | 22 | 16 | 6 | 0 |
| Female biography | 3 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Other: Science, neuter animal, social, etc | 6 | 39 | 22 | 52 | 16 | 26 | 7 | 5 | 20 | 25 | 1 | 57 | 50 | 27 | 13 | 60 |
| Occupations shown for men | 22 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 26 | 30 | 29 | 14 | 13 | 33 | (1) | 21 | 33 | 35 | 13 | 25 |
| Occupations shown for women | 7 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 5 | (1) | 5 | 5 | 11 | 2 | 7 |

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[1] Not listed.

KALAMAZOO, MICH., *May 29, 1973.*

Mr. CASPAR WEINBERGER,
*Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Please consider this letter a formal complaint under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, P.L. 92–318. The complaint is directed at the Board of Education of the Kalamazoo Public Schools, Kalamazoo, Michigan. It is filed by the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools. I am the chairperson of that committee and am filing this complaint on its behalf. The committee was created by the Board of Education in December of 1971 to do a comprehensive study of sex discrimination in the school system.

On May 21, 1973, the Kalamazoo Board of Education adopted the Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program for grades one through six throughout the entire Kalamazoo school system. This program utilizes 12 books. The total cost of the program is $68,000, of which $30,000 will come from state and/or Federal funds. The program will result in the purchase of thousands of books which will be in use in the Kalamazoo school system for an estimated five years by successive groups of children. The content, illustrations, emphasis, philosophy and attitudes displayed in the books in this reading program discriminate against girls and women.

We allege that this action of the Board subjects the girls in the elementary grades in Kalamazoo to discrimination under an education program receiving Federal financial assistance within the meaning of Section 901(a) of Title IX. As of February, 1973, according to the best information available to us, the Kalamazoo Public Schools were receiving assistance from 19 grants, totaling $2,133,516.83. We request an immediate HEW investigation which would first explore the possibilities of persuading the Board to comply voluntarily with the law by using instead a non-sexist reading program. Failing that, we request that all Federal assistance to the Kalamazoo school system be suspended until the Board does comply with Title IX.

Sincerely,

JO JACOBS, *Chairperson,*
*On Behalf of the Committee to*
*Study Sex Discrimination in the*
*Kalamazoo Public Schools.*

Enclosure: Preliminary findings of the committee with regard to the Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program.

### DISCUSSION OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS COMMITTEE TO STUDY SEX DISCRIMINATION IN THE KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Grade school readers are a top priority area for change, since they influence children at their most vulnerable and malleagle stage of development. Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers, an analysis by Women on Words and Images, P.O. Box 2163, Princeton, New Jersey 08540, p. 3.

Textbooks should treat women as the equals of men. Although in the past women were regarded as inferior, they were not and are not inferior, they were not and are not inferior people. The sexist attitudes of the past should not be reflected in current publications. Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks, prepared by the Sexism in Textbooks Committee of Women, at Scott, Foresman, 1900 East Lake Avenue, Glenview, Illinois 60025, 1972, p. 1.

#### *Preliminary Statement*

The findings below reflect the preliminary results of an examination of the reading program adopted by the Kalamazoo schools on May 21, 1973. The examination took place between May 10, when program materials first became available to us, and May 14, when we submitted a report to the Board of Education. Examination of these materials is continuing, and a detailed report will be available soon. When the final report is issued, we plan to file an amended complaint with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, further documenting our charges.

#### *Initial Findings*

The reading program is a major part of elementary school education, one in which children participate every school day for six years. The schools fail to serve the needs of students, both boys and girls, when they adopt a reading program which incorporates a massive amount of sex-role stereotyping and a totally inadequate and unrealistic portrait of the performance and potential of women in American society.

1. *A reading program which does not recognize the actions and achievements of women is an education program which is sex discriminatory*

The Houghton-Mifflin sixth grade reader just adopted by the Kalamazoo schools, features seven famous men and one woman; it mentions an additional sixteen famous men and one famous woman.

In the fifth grade reader, there are four stories about male historical figures and one story about a female historical figure.

2. *A reading program which does not show the same respect for women and girls as it does for men and boys is an education program which is sex discriminatory*

We found that of the stories in the entire Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program that could be identified as having either male or female leading characters, approximately 80 percent had male leading characters. I though females comprise at least 50 percent of the elementary school population.

In the first pre-primer, all of the leading characters are boys. A girl first appears on page 21 with a mop in her hand and is definitely a subordinate character. The pronouns *he* and *it* appear in the first and second pre-primers; the pronoun *she* does not appear in the series until the third pre-primer.

Of the ten stories in one second grade reader, *Secrets*, six have leading characters who are human and the other four have leading characters who are animals. All of the human leading characters are male; girls are hardly ever mentioned. In the fifth grade readers, there are more stories about animals than about girls and women.

One example from the fifth grade reader which shows a lack of respect for females simply because they are females in this quotation: "What is square and has bats in the belfry?" Dusty grinned. "That's easy, Scruggs-girls!"

3. *A reading program which assigns abilities, traits, interests, and activities on the basis of male or female stereotypes is an education program that is sex discriminatory*

Adult role models for girls in the Houghton-Mifflin Reading Program are limited. Women are portrayed predominately as mothers, nurses, librarians, storekeepers, with few other roles. Men are portrayed in many occupations, including doctors, lawyers, busdrivers, mayors, policemen, scientists, firemen, grocers, industrialists, kings, town watchmen, soldiers, inventors, builders, violinists, farmers, political scientists, university department heads, milkmen, sanitation men, hunters, spies, writers, artists, engineers, sheriffs, plumbers, carpenters, treasure divers, sculptors, spacemen, sailors, judges and F.B.I. men.

A specific example of this inequity is the full list of occupations illustrated in the second grade reader:

| Men | Women |
|---|---|
| Zoo keeper | Mother |
| Fence painter | Circus fat lady |
| Circus clown | Elementary school teacher |
| Circus tall man | Nurse |
| Circus strong man | |
| Flower cart owner/seller | |
| Flower shop owner | |
| Toy shop owner | |
| Policeman | |
| Truck driver | |
| Milkman | |
| Grocer | |
| Scientist | |
| Doctor | |

The mothers in the readers work almost exclusively at home. The few mothers shown or described who are in the work force outside the home are generally in unspecified jobs. Yet the 1970 Census for the City of Kalamazoo shows that 41.3 percent of the women of this city over the age of 16 are employed outside the home.

We contend that the sex roles presented in this reading program reflect the restricted range of occupation and behavior permitted women in American society before sex discrimination became illegal. One of the principal functions of the

American public school system is to enable our children to obtain employment appropriate to their potential. The elimination and prevention of discrimination in employment, based on race, religion, national origin, sex or any other extraneous factor, is a commitment that has been repeatedly affirmed by various Federal statutes. To declare that girls should be assured the same opportunities for employment upon graduation as boys is a principle that few will any longer dispute. But to subject girls before graduation to twelve years of careful conditioning that discourages them from considering certain occupational roles is to make a mockery of that principle.

The elementary school with its educational programs is an important agency of socialization. The learning it provides about role models and expectations is influential in the life planning of students and is the major supplement provided by society to the socialization experienced by children in the home. Thus, the portrayal of goals labeled socially desirable and limits said to be set by the social order in a reading program is of critical importance in influencing the ideas and expectations of children about the quality and extent of the participation in American life of girls and women.

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KALAMAZOO PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
OFFICES OF THE SUPERINTENDENT,
*Kalamazoo, Mich., August 1, 1973.*

The Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools is composed of 7 Task Forces. The following 5 Task Forces have completed their reports.

Task Force on Elementary School Textbooks
Task Force on Personnel
Task Force on Physical Education/Athletics
Task Force on Selected Subjects. (A look at some of those value-forming content areas at the secondary level; for example, selected courses in history, home and family living, psychology, etc.)
Task Force on Student Oriented Concerns. (A look at the extra-curricular activities at the secondary level excluding athletics.)

These reports are available from the above address for $1.00 each.

The remaining 2 Task Forces, Testing and Counseling and Vocational Education will be completed by December and will be available at that time.

Thank you for your interest and it is my sincere hope that you will be able to translate that interest into action aimed at eleminating sexism in the public schools. If I can be of any further help, be sure to contact me.

Sincerely,

JO JACOBS,
*Committee To Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools.*

## STATEMENT BY ALLENE DIETRICH OF THE COMMITTEE TO STUDY SEX DISCRIMINATION IN KALAMAZOO, MICH., ACCOMPANIED BY MS. JO JACOB, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE, AND MS. NANCY ELLIN

Ms. DIETRICH. I am Allene Dietrich. I am representing the Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public School, and we are very glad to be here. This is Nancy Ellin, who is coordinating the study on the Houghton-Mifflin textbooks and Jo Jacobs, the chairwoman of the committee.

Our study of textbooks established that sex role stereotyping exists at every level and in every subject in the elementary schools. For example, all the match texts that we looked at, we found that activities reserved almost exclusively for adult females outside of the home is household shopping.

A textbook, Exploring Science, in the fourth grade, we found 17 occupations for males, while the sole female activity was hanging up clothes. In another science book, 39 men are included, most of them are scientists, and two women, one who watches Benjamin Franklin, and the other a housewife.

A school health book cautions the children: "Unfortunately, every boy can't be a leader of men, and every girl can't be a belle of the ball."

Then we looked at the dictionary, and we found examples of stereotyping in the definitions for the word "steep." She steeped the tea in boiling water. Professor Jones steeps himself in Latin." For the word "study," "Joseph is studying to be a doctor. Her constant study is to please her parents."

Our committee is not unique in its investigation or in its findings. As your subcommittee has already heard from previous testimony and will be hearing today, people across the country have been researching and publicizing their findings for some time. We are very greatly indebted to these groups and individuals whose goals we have shared, and whose efforts have so mightily helped us.

Where I think that our committee in Kalamazoo is perhaps unique among these groups, is first, in its creation and authorization by the local board of education; second, in its filing of the first textbook complaint with HEW; and third, the action which has resulted from the threat of the complaint.

My testimony will deal chiefly with these experiences unique to Kalamazoo, experiences which illustrate the ways in which passage of H.R. 208 will bring us further toward women's education equity, especially in textbooks.

In December 1971, the board of education watched a slide presentation of sex roles in the reading books that the children were then using in Kalamazoo. After an hour of viewing at the stereotyped portrayals of Dick, Jane, mother, and dad, and even their dog Spot, the board created a committee to study sex discrimination in the schools.

Early in 1972, the chairwoman, Ms. Jo Jacobs, was named, and task forces established. The school superintendent set up appropriate controls and communication and asked school personnel to cooperate in the study.

By the spring of 1972, seven task forces were operating with members representing students, parents, school staff, and the community at large, men as well as women. Five task forces have now finished their work and have given their recommendations to the schools. They covered five areas:

Personnel practices and procedures.

Athletics and physical education.

Elementary school textbooks.

Selected studies, which included secondary level subjects such as anthropology, English, psychology, history, and sociology.

Student-oriented aspects of school that are nonacademic and nonathletic, such as extracurricular activities.

These reports are available through the Kalamazoo public schools, and many people throughout the country have sent for them.

We have two task groups on vocational education, testing and counseling, but these task forces have not yet completed their studies.

The work and the recommendations of one of the task forces has led to our filing the complaint. When we reported our findings on elementary school textbooks in February of this year to the Kalamazoo Board of Education, we said:

> Textbooks of all content areas consistently separate people into two rigidly defined molds, which provide unfair and distorted stereotyped role models for both boys and girls.

We recommended that no new textbooks be purchased unless they were nondiscriminatory. Just as important, we provided specific measures that the administration could adopt to offset the existing stereotyped curriculum, such as woman-of-the-month bulletin boards, elimination of boys' and girls' corners in kindergarten, and teaching everybody to cook, run audiovisual equipment, and operate sewing machines. The report made no discernible impact, as none of these recommendations were carried out.

A crucial test of our effectiveness would come, we thought with the adoption of a new reading series that would be in use for at least the next 5 years by every child in the school district in grades 1 through 6.

I remember the hope with which we went to the school gym to sample the seven new sets of books under consideration by the school reading committee. We imagined how good they could be, these products of a voluntary commitment by the publishers to change with the times, these results of raised consciousness of women's rights.

What we found were eyecatching, up-to-date, fascinating books, containing the same stereotyped treatment of men and women, less blatantly hostile to females, in most cases, but as strongly male dominated as even.

"The World of Men," proclaimed the caption on the table of contents of the outgoing series. We could ring in the new with the same bell. It was still the world of men, boys, of masculine accomplishments.

Before the Houghton-Mifflin reading program was picked as the final choice, we read each book in the series, and reported to the school board members that we found the program to be discriminatory against women and girls and, therefore, should not be purchased.

Nancy Ellin said at that time, "The sheer quantity of stories about boys strongly reinforces the notion that boys do all the most interesting things. For instance, all the treehouses belong to boys."

We asked the school board to defer its decision on the reading program until it could investigate alternate ways to teach reading which would give treatment to Pam as well as to Ben.

The superintendent maintained that the new series was the best available reading program. We did not argue with that professional opinion. He said the Houghton-Mifflin books were less biased than the old ones, and we said that this was not good enough.

Sex discrimination is illegal, unjust, and harmful to boys and girls. If a discriminatory tool is selected for teaching reading, then it is a discriminatory reading program, therefore, illegal under title 9 of the Education Amendment of 1972, as we read them.

Despite the strong and persuasive evidence of sex bias, despite our pleas for delay and our stated determination to seek legal remedies, should public money be used to purchase such materials, the school board voted to buy the books.

When they did, our committee filed the first textbook complaint with HEW. We alleged that the action of the board subjects the girls in the elementary grades in Kalamazoo to discrimination under an education program receiving Federal financial assistance, and requested an immediate HEW investigation, which would first explore the possibility of persuading the board to comply voluntarily with the law by using instead a nonexistent reading program.

Failing that, we requested that all Federal assistance to the Kalamazoo school system be suspended until the board does comply with title 9.

We based our case on evidence supporting the following charges:

1. The series does not recognize the actions and achievements of women.

2. It does not show the same respect for women and girls as it does for men and boys.

3. It assigns abilities, traits, interests and activities on the basis of male and female stereotypes.

The Houghton-Mifflin books almost totally ignore the actions and achievements of women. There are twelve biographies of men in these books, and four of women: Harriet Tubman, Kate Shelley, Laura Ingalls Wilder, and Karana, an Eskimo girl, who lived for 18 years alone on a frigid island.

At least 91 names of men in history are offered to the students for their interest and information, but only about six names of women. Who are these few? Queen Victoria, the Duchess of Windsor, Rosa Parks, Coretta Scott King, Mrs. John Hill, and Thomas Garrett's wife, Sarah.

Regretfully, students reading these books have lost an opportunity to learn about history's heroines. By the time the next edition, scheduled for use in 1976 by Houghton-Mifflin, we are certain the publisher will have no difficulty in putting 91 names of famous women.

The list could begin with Congressman Shirley Chisholm and Congresswoman Patsy Mink of this subcommittee as well as the other Members of Congress who are doing so much to improve the status of women in education today.

Whatever the 1976 books may be, if our complaint fails, Kalamazoo students will be reading these biased books for at least the next 5 years.

Secondly, it is apparent that these books are not interested in what women and girls do. In every text in the series, every category listed in the table of contents has more males than females.

You can see by the chart that we have devised here, that 79 percent of the stories in these books have male main characters, and only 13 percent have female main characters.

In "Tigers," the first reading book for first graders, all the stories center on boys. A girl first appears on page 21 with a mop in her hand. She mops the porch while the boys play imaginatively with big cardboard boxes.

In the second grade reader, "Secrets," five stories are about male humans, and four about male animals. Not one story features a girl, or a female. Two other texts, "Rainbows" and "Kaleidoscope," have more stories about male animals than about girls or women. The illustrations are predominantly male, too, ranging from a high of 87 percent in "Tigers" to a low of 60 perecnt in Lions, the second preprimer.

Even the poems reflect a preoccupation with males. Forty-one percent are male oriented, and 7 percent female. Our readers were a little perplexed about how to categorize a poem in which a male robin builds a nest, and then lays four little eggs in it. The unknown author has aptly titled this nature defying verse, "The Secret."

Male dominance prevails in the plays as well. In every play in every book, the leading roles are male. In three plays there are no female roles at all. Perhaps this is another area where a girl has to act like a boy to achieve.

In other sections of the table of contents such as skills lessons, fun and games, more books to enjoy, and informational articles, the pattern holds. Male items occur two or three times more often than female items. For example, 15 of the information articles are about males, only 1 about a female, this time a female duck, "Gertie, the Scatterbrain Duck."

This extreme prevalence of males and in some books the almost complete lack of females is in itself demeaning. One interpretation might well be that males are more important than females.

Even nouns and pronouns get short shrift. Our first graders learn "he" in their first book. "She" is not learned until the third book, which includes "boys," "him," and "man," in the basal vocabulary, but relegates "girls," "her," and "woman" to the supplemental vocabulary.

Some of the content of these books support false and stereotyped assumptions about females. "Arthur," the anteater, has the text's approval for his assertion that playing with girls is not as good as playing with boys. He says: "So I don't play with girls . . . Then, she throws like a girl."

An Eskimo boy is taunted: "Has-ka has not the brave heart Has-ka is a girl . . . The beaten boy's spirit sank to his moccasins."

An entire story in "Rainbows" is about Lucy's incompetence, a particularly destructive emphasis, because it is the only story in the book with a girl as the main character.

Wenda Gambling "a well known movie star," shows the value of women as sex objects. "Wenda Gambling was hardly an expert on traffic," says the book, "but as the three other panel members were elderly men, one stout, one bald, and one nearsighted, the moderator of the program felt that the panel would be more interesting to the television audience if Wenda were at the table."

Thirdly, assigning abilities, traits, interests, and activities on the basis of sex limits individual expectations and aspirations. Because of the limited adult role models for girls in these books, female readers are encouraged to limit rather than expand their choices.

Women are portrayed predominantly as mothers, nurses, librarians, and storekeepers, with few other roles. There are only six working mothers in the entire series, of these six, two have unspecified jobs, the others are a seamstress at home, a farmer, a migrant worker, and the last mother is on a spaceship, she is astro-navigator, planet geologist, electronics engineer, computer programer, and cook, all rolled into one.

Eight books contain no working mothers at all. Yet we know that women and mothers are working. The 1970 census for the city of Kalamazoo shows that 41.3 percent of the women in Kalamazoo over the age of 16 are employed outside the home.

The assumption of the male as a doer is borne out by the list of all the working people portrayed in the books. There are 215 occupations held by men, to 41 occupations for females. The major occupation for women in all the books is housewife and mother.

A specific example of this inequity is the full list of occupations listed in the second grade reader.

For men:

- zoo keeper
- fence painter
- circus clown
- circus tall man
- circus strong man
- flower cart owner/seller
- flower shop owner
- top shop owner
- policeman
- truck driver
- milkman
- grocer
- scientist
- doctor

For women:

- mother
- elementary school teacher
- nurse
- circus fat lady

Such textbooks reflect not what we see around us today, but the old restricted range of occupation and behavior.

One of the principal functions of the American public school system is to enable our children to obtain employment appropriate to their potential. The elimination and prevention of discrimination in employment, based on race, religion, national origin, sex, or any other extraneous factor, is a commitment that has been repeatedly affirmed by various Federal statutes.

They declare that girls should be assured the same opportunities for employment upon graduation as boys is a principle that few will any longer dispute. But to subject girls to 12 years of careful conditioning that discourages them from considering certain occupational roles is to make a mockery of that principle.

Those arguments formed the basis of our complaint, which is now in limbo, with HEW postponing a decision on whether it can investigate the case until guidelines to implement title 9 are written. The regulations, scheduled for release this month, will determine the nature and scope of HEW involvement, if any, in textbook questions.

Peter W. Holmes, who is the Director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights, wrote to Superintendent of Schools William Coats, asking him to furnish reasons why he and the board do not believe the committee's complaint is valid. That information and our committee's findings will be held for consideration if appropriate under the guidelines.

Because we filed this complaint, more publishers, more men and women know that sex discrimination does exist in public education in this country. Increased pressure on publishers for revisions is evidenced.

Not only Houghton-Mifflin, but other major schoolbook publishers have written to Kalamazoo for guidelines used in selecting media center materials and have stated their commitment to end sex discrimination in the books they publish.

Our school system itself has done an outstanding job this summer in reviewing the materials, revising teachers' manuals, and providing suggestions for teachers on ways to supplement content of the reading series.

The Materials Review Committee members, representing school staff and the Commitee to Study Sex Discrimination, have worked hard to present a less discriminatory curriculum to the children who are back in school this month.

Yesterday, CBS News showed a boy in Kalamazoo trying to read the word "ms." on the blackboard, and that is one of the changes that we are talking about.

The major task that this committee took on was revising all 12 of the teachers' manuals. Because we could not change the content of the children's readers, we could only affect the parts of the manuals that were not predetermined by the children's books. This resulted in very limited and in most cases minor revisions.

However, we took the manuals and went through them page by page, changing pronouns, names, and situations until we had less stereotyping and a better balance of the previously male-dominated items.

In the first grade book, "Dinosaurs," for instance, we changed a story about Randy building a snowman to Mary building a snowlady. Where the teacher is directed to write sentences on the blackboard from the manual, they will not be as they appeared originally. We changed: "Dad is digging up the little trees." to "Mother is digging up the little tree." and "Mother is cutting up apples for us." to "Dad is cutting up apples for us."

We added questions to encourage awareness of bias in the books. In "Tigers," which you remember has only stories with males as main characters, we wrote in the following questions under evaluating and creating thinking:

Could his story have been about girls?

What other things might the children—instead of boys—have made from the boxes?

Why didn't Ben invite Jill to play with them?

How she might have added to their fun?

On another page next to a poem calle "Tiger-Cat Tim," we wrote: Have another poem available with female animals. The teachers will have a list of poems about females, girls and animals, as well as copies of the poems themselves. We made some other changes too. In "Fiesta" there is a story that features Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, and we added Sweet Emma, who was a New Orleans Dixieland musician.

In "Kaleidoscope," where a teaching index was used about Abraham Lincoln's life, we added Susan B. Anthony's life. We have also looked everywhere we can think of for nonstereotyped materials for reading lists. We used the Feminist Press and Lollipop Power, as well as conventitonal sources and our own school holdings, to come up with an exciting bibliography, which includes "Harriet the Spy," "Rita, the Weekend Rat," "The Hermit Boy", and "William's Doll."

The Materials Review Committee will continue to meet during the year, concentrating at first on other kinds of audiovisual materials, which could supplement the reading series. Nonstereotyped movies and film strips, posters, and bulletin board materials are very rare. We have suggested developing our own.

Houghton-Mifflin's editor-in-chief for reading and language arts, John Ridley, assisted the committee in important ways, providing bibliographies of nonstereotyped books and spending an amiable and productive 2 days working with school staff to improve the reading program.

The company has pledged all-out support in the supplemental material development and has indicated that Kalamazoo is a pilot or target system in the study of sex discrimination in textbooks. The Kalamazoo project will be used as a model to be followed in the future, according to company officials.

The most dramatic result of all these efforts may be the effect on the teachers as they go through their manuals this fall, making them, marking them, and revising them to lessen male dominance and stereotyping where possible.

They will see for themselves what the manuals were and what they can become. Most important, they will be given the tools with which to offset some of the effects of that domination and stereotyping.

Surely this awareness of sex discrimination and of the school system's desire to eliminate it will reach into other areas of their teaching as well.

I would like to mention a need for H.R. 208. The changes that have been made with the cooperation of the school staff and publishers are not sufficient to counteract the effect of a reading program whose content is discriminatory.

Much of this modest progress results from the prospect that a Federal law might be enforced. That threat may vanish with the passage of guidelines for title 9, which exclude textbooks.

We have at present no way to prevent schools from using discriminatory materials, nor have we found alternative reading programs, which treat both sexes equally.

H.R. 208 would provide the support necessary to develop tools insuring sexual equality in education. All five of our task forces have made recommendations, which need H.R. 208 for implementation.

Of particular importance to our work with textbooks are the following provisions of the bill:

1. To find and declare that present educational programs in the United States are inequitable as they relate to women of all cultural and ethnic groups and limit their full participation in American society.

That is simply true and needs to be said.

2. To encourage the development of new and improved curriculums.

At present even the latest curriculum and materials are discriminatory, no matter how hip the stories and how strong the colors on the glossy paper.

3. To demonstrate the use of such curriculums in model educational programs and to evaluate the effectiveness thereof.

There is very little research on the effects of sexist and nonsexist materials and courses on the attitudes and lives of students. Does the fact that only men are doctors in the books affect the aspirations of the girls? At this time, we do not know.

4. To provide training programs for parents, teachers, and other educational personnel.

According to a Nation's schools poll published last December, 84 percent of the school administrators questioned did not think that sex bias exists in curriculum materials, nor have they looked for it.

Although I suspect that figure might be different in a pool taken today, it does indicate that great need to inform educators as well as the public about sex discrimination. The effectiveness of new materials will be determined chiefly by the attitudes of the people using them.

In conclusion, discriminatory materials have no place in public education. A public school is an important agency of socialization. The knowledge of children gain there about role models and expectations is the main supplement to attitudes learned at home.

The portrayal of socially desirable goals and the demonstration of limits set by the social order which appear in textbooks influence children's ideas and expectations regarding how girls and boys, women and men, do and should participate in American life.

Because textbooks are a major tool of public school education, used by children daily throughout their school years, educators fail to serve students' growth and development when materials present a narrow and restricted portrayal of childhood and do not show a larger portion of the accepted and acceptable adult roles open to both women and men.

Textbooks which are approximately 80 percent male oriented discriminate against females, who comprise at least 50 percent of the public school population, and deny females an equal education.

Current books present roles which society intended for women to occupy before sex discrimination became illegal. Using materials that discriminate against women and girls is ethically insupportable and denies the principle of equal opportunity. We can no longer tolerate discrimination against any group.

The Women's Educational Equity Act is an important and desperately needed tool in our construction of a public education system which offers equal opportunity and expectations for all.

Thank you very much.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Ms. Dietrich.

Do I understand that there has been a commitment made to this committee by Houghton-Mifflin Publishing Co. that they will make certain changes in the textbooks?

Ms. DIETRICH. They say that they are working on revisions right now for their next edition.

Mr. HAWKINS. Are you involved with them in suggesting what revisions should be made?

Ms. DIETRICH. We have talked to two of the authors of the series about the kind of things that we are interested in. That is the extent of our commitment at this time, or our participation.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you know whether or not these revisions, or these revised textbooks, will apply only to Kalamazoo, Mich., or whether or not they will be broader in their application?

Ms. DIETRICH. The books that they are revising now will be offered for use in 1976, and they would be offered widely, yes. I should correct one thing I said. We participate also in their consideration of revisions by sending them the revisions that we have made in the teachers' manuals. They are getting copies of that, so they know the kinds of changes we are making in our own district.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do I also understand that you have been in touch with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with respect to these textbooks?

Ms. DIETRICH. They have written to us to say that they could not decide our case until the guidelines came out, but we don't know what the guidelines are yet.

Mr. HAWKINS. When do you expect the guidelines to be issued?

Ms. DIETRICH. We understood that it would be late summer; they should be out now, but we have not seen a copy. Everything else is just speculation as to whether textbooks would be included or not.

Mr. HAWKINS. You make the statement in quotes: "That threat may vanish with the passage of the guidelines to title 9 which exclude textbooks." Are you anticipating that textbooks will not be included under the guidelines?

Ms. DIETRICH. We hope that textbooks will be included, but we don't know that they will be. Textbooks are not specifically mentioned in title 9.

Mr. HAWKINS. I assume that this is the present status of the complaint, that you do expect some answer to the complaint after the guidelines are issued?

Ms. DIETRICH. Right, and if these guidelines exclude textbooks, then that would be an end to our case right there.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you expect to continue the action on some other laws, and not only title 9? It would seem to me that action may lie under some other statute.

Ms. DIETRICH. Yes; we are investigating other ways to do this. It seemed that the title 9 action was the best at the time, the one that could be the most effective.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Mink?

Mrs. MINK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It would seem to me that even if the guidelines do not provide for the inclusion of textbooks that it is not really the end of it. Lawyers, I suppose, could better advise you, but it would seem to me that there would be other ways in which you could proceed with your litigation regarding discriminatory materials presented in textbooks.

I would hope that you would not terminate your case simply upon the promulgation of regulations, which in my view could be contested, and certainly will be, I am sure, by women's organizations and other interested parties. There will be much activity in that score.

Ms. DIETRICH. May I respond to that?

What I meant to say was that if they are excluded, that will take care of this avenue, perhaps. Although we would want to discuss the guidelines, and make the case that textbooks should be included, this would not be the end of our work on textbooks, or on our efforts to have this kind of textbook eliminated from the curriculum. We would continue with that.

Mrs. MINK. In your first effort in textbook revision, you indicated that the three of you walked over to the gym with great anticipation that the work that you had done on this matter, would have resulted in the publishers coming forth with a new series, which you would find quite acceptable. You were quite disturbed when it turned out to be more of the same.

On that basis, on the basis of past experience, how can you now say that you feel rather confident that the new series in 1976 will be anything more than just what they did before? What has caused you to now evaluate the situation to be different than the expectations that you were led to believe the first time that you walked over to the gym? This is really the question that I am asking.

Ms. **Dietrich.** First, we don't know that they will be that different. We are told that they will be.

Mrs. **Mink.** Is that what you were told before? Is that why you had the expectation, or did you just assume that because of your work there would be greater sensitivity on the part of the publishers?

Ms. **Dietrich.** We did not think that our work would actually affect those textbooks, since the ones we were looking at last spring would have been in preparation for a much longer period of time, but we thought that——

Ms. **Ellin.** You could not put out a textbook like that in this day and age, and we were wrong.

Ms. **Dietrich.** We thought that what people were thinking in the last few years would have resulted in textbooks, and we were wrong. We don't have any assurance that in 1976 they will be better, or different. We don't have that confidence, but we have been told that.

Mrs. **Mink.** Distinguished from your earlier experience where you were not told that, but where you had an expectation that out of an awareness, out of a greater sensitivity on this issue, that the publishers would voluntarily come forth with a better textbook? Is that the distinction?

Ms. **Ellin.** Could I speak to that?

Textbook writers, and publishers have made a great effort with regard to ethnicity. Many black and oriental children are in the books, in the stories in which they play major roles. They have made an effort to make their books more urban than they used to be. They used to be all suburban.

They are trying to make their books reflect today's reality, and at the very least I expected that they would make the books reflect today's reality by having working mothers, because so many of our children do have working mothers. That they would have reflected today's reality by having single parent families, because there are so many single parents today.

These things did not happen, these simple reflections of what life is like. This was about as much as I expected, and that expectation was disappointed.

Mrs. **Mink.** Thank you very much.

I have one other question. In your task force activities, what was the reaction among teachers, because surely you must have dealt with teachers in your ongoing survey and your work? Was there a high degree of receptivity among the teachers, an awareness of what you were doing and why it was important? What kind of reaction did you report to the committee from the actual classroom level?

Ms. **Jacobs.** I think that teachers have been pretty much a reflection of the cross section of our society, pretty much the kind of reaction—however, I must say that we need inservice training desperately. Teachers say that we need inservice training.

The reaction of the teachers, I think, was at first that they did not believe it. But it is very difficult to go through a textbook in the way that our school system has asked the teachers to go through their teachers' guides, and with their little red pencil keep marking out half of the male dominated kind of things, and changing "Mother digging up trees," instead of "father." Occasionally letting mother drive a car.

I think that the process of doing that has really made teachers aware that at least what we are saying is true. Now what they are going to do with it, I think will take an inspired teacher and considerable direction, and a good deal of assistance in terms of training programs, materials, and the development of the kinds of things that your bill speaks to.

Mrs. MINK. Was the revision of the teachers' manual that you did of these textbooks which was endorsed by the school board, required to be followed by the teachers?

Ms. JACOBS. Yes. As a matter of fact, the superintendent of schools did issue a policy statement that finally said that the school district will not tolerate discrimination on the basis of sex. That is a big step.

Mrs. MINK. I am very much fascinated by your first statement, which said: "The reaction that we saw among teachers was no different than the cross section of the country." I cannot quite understand, or put all that together.

You say that the cross section of the country is not really aware of this problem, not sensitized to it, and had not gone through the textbooks to become aware of stereotyping. They say, "a child's textbook is a child's textbook," and accept it as such and have not really gone to the trouble of analyzing it. That I believe is a cross section of the country.

You are telling us that you found the teachers also were the same, yet after your survey you assumed that the publishers would be something different than the cross section of the country, that they had become somehow sensitized to a write a different kind of a textbook, and that this was the basis for your expectations when the new series was released, and you were disappointed. I cannot put all of that together.

If in your work you found that even the people who are supposed to have the greatest sensitivity to what they are dealing with every day, fail to demonstrate his, how can you expect the publishers to be any different?

Ms. JACOB. I suspect one thing—I just have one thing to add to that. I think that one thing that Allene did not mention in answering that question was the fact that publishers indicated that they had become sensitized to this issue, while apparently they had not.

Some of the data they used to indicate their sensitivity was certainly skewed. Data, what they were interpreting to be a female oriented, strong female character—this is just an example that I am using off the top of my head—might be Mike Mulligan and Steam Shovel, it just happens that the Steam Shovel is a female. That is judged to be a strong female oriented story. We would not, of course, agree with that, though it is a neat story altogether, but we just would not say that this is a strong female oriented story.

I think that there was this difference too.

Mrs. MINK. I have followed this line of question because I think it is very important. I am glad you brought out the fact that there were indications made to you by the publishers that they were aware of the issues, and that they were going to make these changes and adaptations in their textbooks, because that is certainly my impression too. Therefor I am terribly alarmed that the HEW office says this is to be entirely a voluntary matter.

Can we look to the publishers and the great awareness of what is going on in our country, socalled, and expect them to come up with textbooks that are going to meet this issue. I take great exception to that.

I feel pretty much as you do, that this is extremely critical work that you are doing. I am immensely proud of the initiative that your school board and all of you have taken in this area. I think that the whole country is indebted to you for the work that you are doing.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend you and to encourage you to carry on, because it is very, very vital to the completion of all the work that we are seeking to do on a national basis.

Mr. HAWKINS. Ms. Dietrich, one final question. Is there any State involvement in the textbook selection or is there any State law, which also may relate to discrimination based on sex in the textbooks?

Ms. DIETRICH. There is a proposed bill which deals with sex discrimination as a criterion in choosing textbooks, but that bill has not been passed.

Ms. JACOB. It is essentially to add sex in dealing with curriculum materials, which has already been looked at on the basis of ethnic groups.

Mr. HAWKINS. At the present in Michigan there is no specific law against discrimination—sex discrimination in textbooks?

Ms. DIETRICK. Right.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you very much. I wish to join with Mrs. Mink in the commendations to your efforts. We are deeply indebted to you and certainly appreciate the testimony before the committee this morning.

Ms. DIETRICH. Thank you for inviting us.

Mr. HAWKINS. The next witness is Ms. Anne Ladky, Scott, Foresman & Co., publishers, Glenview, Ill. Ms. Ladky, will you take a seat at the table in front of us? We do have a prepared statement from you, which will be entered into the record in its entirety at this point, and you may proceed to either read from it, or glean statements from it, handle it as you so desire.

[Ms. Anne Ladky's prepared statement follows:]

## STATEMENT OF MS. ANNE LADKY, SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, GLENVIEW, ILLINOIS

Scott, Foresman and Company, located in Glenview, Illinois, is one of the country's largest publishers of textbooks and other educational materials. We produce materials in nearly every subject area for elementary, high school, and college markets. Over the years, some of Scott, Foresman's best-known programs have been in the areas of reading, language arts, literature, health, and social studies. I have been with Scott, Foresman for two and a half years; currently I am an Assistant Editor in the High School Social Studies department.

Scott, Foresman and Company supports the goals of the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, intended to increase educational opportunities for girls and women. As a publisher of educational materials, it is our goal to ensure that our products help children develop their potential and discover the infinite opportunities available to them.

An important part of our efforts to reach this goal is the elimination of sex-stereotyping in all Scott, Foresman products. In searching for material to use in our books, authors and editors have found that the activities and achievements of women and girls are often ignored, that women and girls are often demeaned, and that women and girls are shown in stereotyped roles with a limited range of interests and talents. Today, existing stories which are free from these limitations and suitable for children are scarce. Thus, publishers must bring extra effort and sensitivity to the creation of books that present a positive view of women and girls.

For example, in producing the *Scott, Foresman Reading Systems*, a new, comprehensive program for kindergarten through grade 8, much time and effort was spent on creating selections that give an active, varied, and interesting picture of women and girls. Some of these selections, including "The Tale of Annie Christmas," "Nelly Bly," "The Firebug," "The Girl in the Lighthouse," and "The Beast in the Tunnel," show girls and women in exciting or adventurous situations; numerous other stories show them in everyday school situations, social situations, and a wide variety of ordinary activities.

In the recent revision of *United States History*, an American history survey for high school students, the elimination of sexism and the inclusion of women was a major consideration. Extensive changes were made in copy and illustrations. Attached is a list of some of the material about women added to just the first 100 pages of this new edition.

In the recent revision of another Scott, Foresman reading program *Open Highways*, new materials were created and numerous changes were made in old material in order to achieve overall balance. For example, in a story called "A Horse in Box Canyon," in the new edition the helicopter owner who saves the day is a middle-aged woman; in "A Mystery at the Old Shack," the three main characters are now girls, although the story itself was not changed; in a new story called "Someday, Sara," a girl dreams of being a pilot, an astronaut, and a house builder. Her mother shows her how to use a hammer and a saw so that she can build a house. (Pages from these stories are attached.) In math, spelling, dictionaries, science, and other areas, girls and women are also being included throughout the text and illustrations.

In the last several years, many editors had been working individually to convey a more positive image of women in educational materials. When Women at Scott, Foresman was formed in 1972, many of these editors pooled their ideas and methods. They analyzed current publications and developed a slide presentation to show others how the image of girls and women could be improved. Finally, the group, with the encouragement of management, developed a pamphlet called *Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks*, which was adopted as company policy. (A copy is attached.) The *Guidelines* have been distributed widely outside the company and are receiving national publicity.

The kinds of changes being made in Scott, Foresman products require alertness at every step in the process of creating or revising a book. Authors and editors must count the proportion of women in stories and illustrations in order to ensure balance; they must examine their assumptions about women; and they must use creativity and imagination in order to avoid narrow stereotypes. In return, they get a more lively and interesting product that gives all children dignity and respect and enables them to discover and develop their talents.

Scott, Foresman supports the goals of the Women's Educational Equity Act, whether or not it ultimately passes. We will continue in our commitment to convey a positive image of women in all our publications.

On behalf of Scott, Foresman and Company, I would like to thank Chairman Hawkins and the other members of the Subcommittee for giving me the opportunity to testify.

Respectfully submitted.

ANNE LADKY.

### UNITED STATES HISTORY: SEARCH FOR FREEDOM

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY, 1973

| *Page* | |
|---|---|
| 13 | reference to women crossing the Bering Strait in prehistoric times; lack of women among Spanish colonists and their presence in English colonies |
| 18 | reference to well-organized nations with strong kings or *queens* |
| 20 | mention of Queen Isabella's backing of Columbus |
| 21 | discussion of Indian women's political power and clan leadership |
| 26 | description of women's work on colonial farms; inclusion of women in the term "farmer" |
| 29 | detailed discussion of the status of women in colonies |
| 30 | description of the work of slave women |
| 32 | description of the differences between the education of boys and girls in the colonies |
| 46 | mention of women forming anti-tea leagues and the Daughters of Liberty |
| 54 | mention of women acting as soldiers and spies during the Revolutionary War and discussion of their role in supplying the army with food, clothing, and funds |
| 66 | mention of the fact that women were not included in the ideals of democracy promoted by the American and French revolutions |
| 68 | mention of women voting in New Jersey after the Revolution |
| 73 | Inclusion of females slaves in definition of "manumission." |
| 74 | reference to the differences between the education of boys and girls after the Revolution |
| 77 | reference to the lack of voting rights for women in the Northwest Territory |
| 82 | reference to the fact that only men attended the Constitutional Convention |
| 86 | reference to the fact that the amending process made possible voting rights for women; use of the term "voters" rather than "people" when referring to the establishment of the American government. (Traditional discussions of the Constitution talk about the powers of the people, implying that all the people could vote.) |
| 98 | use of the terms "craft workers" instead of "craftsmen" and "frontier settlers" instead of frontiersmen" |

477

## Guidelines for

# Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks

Scott, Foresman and Company

# GUIDELINES FOR IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF WOMEN IN TEXTBOOKS

**Scott, Foresman and Company**

Sexism refers to all those attitudes and actions which relegate women to a secondary and inferior status in society. Textbooks are sexist if they omit the actions and achievements of women, if they demean women by using patronizing language, or if they show women only in stereotyped roles with less than the full range of human interests, traits, and capabilities.

Textbooks should treat women as the equals of men. Although in the past women were regarded as inferior, they were not and are not inferior people. The sexist attitudes of the past should not be reflected in current publications.

## GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR TEXT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

### The actions and achievements of women should be recognized.

The contributions of women to politics, the sciences, the arts, and other fields often thought of as being provinces of the male only should be presented and explored.

The works of female authors are too often omitted from anthologies. When compiling or revising such texts, editors should actively search for material written by women.

Females should be included as often as males in math problems, spelling and vocabulary sentences, discussion questions, test items, and other exercises. Very often the overall tone of a book is sexist because males are more frequently mentioned in exercises or because the exercises present only stereotypes.

Although many factors determine the contents of textbooks—authors, permissions, space, time, money, the market, etc.—these limitations should not be used to excuse bias, prejudice, or insensitivity.

### Women and girls should be given the same respect as men and boys.

Writers, editors, designers, and illustrators should make sure that both male and female readers feel that a publication is directed to them.

While individual girls and women may be portrayed as comical, stupid, fearful, or followers of male initiative, such material should be scrutinized carefully in the context of the book as a whole to ensure that contempt for women as a group is not inadvertently being fostered. For example, writers should take care that a joke about a woman who is a bad driver, a shrewish mother-in-law, financially inept, etc. does not present these qualities as typical of women as a group. Girls and women should not be shown as more fearful of danger, mice, snakes, and insects than boys and men are in similar situations.

Women and girls should not be shown as unworthy people when they do not conform to male standards. Males should not be viewed as having a monopoly on ability to judge what is interesting or worthwhile.

Although women are a majority of the American population, in many ways their history has been that of a minority group. Because of past discrimination, the same care must be taken in portraying women as in portraying blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, American Indians, and other minorities.

**Abilities, traits, interests, and activities should not be assigned on the basis of male or female stereotypes.**

One reason often cited for the overwhelming percentage of selections by or about males in literature and language arts texts is that boys will read only stories about boys, whereas girls will read anything. If females were not depicted as passive, lackluster, sweet but senseless drudges, both boys and girls would find them more interesting. Few boys have rejected *Alice in Wonderland* or *The Wizard of Oz* because the main characters are girls.

Females as well as males possess courage, physical strength, mechanical skills, and the ability to think logically. Males as well as females can be fearful, weak, mechanically inept, and illogical. Females can be rude, intractable, active, or messy. Males can be polite, cooperative, inactive, or neat. Because such characteristics are shared by males and females in reality, textbooks that classify them as "masculine" or "feminine" are misrepresenting reality.

Both men and women should be shown cooking, cleaning, making household repairs, doing laundry, washing the car, and taking care of children. Both men and women should be shown making decisions; participating in sports; writing poetry; working in factories, stores, and offices; playing musical instruments; practicing medicine and law; serving on boards of directors; and making scientific discoveries.

Children often conform to the standards of their peers because they fear ridicule. If only boys are encouraged to be active and competitive, girls with these inclinations may learn to stifle them. If only girls are encouraged to express openly such emotions as fear, sorrow, and affection, boys may feel reluctant to express these emotions.

Both men and women have much to gain from the elimination of stereotypes. Textbooks which avoid male and female stereotyping will more accurately represent reality, encourage tolerance for individual differences, and allow more freedom for children to discover and express their needs, interests, and abilities.

# RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AVOIDING SEXIST LANGUAGE

## The omission of women

Terms and titles which use "man" to represent humanity have the effect of excluding women from participation in various human activities. It is usually easy to find some other way of expressing the idea.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES |
|---|---|
| early man, Neanderthal man; When man invented the wheel . . . ; *History of the Black Man in America; Man and His World* | early humans, early men and women; Neanderthals, Neanderthal men and women; When people invented the wheel . . . ; *History of Black People in America; World History* |

Occupational terms often ignore the existence of women workers. Use terms that reflect the actual composition of a group.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES |
|---|---|
| businessmen; congressmen; mailmen; repairmen; etc. when women are part of these groups | businessmen and women, business people; members of Congress, congressmen and women; mail carriers; someone to repair the . . . |

Males are often chosen to represent "typical" examples, thereby excluding women from the reader's thoughts. There are many ways to include women in such examples.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES |
|---|---|
| the common man, the man on the street; the man who pays a property tax; the typical American . . . he; the motorist . . . he | ordinary people; the person who pays a property tax, one who pays a property tax; typical Americans; motorists . . . they, the motorist . . . he or she |

Wherever possible avoid the use of "he-him" referents. Substitute "he or she," "her or him," or a synonym for the noun. It is often preferable to use a plural sentence, followed by the pronoun "they."

**The demeaning of women**

Avoid constructions implying that women, because they are women, are always dependent on male initiative.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE: | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES: |
|---|---|
| The ancient Egyptians allowed women considerable control over property. | Women in ancient Egypt had considerable control over property. |
| A slave could not claim his wife or children as his own because the laws did not recognize slave marriages. | Slave men and women tried to maintain family relationships, but the laws did not recognize slave marriages. |
| the farmer and his wife; a homeowner and his family | a farm couple; homeowners and their children |

Writers often judge women's achievements by standards different from those by which they judge men's. This is necessary in some professional sports where the same standards do not apply. However, in other areas one's sex does not affect one's competence. Therefore, writers should avoid constructions that place women in a special class. Words like "girl," "young woman," "woman," "lady," and "gal" often subtly denigrate women's achievements. They should be used only when their counterparts "boy," "young man," "man," "gentleman," and "guy" would be appropriate in referring to a male.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE: | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES: |
|---|---|
| Arthur Ashe is one of the best tennis players in America today, and Billie Jean King is one of the best women players. | Arthur Ashe and Billie Jean King are among the best tennis players in America today.<br>Arthur Ashe is one of the best male tennis players in America today, and Billie Jean King is one of the best female players. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Marie Curie did what few people—men or women—could do. | Marie Curie did what few people could do. |
| Mary Wells Lawrence is a highly successful woman advertising executive. | Mary Wells Lawrence is a highly successful advertising executive. |

In some cases, it is necessary to refer to a woman's sex, as in the sentence: "The works of female authors are too often omitted from anthologies." However, if possible, the reference should be made with the aid of feminine pronouns, as in the sentence: "The doctor walked into the room and put her bag on a chair next to the patient's bed." Such terms as "woman doctor" or "female executive" are only acceptable where it is impossible or too cumbersome to indicate the person's sex by the use of pronouns.

A patronizing tone toward women must be avoided. References to a woman's appearance and family should be avoided unless it would be appropriate to refer to a man's appearance and family in the same context.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE: | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES: |
|---|---|
| lady professor; girl pilot; the ladies [unless "gentlemen" is also used], the fair sex, the weaker sex; the little woman; men (and women) | the professor . . . she, woman professor; the pilot . . . she, female pilot; women; the woman; men and women |
| Galileo was the astronomer who discovered the moons of Jupiter. Marie Curie was the beautiful chemist who discovered radium. | Galileo was the astronomer who discovered the moons of Jupiter. Marie Curie was the chemist who discovered radium.<br>Galileo was the handsome astronomer who discovered the moons of Jupiter. Marie Curie was the beautiful chemist who discovered radium. |
| The candidates were Bryan K. Wilson, president of American Electronics, Inc. and Florence Greenwood, a pert, blonde grandmother of five. | The candidates were Bryan K. Wilson, president of American Electronics, Inc. and Florence Greenwood, credit manager for Bloominghill's department store.<br>The candidates were Bryan K. Wilson, a handsome, silver-haired father of three and Florence Greenwood, a pert, blonde grandmother of five. |

## Sex-role stereotyping

Editors and authors should be cautious when they assign certain activities or roles to people purely on the basis of sex. Many such assumptions misrepresent reality and ignore the actual contributions of both sexes to the activity or role.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES |
|---|---|
| In New England, the typical farm was so small that the owner and his sons could take care of it by themselves. | In New England, the typical farm was so small that the family members could take care of it by themselves. |
| Children had once learned about life by listening to aunts, uncles, grandparents, and the wise men of their town or neighborhood. | Children had once learned about life by listening to aunts, uncles, grandparents, and the wise people of their town or neighborhood. |
| Personal symbols are small, personal objects or possessions that have particular associations for their owner. To a woman, for example, a pressed flower might recall a dance she attended many years ago. A boy might keep a cracked baseball bat because it reminds him of the time he hit the winning home run. | Personal symbols are small, personal objects or possessions that have particular associations for their owner. To a parent, for example, an old toy truck might serve as a reminder of a boy who has grown up. A girl might keep a broken tennis racket because it reminds her of a hard-won championship. |
| Write a paragraph about what you expect to do when you are old enough to have Mr. or Mrs. before your name. | Write a paragraph about what you would like to do when you grow up. |
| **(Sample spelling exercises)** | |
| Al listened *patiently* to the ladies chatter. | Al listened *patiently* while the women talked. |
| The *ex-stenographer* got a job as a stewardess with an airline. | The *ex-stenographer* got a degree in accounting. |

Care must be taken to avoid sexist assumptions and stereotypes in teachers' manuals and other teacher aids.

| EXAMPLES OF SEXIST LANGUAGE | POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES |
|---|---|
| Hammers and scissors are good eye-hand coordinators. Hitting the nail instead of the thumb is a triumph for the boys. Cutting out paper dolls and their garments is good for the girls. | Hammers and scissors are good eye-hand coordinators. For a child, hitting the nail instead of the thumb or cutting out a recognizable shape is a triumph. |
| The boys like action stories, and both boys and girls like animation and comedy. Girls will read stories that boys like, but the boys will not enjoy "girlish" stories. | Most children like action, animation, and comedy in stories. Some children, however, will enjoy lighter or more sentimental types of reading materials. |

If, after careful consideration, an editor finds it desirable to use selections that contain sexist attitudes, these attitudes should be discussed in accompanying descriptive material or discussion questions. Otherwise the text will convey to the reader the impression that sexism is socially acceptable, rather than a form of prejudice or a lack of sensitivity.

## STATEMENT OF MS. ANNE LADKY, SCOTT, FORESMAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, GLENVIEW, ILL.

Ms. LADKY. Scott, Foresman and Co., located in Glenview, Ill., is one of the country's largest publishers of textbooks and other educational materials. We produce materials in nearly every subject area for elementary, high school, and college markets.

Some of our best known programs over the years have been in reading, language arts, literature, health, social studies, and dictionaries. I have been with Scott, Foreman for 2½ years, currently I am an assistant editor in the high school social studies department.

Scott, Foreman and Co. supports the goals of the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, which is intended to increase educational opportunities for girls and women. As a publisher of educational materials, it is our goal to insure that our products help children develop their potential and discover the infinite opportunities available to them.

An important part of our efforts to reach this goal is the elimination of sex-stereotyping in all Scott, Foresman products. In searching for material to use in our books, authors and editors have found that the activities and achievements of women and girls are often ignored, that women and girls are often demeaned, and that women and girls are shown in stereotyped roles with a limited range of interests and talents.

Today existing stories which are free from these limitations and suitable for children are scarce. So, publishers must bring extra effort and sensitivity to the creation of books that present a positive view of women and girls.

For example, in producing the Scott, Foresman reading systems, a new comprehensive program for kindergarten through grade 8, much time and effort was spent on creating selections, including "The Tale of Annie Christmas," which is a folk tale about a woman who is a riverboat captain, "Nelly Bly," the first woman reporter, "Firebug," which is a mystery story that a girl solved, "The Girl in the Lighthouse," about a girl who singlehandedly staffed the lighthouse through a month of terrible storms, and the "Beat in the Tunnel," which is another exciting story, show girls and women in exciting and adventurous situations. Numerous other stories show them in everyday school situations, social situations, and a wide variety of ordinary activities.

In the recent revision of "United States History," an American history survey for high school students, the elimination of sexism and the inclusion of women was a major consideration. Extensive changes were made in copy and illustrations. Attached is a list of some of the material about women added to the first 100 pages of this new edition which is a 700-page book.

If you will turn to what is page 3, that is where it begins. That list is just from the first 100 pages, and I think it indicates that there is much to do in terms of reevaluating materials and not just inserting names of famous women.

A recent revision of another Scott, Foresman reading program, open highways, new materials were created and numerous changes were made in old material in order to achieve overall balance.

These Xeroxed pages are from just one of the books in open highways, a primary book. The story is called "The Horse in Box Canyon," and you are shown the helicopter owner who saves the day is a middle-aged woman. The page 1 is the older issue, and underneath there is the the new edition. I am sorry that the copy is not too good, but you can see the woman.

"Mystery at the Old Shack," the three characters are now girls, although the story line itself is not changed. The old edition follows the page of the helicopter operator, and the next one is the first page of the new story. So our way of thinking is much better, and works out into an exciting story.

There is a new story called "Someday, Sara," a girl who dreams of being a pilot, an astronaut, and a housebuilder. Her mother shows her how to use a hammer and a saw, so that she can build the house. There are just a couple of pages from "Someday, Sara," where you see that she colors pictures in the "Someday Book," which I think are the aspirations and dreams of any healthy child, and she is about to build a house on the following page, and it is a birdhouse to give you the conclusion of the story.

In math, spelling, dictionaries, science, and other areas, girls and women are also being included throughout the text and illustrations. This is not only in content area, but also in every kind of example, math problems, dictionaries, spelling sentences, and so forth.

In the last several years, many editors have been working individually to convey a more positive image of women in educational materials. When Women at Scott, Foresman was formed in 1972, many of these editors pooled their ideas and methods.

They analyzed current publications and developed a slide presentation to show how the image of girls and women could be improved. Finally, the group, with the encouragement of management, developed a pamphlet called "Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks," which was adopted as a company policy. That is the yellow copy. The "Guidelines" have been distributed widely outside the company, and are receiving national publicity.

The kinds of changes being made in Scott, Foresman products require alertness at every step in the process of creating or revising books. Authors and editors must count the proportion of women in stories and illustrations in order to insure balance. They must examine their assumptions about women, and they must use creativity and imagination in order to avoid narrow stereotypes.

In return, they get a more lively and interesting product that gives all children dignity and respect and enables them to discover and develop their talents.

Scott, Foresman supports the goals of the Women's Educational Equity Act, whether or not it ultimately passes, we will continue in our commitment to convey a positive image of women in all our publications.

On behalf of Scott, Foresman and Co., I would like to thank Chairman Hawkins and the other members of the subcommittee for giving me the opportunity to testify.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Ms. Ladky.

May I ask you first, why do you think that there has been so little progress made? Is that due to bias, indifference? Due to the failure of research? Just what has been the main objection against making the changes which not only had a desirable effect on the society, but also were legally required?

Ms. LADKY. From my own experience at Scott, Foresman, I would say that basically we, the editors, are not now encountering any resistance whatever to making these kinds of changes. I am really happy to be able to report that, because it was something that had to be started.

As I said, it was started by many individual editors, most of them women, who were in their own products were making quite remarkable changes. However, that meant that some of the products were changing faster than others.

When we got together, the women at Scott, Foresman, we had management participation in the group, and that made things speed along quite a bit faster. Now these guidelines are company policy.

I think that perhaps some of the history as to why some of these changes were not made is a combination of a lot of factors, mostly individual sensitivity, lack of understanding that this was major. I don't think that at any time any knowledgeable discrimination—I think that it was a lack of understanding of what the problem was.

Mr. HAWKINS. You mentioned the Women at Scott, Foresman. Do I understand that you had company support and involvement?

Ms. LADKY. Yes, we do.

Mr. HAWKINS. There was no hostility toward the formation, you were actually encouraged by the company?

Ms. LADKY. Yes. Of course, in forming such a group, one really never knows. However, as we began to contact people around the company about forming such a group, we dealt with a wide range of concerns, the question of sexism in textbooks was one of the most heavily participated in committees of the group.

We did not encounter any resistance. We had two vice-presidents of the company in that particular——

Mr. HAWKINS. Let me ask you this. As a representative of a publishing company, was there any particular problem involved in changing textbooks which are already in use, which are not subject to immediate revision; does this offer any practical problem with respect to making these changes?

Ms. LADKY. I would say so. Some books, of course, have an exceedingly long shelflife in any school, and one of them, of course, is dictionaries. Scott, Foreman publishes the Thorndike-Barnhardt dictionaries, and they are very widely used.

Mr. HAWKINS. Is there sexism?

Ms. LADKY. Both in sentence examples and definitions. As you know, for an elementary school child, illustrative examples are one of the most important part of the dictionary. All kinds of stereotypes can be conveyed in those.

Interestingly, that department was one of the departments which was most active in eliminating sexism, and they have done quite a remarkable job. Those editions are now in the schools, but it will be some time before they are replaced.

That does present a problem, however, books are frequently revised. If they are good books, then the company does revise them. The changes that I made Xerox copies of are very widely used primary programs, and this revision was done—was planned with a certain budget. Sexism in textbooks was a major part in figuring that budget as to what amount of copy, what amount of art would have to be changed. The changes were very, very extensive.

Mr. HAWKINS. How often are textbooks changed? Is there any particular period when they can be reasonably expected to continue?

Ms. LADKY. I would not say so. Although at the present time, once a series comes out, revisions start almost immediately. Depending on the size of the program, it could be 3 years, 4 years, something of that nature.

Mr. HAWKINS. One might reasonably expect revision within a period of 3 to 5 years, to say the least. Would that be a reasonable assumption?

Ms. LADKY. I would say 3 to 5 on many products.

Mr. HAWKINS. How long on the dictionary?

Ms. LADKY. It is quite often on the outside, toward the 5 years on a book of that size. I guess the best way to describe a revision is to say that it is a compromise. It depends on what the book has done, what the cost involved is, and other crucial factors like eliminating all sorts of discriminations, and bringing books up to date.

Mr. HAWKINS. Are you only answering these questions with respect to Scott, Foresman & Co., or can you say that perhaps other publishing companies would be pretty largely in the same position as your particular company? Would it be more difficult for somebody else, or less difficult?

Ms. LADKY. I think that it would be both. I am sorry that I cannot give a more specific answer on this. Other companies do produce as wide a product line as we do, and others don't.

Mr. HAWKINS. Are you average?

Ms. LADKY. I would say so. The fact that revisions depend on certain factors, 3 to 5 years is probably standard to the industry.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Mink?

Mrs. MINK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In your statement you said that your company had put out a new reading system for kindergarten through the eighth grade. When was this issued?

Ms. LADKY. The reading systems began to be issued, the first levels of the program were issued in 1970–71, and they have been issued subsequently all the way up to the present time. Levels for grade eight are still in progress.

This is an example of the higher levels that just came out.

Mrs. MINK. The reading system is made up of individual self-contained stories, or is it one textbook?

Ms. LADKY. I have just described a major component to you. It is made up basically of a pupil's book for each level, a study book for each level, a teacher's manual for each level, duplicating masters for each level, and various kinds of manipulative equipment, and incredible range of supplementary materials, which I will not go into, and that is basically the makeup of the system.

Mrs. MINK. When you say that new creations were selected to give you a more interesting picture of women and girls. What percentage of your system was then revised to incorporate a greater sensitivity to stereotyping roles for women?

Ms. LADKY. This is a new series; it has not been revised. This has now just been put out, there are no revised editions available as yet. I don't have the exact percentages with me as to what proportions are stories about girls and women. It is considerable, I know. It is probably a little over 50 percent having girls as main characters, women as main characters, women included in illustrations besides men characters.

Some care has been taken, as far as illustrations are concerned. There is a selection here, which we would consider neutral, about the sport of judo. Therefore, illustrations, two of them are girls engaged in judo. I don't really have the measurements, but it is quite considerable.

Mrs. **Mink**. What percentages of the school systems subscribe to the series?

Ms. **Ladky**. I don't have the answer to those questions.

Mrs. **Mink**. Would you be able to provide these two answers to the committee?

Ms. **Ladky**. Yes.

Mrs. **Mink**. Your new revision on the U.S. history, is this list which you have provided of the first 100 pages the totality of the changes made in the first 100 pages?

Ms. **Ladky**. No, it is not. It is selected changes, it is not comprehensive.

Mrs. **Mink**. Do you have a list of all the changes made in the first 100 pages?

Ms. **Ladky**. I can certainly get one for the committee.

Mrs. **Mink**. Would you provide that for the committee? We would also appreciate having a copy of this new edition?

Ms. **Ladky**. I can give you this copy.

Mrs. **Mink**. And also a list of its use in the United States throughout the Nation.

Ms. **Ladky**. It just came out a week ago, I can give you a list of the people who have already purchased it, which would not be considerable, but the previous edition is in wide use, so I assume that this will also go into wide use.

Mrs. **Mink**. I note that you are an assistant editor in the company, how many editors are women in the company?

Ms. **Ladky**. Eighty percent.

Mrs. **Mink**. Eighty-percent of the Scott, Foresman?

Ms. **Ladky**. In the elementary and high school division.

Mrs. **Mink**. In the assistant editor category?

Ms. **Ladky**. I would say about the same.

Mrs. **Mink**. Are there any other efforts that are ongoing in the company with regard to textbook revision in this area of concern?

Ms. **Ladky**. Any time any revision is started, this is an area of concern. This is clear-cut policy that has been implemented in every department.

Mrs. **Mink**. Are you moving into the math books, and science books, and all these other areas in addition to social studies and history?

Ms. **Ladky**. I would be glad to provide you with new editions of brand new science books that have just come out, and great care was taken there to include women in the examples and lab photographs. This was also done in our revision of our math program.

I could provide the committee with a variety of materials, if you would like to see them. I would like the committee, in fact, to see them. If I can leave the materials that I have with me, I have marked some particularly good selections in this book.

This particular book, it is simply a matter of going through it. The index can show you the tremendous increase in not only the coverage of specifically women subjects, on the various women's rights movements, and famous women, but also on the inclusion of women throughout the book in all aspects of everyday life throughout the American history, then illustrations and photographs.

Mrs. **Mink**. With 80 percent of the editorial activity in the company being in the hands of women, how do you account for the fact that it took so long for this idea of textbooks being neutral in their presentation of educational material?

Ms. **Ladky**. I would say that it was partly the fact that many of us who were working on the books themselves took some time to come to a realization of the discrimination against women and girls in our own product.

I would say that this began for many people around 1970, and when we got together there was a considerable number of women already working on it, but able to make only changes in their own product at that time.

Now, since we have been working for over a year on the question of products coming on the market, but it takes from 4 years to a year to create a product to put out. For instance, to give you an example, the book that I am currently working on to put out, it is 160 pages, will take a year. This book took 2 years. The reading systems took over 4 years. It does take some time to see those things come through the market, which is unfortunate, of course. We would like the products to be able to come out tomorrow completely revised and changed.

Mrs. **Mink**. What has been the general reception of your reading systems among the professional teachers?

Ms. **Ladky**. I think that the reception has been quite good. It was a revolutionary product when it came out. It is not graded, there are no grade levels in this program. It is simply levels, and the levels go to 21 now.

Since it was revolutionary, there was no immediate reaction to it, but it is gaining in popularity every year. We have received very good commentaries about the improvement in the image of women and girls in the books, and what we think is very gratifying response to the "guidelines" by other publishers, for one thing, and by a lot of women throughout the country, who are becoming very aware of this problem, and are beginning to work with their local school systems on that. They have used our guidelines.

Mrs. **Mink**. Aside from this revolutionary series, as you have described it, is the company doing anything in the standard textbook area?

Ms. **Ladky**. Yes. This, for example, is a standard textbook.

Mrs. **Mink**. I mean in the kindergarten and elementary grades?

Ms. **Ladky**. "Open Highways" is a very standard textbook.

Mrs. **Mink**. What grade is that?

Ms. **Ladky**. It is for grades one through six.

Mrs. **Mink**. Would you provide me with the figures for its use in the country, and what has been the reception for "Open Highways"?

Ms. **Ladky**. It has been very good.

Mrs. **Mink**. Is it a basic reading series with pupils' books, study books, and manuals?

Ms. LADKY. Yes.

Mrs. MINK. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you very much, Ms. Ladky. Your contribution was most welcome to the committee. I think that your voice adds a great deal to the hearing, and we are deeply grateful for your contribution.

I hope that you will make arrangements for the staff to see materials you have furnished to the committee.

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY,
*October 4, 1973.*

Hon. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities,*
*House of Representatives,*
*Congress of the United States,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: Once again I would like to thank you and the other members of the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities for the chance to present Scott, Foresman's position on the subject of sex-role stereotyping in educational materials.

At the hearing on September 13, Mrs. Mink requested additional materials and information. I have shipped the following books to your staff: two Studybooks from the *Scott, Foresman Reading Systems*, *More Power* and *Rolling Along* from the *New Open Highways*, three booklets from *People and the City* (a series for low-achieving high schoolers), one volume of the *Promise of America* series. I also included a copy of the old edition of *United States History* so that you can make comparisons with the new edition that I gave to you at the hearing.

To answer Mrs. Mink's questions at the hearing: *Open Highways* and *Reading Systems* are currently being used by hundreds of thousands of children in the United States. Figures on the percentage of elementary school children who use these books are unavailable. Exact figures on the percentage of women and girls in the *Reading Systems* are also unavailable. In working on the books, editors keep lists of the stories they include and their main characters. In all new materials and revisions, they aim for at least a fifty per cent representation of women and girls.

I hope this information is sufficient. If the Subcommittee desires more materials or information, please direct your requests to Mr. Landon Risteen, Editorial Vice-President.

Sincerely,

ANNE LADKY.

Our next witness is Dr. Estelle Ramey, School of Medicine, Georgetown University.

Dr. Ramey, we welcome you. We have a written statement from you, which will be entered into the record in its entirety at this point. You may proceed to deal with it as you desire.

[Dr. Ramey's prepared statement follows:]

### STATEMENT OF DR. ESTELLE R. RAMEY, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: I wish to thank you and the other members of the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities for the chance to present some documentation relating to the overt and covert denigration of women as a sex, as found in textbooks and journals at the graduate level of education in medicine and the life sciences.

You have heard abundant testimony which demonstrates the pervasive downgrading of the female intellect and abilities which starts at the pre-school and grade school level in textbooks and supplementary "educational" material. This continues throughout the entire educational program up to and including the most advanced career training period. I teach in a distinguished medical and dental school. Most of our students are men and the vast majority of the professional staff is also male. Women have not applied to these professional schools in large numbers and only under the stimulus of the women's rights movement in the last three years has the number of applications from women increased significantly.

But it is still only about 13% of the applicant pool for medicine and far lower for dentistry. We lag behind virtually every industrialized country in the world in this regard. Why are American women less ambitious than their British or French or German or Swiss or Swedish counterparts? In part, the answer may lie in the way in which this country consistently denigrates all women in books and magazines and television.

As the President of the Association of Women in Science, I have been concerned with the state of science textbooks as regards their attitudes towards all human females. I am including with this letter some copies of the text and photographs as they have appeared in a recent medical anatomy textbook intended to "liven up a dull subject for male medical students." This book has since been withdrawn for extensive revision by the publishers as a result of a major effort by my organization. The pictures used to illustrate topographical anatomy were nothing less than Playboy type center-fold poses (only of women) which illustrated not professional anatomical features but merely the adolescent fantasies of the authors. In fact, they were useless for teaching purposes. This very expensive textbook included a text which was even more offensive. It included such phrases as the "curse of estrogens" which "urges a woman to ensuare a man," in the section on posterior muscles: "If you think that once you have been the backside of one female, you have seen them all, then you haven't sat in a sidewalk cafe in Italy where girl watching is a cultivated art. Your authors, whose zeal in this regard never flags, refer you to Figures III–50 and 53 as proof that female backs can keep an interest in anatomy alive."

This same book, The Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice by Becker, Wilson and Gehweiler, advises male medical neophytes: "The student will see the ordinary specimen every day. Only on rare occasions will the attractive well turned specimen appear before him for consultation." They regret, however, that they cannot pander to boyish student sex interests by releasing "the addresses of the young ladies who grace our pages. Our wives burned our little address books at our last berbecue get-together." The book is replete with similar witticisms. Gynecology texts are often worse than this. For example: Wilson in 1971 writes: The traits that compose the core of the female personality are feminine narcissism, masochism and passivity. This is, of course, straight out of Freud's writings. Edmund R. Novak et al in 1970 gives young male doctors the attitude to be used in dealing with women patients. "The frequency of intercourse depends entirely upon the male sex drive. . . . The bride should be advised to allow her husband's sex drive to set their pace and she should attempt to gear hers satisfactorily to his." "This is designed to make all young women feel either guilty or abnormal. But Dr. C. Russell Scott gives the young doctor the ultimate justification of anything that he may chose to do with his women patients. He writes (1968) "If like all human beings, he (the gynecologist) is made in the image of the Almighty, and if he is kind, then his kindness and concern for his patient may provide her with a glimpse of God's image." In the clothing trade this is known as hutxpah.

The biology texts used by high school or college students going into the life sciences may prepare them for accepting the outrageous books described above. In many school districts, the book "Biological Science: Molecules to Man" is used. These books are adequate in many areas but in the section of sex roles, they are vicious. For example, under the subtitle: Group structure based in sexual differences, one finds the following: "There are two different family roles and each is confined to a particular sex. The male has looser ties with the children and anatomically he is better fitted to enter into the competitive activities of providing food and shelter." Other sections of the book denigrate female intellectual abilities and laud her "mothering" instincts.

These are only a few examples of the programming that continues to reinforce the image of woman as child bearer and man as thinker and doer. After such training, how can we expect young women to emerge with self-images that make it possible to strive for true intellectual achievement. They have long since been convinced that they are inferior. A N.Y. Times report of Sept. 10, 1973 proves the success of our ability to destroy our young women's inner confidence. The

Educational Testing Service Bulletin (Princeton, N.J. 08540) has just released the most recent study on achievement and goals in our young population. They found that research under the sponsorship of the Am. Medical College, the Graduate Record Examinations and the Law School Admissions Council, demonstrates that women are "society's loss." 44.6 per cent of the men but only 29.4 per cent of the women planned to go to professional and graduate schools even though the women had better college records than men. As many men with only C-plus or lower grade averages planned to pursue doctorates as women with B-plus or A averages. When they did plan to go, one out of every three women chose the field of education. Their aspirations were shockingly low despite proven ability on every objective kind of academic scoring. Why in God's name do we send our women to college at a cost to the nation of almost 15 billion dollars a year and then discourage them from using their brains forevermore?

In sum, the professional women in science urge this Subcommittee to design legislation which exerts pressure on publishing companies to review all textbooks and professional journals advertising policies with an eye to avoiding sex discrimination.

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SCHOOL WITHOUT WALLS,
*Rochester, N.Y., April 19, 1973.*

Dr. WILLIAM V. MAYER,
*Director, Biological Sciences Curriculum Study,*
*Boulder, Colo.*

DEAR DR. MAYER: We, the undersigned students and teacher, have been using "Biological Science: Molecules to Man" (Blue Version) as a reference text and have found it, on the whole, a very valuable book. We are appalled, however, by the treatment of sex roles on page 620 of the 1963 edition and on pages 701 and 702 of the 1968 edition.

It is obvious that changes were made in the material between the two editions, since the latter edition contains a number of phrases which, in their hedging tone, appear to reflect an awareness that the approach is offensive. However, these changes fail to eliminate the basic wrong committed, i.e.: the essential confusion between actual biological differences between the sexes and culturally determined sex roles. Although we may speculate about the origins of these roles in our past, we are really in no position to make statements which, though attempting to appear qualified in the second edition, are nevertheless read as absolute truth by the uncritcial (a description which, unfortunately, applies to most students and teachers who rely on textbooks).

It is significant that the section in question employs the personal pronoun to address the reader directly. Implicit in this style of writing are the assumptions that the reader is a stereotyped WASP American and that WASP Americans are representative of humanity (!) There is no attempt in this section to examine sex roles in a variety of cultures, thereby reinforcing the unwritten conclusion that the statements in this section are true of all people. We understand that BSCS material has been translated into many languages and widely distributed, and we wonder what the reactions may be of students and teachers in nations with differing cultures to the unscientific assumptions in this section.

We are concerned, obviously, about the effect of this patently unscientific discussion on the young people who use the text. We believe that unquestioning acceptance of socially determined behavior within the context of a biological discussion serves only to reinforce stereotypes by appearing to endow them with biological justification and its false concomitant, immutability.

We cannot condone the injustice of the inclusion of this material on the ground that, at the time of its publication, the women's movement was not yet strong enough to produce general enlightenment. The fact is that it is unscientific; no good biologist, at any time, should confuse cultural overlay with its possible biological basis.

We feel that it is an extremely important responsibility of scientists to help the public make distinctions between biological facts and cultural, social, and political structures. Indeed, at this moment in history, it is an urgent responsibility.

We are looking forward to a new edition.

Sincerely yours,

LAURIE KASH
TIGGER TYLER
MARY WILLIAMS
SARAH L. HAMMOND.

Copies to: AIBS and Dr. Estelle Ramey, Georgetown University School of Medicine.

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GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,
*Washington, D.C., July 12, 1972.*

CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ANATOMY.

DEAR SIR: I am enclosing a copy of a letter to the Williams and Wilkins Co. which expresses the reaction of all women in medical schools (and many of their male colleagues) to the new text: The Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice by Becker, Wilson and Gehweiler. As a Chairman of a Department of Anatomy you are in a position to influence the selection of textbooks for medical and graduate students. I urge you to consider the affront this book offers to all women and men alike in its deliberate attempt to appeal to the most prurient attitudes in all human beings. This book is as much of an insult to men as it is to women because it assumes and so states that men require such vicarious sexual stimulation in order to learn the anatomical basis of medical practice.

My own Department Chairman has expressed to the Dean of this school that it is the obligation of the Council of Deans of the AAMC to condemn this book and the discredit it brings to an honorable profession. Since it is an anatomy text it would be most helpful if you, too, would indicate to Williams and Wilkins your own displeasure with this latest commercial venture. In addition to the sexual pandering rampant in the text there are many errors of science.

Positive action by the academic community may protect us from a rash of medical books of this kind which try to capitalize on the least attractive features of a society in turmoil.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

ESTELLE R. RAMEY, Ph.D.,
*Professor.*

[From *The Anatomical Basis of Medical Practice*]

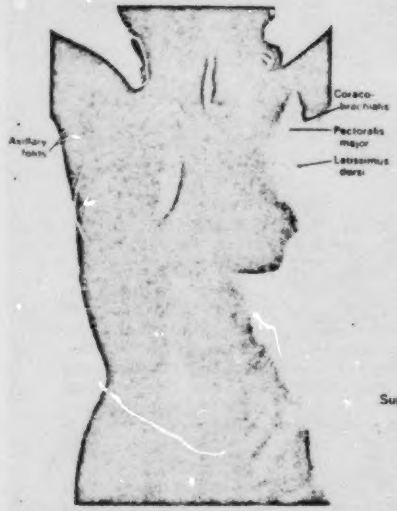

Coraco-
brachialis
Pectoralis
major
Latissimus
dorsi
Axillary
folds

**Fig. III-55.** Adult female, pectoral region. Note especially the axillary folds and Coracobrachialis.

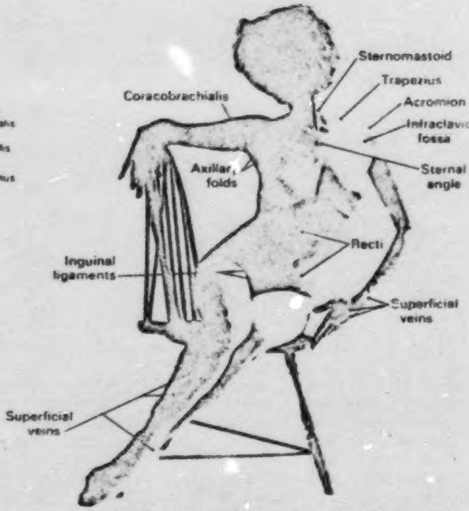

Sternomastoid
Trapezius
Acromion
Infraclavicular
fossa
Coracobrachialis
Sternal
angle
Axillary
folds
Recti
Inguinal
ligaments
Superficial
veins
Superficial
veins

**Fig. III-57.** Adult female, surface landmarks in the pectoral and abdominal regions.

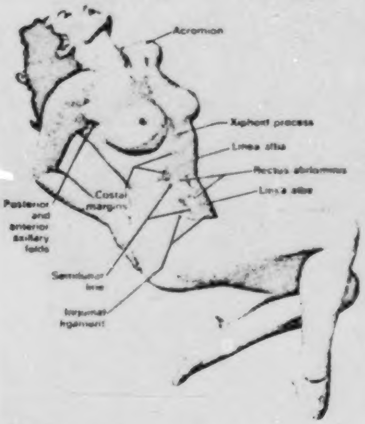

Acromion
Xiphoid process
Linea alba
Rectus abdominis
Linea alba
Costal
margins
Posterior
and
anterior
axillary
folds
Semilunar
line
Inguinal
ligament

**Fig. III-56.** Adult female, surface anatomy of the abdomen.

These lie upon the sternum, and they are representatives of a group that run in the midline from symphysis menti to symphysis pubis. In the neck from symphysis menti to hyoid bone these would be: **Geniohyoid** and the anterior belly of the **Digastric;** from hyoid bone to sternum there is the infrahyoid or "strap" muscle group: **Sternohyoid, Sternothyroid, Thyrohyoid** (a tongue-twisting group), and the **Omohyoid.** In the abdomen, the **Rectus Abdominis** runs from sternum to symphysis pubis. At first consideration, this last, long, straight muscle seems to violate the rule of a midline, segmental chain of short muscles. In actuality, the Rectus, itself, is broken into short stretches of muscle bellies separated by tendinous inscriptions (Fig. III-58).

We have not mentioned all the muscles, external or internal, that clothe the rib cage, either ventrally or dorsally. Nor have we mentioned all the muscles in the neck region. These you will meet up with in subsequent chapters on head, neck, thorax, and abdomen. But we have developed a basic plan for the thoracic wall which will carry over into the abdominal region.

## SURFACE ANATOMY RELATED TO THE ABDOMEN

**Boundaries:** If the Diaphragm is the floor of the thoracic cage, so is it the roof of the abdominal cavity. Where the abdominal cavity becomes continuous with the pelvic cavity, there is no floor. The floor lies in a

# PREFACE

e title page makes it apparent that the authors oth allopathically and osteopathically oriented. orphological outlook, they have no special axes to . Even in clinical outlook, they are thinking first e whole patient and his welfare as a healthy, living . Fortunately, anatomists, radiologists and path- sts make compatible bed-fellows in both fields. aps the day is dawning when all of our colleagues cooperate in the common cause of total health care, in his own way, and become less concerned with ite and often petty philosophical differences.

giving this text a clinical orientation, we have d strong emphasis upon Surface and Normal ographic Anatomy.

e emphasized surface anatomy because the clinical ination begins there, and because we wanted the ent to develop an "x-ray sense" of his own, by ng and feeling, so that he attains some three- nsional ideas of what is under the surface. Perhaps hould have included photographs of garden-variety, rican males and females who have let their phy- s go to pot. Instead, we used female models as el females. The student will see the ordinary imen every day. Only on rare occasions will the ctive, well-turned specimen appear before him for ultation. He should be prepared for this pleasant k. For the growing ranks of female medics, we in- ed the body beautiful of a robust, healthy male. are sorry that we cannot make available the resses of the young ladies who grace our pages. Our es burned our little address books at our last barbe- get-together.

he use of normal radiographs helps to provide an y clinical introduction. The sooner the student learns dentify normal anatomy on x-ray film, the easier it be for him later to understand the radiological nges seen in diseased states. We feel strongly that s and microscopic anatomy ought to provide a solid e for radiology and pathology as well as for clinical icine in general. It is not our intention to prosely- students to become anatomists, radiologists, or hologists, any more than we would push them to ome biochemists or physiologists. Rather, we want m to use anatomy as a useful stepping stone to all nedicine. Our main aim is to inculcate an apprecia- n for the so-called "normal" morphological constitu- n of human beings. Strangely, despite our atomically-oriented backgrounds, we are far less con- ned with cadavers than we are with living, breathing ividuals, the future patients of our students.

We must admit that we did have in mind providing anatomical correlation for the radiological resident as well. His knowledge of anatomy may have become a bit rusty, or he might still be wondering what some of the fuzzy lines on roentgenograms actually signify.

Medical curricula are in such a state of flux these days, that it has been difficult to plan a text in anatomy for the modern scene. If the first offering in anatomy is more of an introductory nature, the early chapters may provide adequate material. However, all chapters were written in an easy-going, literary style so that any student could read ahead on his own without difficulty fitting the other sections to the needs of his particular course structure. We have not felt that anatomy needs to be written in dead seriousness; neither have we felt that its presentation needs to be deadly. So we have avoided cadaverous overtones as much as possible.

Where students still encounter considerable dissection as a requirement sometime in their curriculum, they will find the main chapters of this book arranged by bodily regions rather than by systems. The thorax and the abdomen have been given particular attention since they are going to be the "bread and butter" areas of most future physicians whether they approach these areas directly or through visceral manifestations reflected in the soma. Still, head, neck, pelvis and perineum have not been given short shrift. If we have slighted anywhere, it may be in the section on the limbs. Even here, as throughout, our major concern has been to develop concepts of organization, leaving much detail for later specialty consideration. No doubt we have played upon our own preferences in regard to certain bodily regions, and more detail creeps into these sections than elsewhere. If this is not a satisfactory arrangement, we will await the flood of constructive criticism that usually attends first efforts in publishing works of this kind. We are prepared for invective as well, though we may pay less attention to it.

A thread of development is woven throughout. Indeed, the first chapter opens upon a developmental note, and the theme is picked up again and again where it seems most appropriate in later chapters.

We could not possibly have touched on all clinical bases and still have kept the book within reasonable compass. But we feel we did dangle the clinical carrot in plain enough view to tempt the student along a forward path. We ordered the chapters to follow the sequence of the clinical examination from the surface out to the limbs. We left the chapter on central nervous system and special senses to the last in adhering to this order. But we also wanted that chapter to build a bridge over to the neural sciences. Thus, its removal

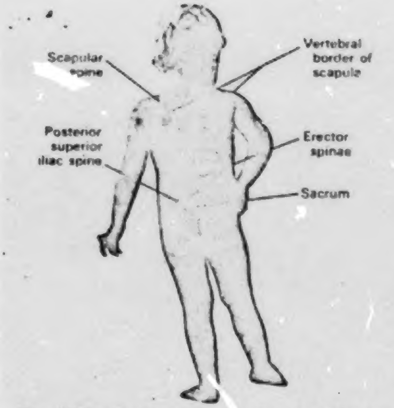

Scapular spine
Vertebral border of scapula
Posterior superior iliac spine
Erector spinae
Sacrum

**Fig. III-50.** The back of the child. Compare proportions of trunk to limbs here with Figures III-51 to 53 of the mature form.

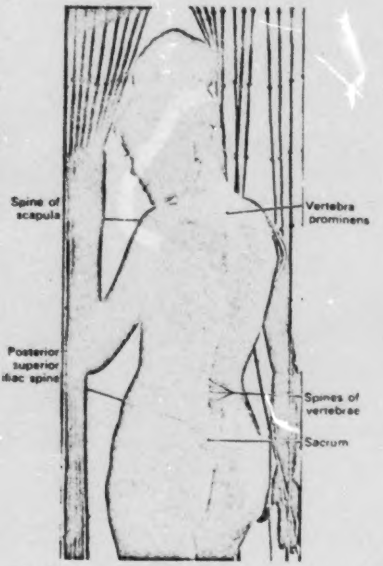

Spine of scapula
Vertebra prominens
Posterior superior iliac spine
Spines of vertebrae
Sacrum

**Fig. III-51.** Back of adult female. Note particularly the vertebra prominens, posterior superior iliac spine, and sacrum.

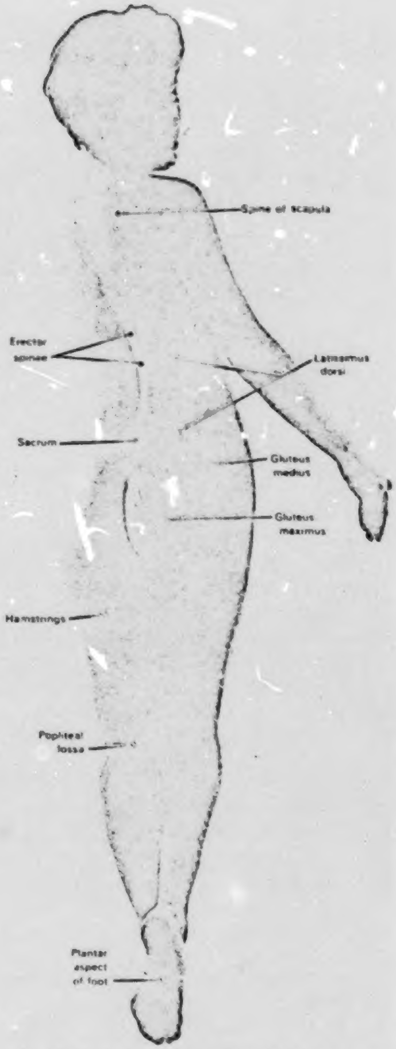

Spine of scapula
Erector spinae
Latissimus dorsi
Sacrum
Gluteus medius
Gluteus maximus
Hamstrings
Popliteal fossa
Plantar aspect of foot

**Fig. III-52.** Back of adult female, highlighting sacrum and Erector spinae.

[From *Biological Science: Molecules to Man*, p. 701]

28-2 GROUP STRUCTURE IS SOMETIMES BASED ON SEXUAL DIFFERENCES

How does a society divide its work among specialists? The labor of a group may be divided according to sex. In your family, for example, your mother is largely responsible for raising children, preparing food, and cleaning the home. Your father has different responsibilities. He provides food and shelter for the family, and in times of crisis he provides protection as well. Of course, both parents share some of the labors. Both may take part in the education of the children, the play activities of the family, and many of the chores necessary to the life of the family. But a basic difference remains. There are two different family roles, and each is associated with a particular sex.

## STATEMENT OF DR. ESTELLE R. RAMEY, DEPARTMENT OF PHYSIOLOGY AND BIOPHYSICS, SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. RAMEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am really representing a different kind of problem from the one that you have received such excellent testimony on this morning. I appreciate the opportunity to present this, because in some respects I believe that it is more difficult to deal with at a legislative level, and I have been encouraged by the testimony this morning to feel that perhaps—I may not be alive to see it—the efforts of your committee and the legislation under consideration, and the women who are here today, with their male colleagues, may perhaps have made enough of a change that the publishers of scientific textbooks at graduate level may have gotten the message also.

I would like to present to the committee this morning, in a rather informal format, the situation as it exists at the present time with respect, primarily, to medical textbooks.

I think that it is appropriate to point out that we lay behind virtually every industrialized country in the world with respect to the percentage of our women in medicine, dentistry, law, and other professional areas.

Engineering, for example, women are virtually nonexistent in that field. I ask, rhetorically, the question why are American women, apparently, less ambitious than their British, French, Swiss, German, or Swedish counterparts? In part the answer may lie in the way in which this country denigrates women in books, television, and magazines.

As the president of the Association of Women in Science, I have been concerned with the state of science textbooks as regards their attitudes toward all females, and I am including with this letter to you some copies of the text and photographs, which are not very good unfortunately, as they appeared in a recent medical anatomy textbook intended to "liven up a dull subject for male medical students."

This book has since been withdrawn for extensive revision by the publishers as a result of a major effort by my organization. I would like to insert here a few of the surrounding details of this matter.

Despite the fact that you have heard this morning that society appears to be changing its attitude, at least sufficiently to force book publishers at the lower level of education to change their textbooks, at the end of 1972 this anatomy textbook was published and issued for use by all freshman medical students in the country.

It is a basic anatomy textbook. The book was displayed with a great deal of fanfare at the biggest scientific meeting in the country, the Federation of Biology and Medicine in Atlantic City, and it met with a raucous reception, which is about the best way I can describe it.

This was followed by the adoption of the book by a very large number of anatomy departments in this country. My organization, which consists largely of women in the medical sciences in every medical school in the country, we have a membership of about 1,500, we contacted the publisher and indicated that we found the book unacceptable.

The book publishers responded with a comment, which indicated that they were astonished that we would like to put ourselves in the position of book burners, because they felt that everyone had a right to publish the kinds of materials that might sell.

We persisted in this, and the book was finally withdrawn for revision. Nevertheless, the bookstores in all medical schools throughout the country, even under protest from medical students and women on the staff, continued to sell those books as long as any copies of it remained, so we could do very little about that.

Now, here are some quotes from the book. The pictures that they used to illustrate topographical anatomy were nothing less than Playboy type centerfold poses—I am sorry that the Xerox machine did not quite pick this up—which illustrated not professional anatomical features, but merely the adolescent fantasies of the authors.

I am not a book burner, and anyone who wants to buy Playboy or Penthouse may do so. However, there was no choice in this matter. women medical students as well as men would have had to have used the book, and in some cases were forced to use the book.

The problem with those photographs, incidentally, is what the younger generation calls a "put on" because it is impossible to teach topographical anatomy by using pictures of very well fleshed out young women, because the whole purpose of teaching topographical anatomy is to describe muscle distribution.

No one selects young women for pictures of this kind who have very obvious muscle distribution, she has a very nice layer of adipose tissue which camouflages muscle distribution, and that is why she is a model for this kind of picture. It was useless from that point of view.

The authors maintained that, and they so indicated in the preface to the book, they felt that the young man in a class deserved a little lightening up of the subject. I may say, incidentally, that there was not a single photograph of an undraped male despite the fact that we have now about 13 percent of the class who are women. Apparently, they did not feel that they needed to liven up the classes of the women.

The textbook was far more offensive than the photographs. I have quotes here, such phrases as: "the curse of estrogens which urges a woman to ensnare a man."

Mr. HAWKINS. Dr. Ramey, we have a problem with a full committee meeting at the same time, and we would like to declare a 5-minute recess, if I may interrupt your testimony, so that Mrs. Mink and I may go down and make the quorum, and return as soon as possible. It should not be longer than 5 minutes.

The committee is in recess for 5 minutes.

[The committee recessed for 5 minutes at this point.]

Mr. HAWKINS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Dr. Ramey may proceed with her testimony.

Dr. RAMEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to continue from a few of the major offenders in this regard, which are gynecology textbooks, which present problems for many, many women in this country, because of the programing that occurs with the doctors who will treat only women.

For example, if you would read a sentence of this kind in a professional textbook, and I will quote now:

> If you think that once you have seen the backside of one female, you have seen them all, then you haven't sat in a sidewalk cafe in Italy where girl watching is a cultivated art. Your authors, whose zeal in this regard never flags, refer you to figures III–50 and 53 as proof that female backs can keep an interest in anatomy alive.

This kind of so-called humor permeates a surprising number of medical books, perhaps not as blatant as this. Even more than that, many medical textbooks curiously use the word "specimen" in referring to women patients.

One quote here is:

> The student will see the ordinary specimen every day. Only on rare occasions will the attractive well turned specimen appear before him for consultation.

They have grown to regret that they cannot provide the addresses of the younger ladies who grace our pages. Our wives burned our little address books at our last barbecue get-together."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is at the highest reaches of American education.

Now, there are some quote from gynecology textbooks which are more subtle, but just as damaging. Wilson's textbook published in 1971 writes:

> The traits that compose the core of the female personality are feminine narcissism, masochism and passivity.

Presumably, of course, this is from Freud; he has taken it out of the whole cloth here.

Now, this is the way that the doctor is advised, essentially, to see his women patients, and this is a doctor who will see only women patients.

Now, Novak and others in a text published in 1970 gives advice to young doctors on the advice that they should give in dealing with women's sexual problems, and I quote:

> The frequency of intercourse depends entirely upon the male sex drive. . . . The bride should be advised to allow her husband's sex drive to set their pace, and she should attempt to gear hers satisfactorily to his.

This is, obviously, I think, designed to—perhaps not consciously, but certainly unconsciously this kind of attitude toward young women seeking advice from the doctor will make those young women feel either guilty or abnormal, if they don't happen to follow that kind of advice, or feel that they cannot.

Dr. Scott's text now gives the young doctor the ultimate justification of anything that he may choose to do with his women patients. He writes:

> If like all human beings, he (the gynecologist) is made in the image of the Almighty, and if he is kind, then his kindness and concern for his patient may provide her with a glimpse of God's image.

I would suggest that many physicians take this quite seriously, and quite literally.

We then go on to the biology texts used by high school or college students, now remember that these are the students who will be applying to the medical schools. In many school districts, for example, and I have included in my testimony here a letter from a group of women biology teachers in the Rochester, N.Y., school system, protesting a book called "Biological Science: Molecules to Man."

Some of the book is good, as far as the science is concerned, but in every section devoted to sex roles, the effect of hormones on behavior, they are almost vicious, in my estimation, in the way that women are denigrated.

For example, this is one of the milder ones. They have a section on group structure based on sexual differences. The authors then start out by saying:

> There are two different family roles and each is confined to a particular sex. The male has looser ties with the children, and anatomically he is better fitted to enter into the competitive activities of providing food and shelter.

Other sections of the book denigrate female intellectual abilities and laud her "mothering" instincts. I don't believe that "mothering" and intellectual ability are mutually exclusive.

Books of this kind are used by students who are trying to get into medical school, and they work very hard to memorize the books and do well. Some of this message gets across.

Now, I would like to complete my testimony by referring you to a report, which was in part described in the New York Times last week, and it proves the success of our ability to destroy our young women's inner confidence. It is a very prestigious group that did this work on 21,000 college students in the junior and senior level.

The group was the American Medical Colleges, the Graduate Record Examinations, and the Law School Admissions Council, and their conclusion is, and I quote from their report: "Women are society's loss." And 44.6 percent of the men, and these are men and women about to graduate from college, and only 29.4 percent of the women planned to go to professional and graduate schools even though the women had better college records than men.

As many men with only C-plus or lower grade averages planned to pursue doctorates as women with B-plus or A averages. The great tragedy to me here is that one-third of the women with B-plus or A averages in any area, who are going to pursue doctorates, have decided to pursue them in the field of education to get degrees for an area in which there are no jobs, and no one is stopping them, apparently, from going into this area.

They are encouraged to go into these areas. I may say, incidentally, that the report also indicates that family and peer group pressure on women tends to push them in the direction of so-called appropriate jobs for women, which means underpaid, and low status.

We are now spending, it has been estimated, $15 billion a year of this Nation's wealth to keep 2 million women in college, but we have yet to be shown why we are doing this, and what this country wants to do with them once this great investment has been made.

Frankly, I don't know. I think that the passage of this bill, H.R. 208, is very important for many reasons, but I don't know exactly how it will help some of the problems I have brought up with respect to the literature at graduate levels that is being used to train, certainly, doctors in this country.

I suspect that the Council on Education Programs which is provided for in the act may concern itself with problems of this kind. I regret that I cannot make any more profound suggestions, except that if publishing houses are put on notice that books of the kind I have described are no longer acceptable, and if institutions are put on notice that any institutions receiving substantial Government money—and that includes every single medical school in this country—are also put on notice that the use of such textbooks in some way is disapproved, then perhaps that kind of pressure may be effective.

I am optimistic only in one respect. The women who have testified here this morning, are preparing the way for us, so that the young women coming up through the elementary, high school, and then hopefully to college level, will have, by virtue of the change in the textbooks they have been using in those grades, developed a self-image, self-confidence in themselves as human beings and their ability to achieve.

It will be impossible, then, for the schools to foist this kind of material and not have women protest. Just to end this, I will tell you that very few women medical students protested this book. They were afraid to, because this would characterize them as one not able to take a joke, and they want to fade into the background and be one of the boys in the medical schools, because they had problems enough. This is because they did not have enough self-confidence.

Perhaps we can develop stronger women in this regard, and then they will take care of the problem. They will make it intolerable for the schools.

I thank you for allowing me to harangue you this way.

Mr. HAWKINS. We certainly are thankful for your testimony. One question I would like to ask you, do you have any figures with respect to the discrimination of women?

Dr. RAMEY. There is a very important situation here, and the question you have just asked is really the crux of the matter, and it is far more difficult in passing legislation. Women do not apply. We do not have to discriminate in medical school admission committees, contrary to popular beliefs in the women's movement.

Women had not until last year even begun to apply for doctorate programs in the life sciences, or the physical sciences, or in medical school. When they did apply, the figures showed that the applicant's school is reflected in the percentages admitted.

Now they did suffer in admission in other ways. They did not get the good fellowship, they were discriminated against in that respect. But the fact that women did not apply is our main problem.

Why don't the American women apply? Why don't they try to achieve? That is a very difficult problem to deal with. I think again I must refer to the early years that the psychiatrists tell us are so potent in determining self-image and aspirations.

Now discrimination does exist in this respect. Unemployment for women Ph. D.'s in the life sciences is by the latest figures from the scientific manpower commission here in Washington—Dr. Vetter has just announced these figures—it is now five times the rate of their peer male groups. That is in competition for jobs in the job market for hard money jobs.

So discrimination certainly does exist and this, of course, will discourage many, but they don't apply in the numbers that they should.

Mr. HAWKINS. Let me rephrase the question. Do you have any figures on their representation in the various professions?

Dr. RAMEY. Yes, they represent less than 1 percent of the engineers. They represent about .5 of 1 percent of the physicists in the country at the senior level. They represent 7 percent of our doctors. They represent 3 percent of our lawyers. There is no other industrialized country in the world that does not do better than on women.

Just to give you an example. In medicine as long as 5 years ago, Switzerland, which had not yet given women the right to vote, had 15 percent of its women who were doctors, when we were 6 percent in 1900 in this country. In 1970, 6.7 percent were women.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you know what the percentages are in countries that have been identified with women, let us say India and some of the others?

Dr. RAMEY. The figures for Israel were running 21 percent. India has been running very high, about 33 percent. The reason for that, I think, stems from the—after the independence of India was achieved, I think that there was a very marked push by Gandhi and others to release Indian women from bondage in every respect, because they had a long way to go. So, we saw quite a surge there.

I have often been told the figures on the Communist countries, Russia, etc. Those don't impress me, and I don't use them as an argument, because even though 75 percent of all the doctors in Russia are women, only about 3 percent of the professors of medicine—the status doctors in Russia—are women. The rest are almost physician assistant types. So they have not done any better in that respect.

Mr. HAWKINS. One personal observation. I think that you have indicated what most witnesses do, that is bring about change through pressure from women. Isn't there some possibility that some of the pressure would come from men as well?

Is there some reason why men would not be also interested in bringing about the change? Why should they not be expected to do something to bring about this change?

Dr. RAMEY. I am sorry that I seemed to give that impression, because—again I regret to say this, some of the strongest support that I have had on this anatomy textbook came from the men.

My own medical school, and other medical schools, had physicians who regarded this textbook as an affront to what they consider to be appropriate behavior on the part of all physicians, male or female.

Certainly, part of the male physician's Hippocratic oath specifically speaks to this point, when it says, essentially, that a doctor must not in any way compromise a situation of a woman patient. In the Hippocratic oath, it is so stated as to make this perfectly clear, and so doctors are very concerned about this implication that they look upon their women patients as potentially sexually desirable partners.

So you are right. Men have been very helpful in this. The reason that we all keep referring to the need for women to unite and to work for these things is that it makes it far more forceful.

It seems to me that when you go to ask for men's help, when the people themselves who are suffering from this indicate a need—you see, if women say: "I am happy in this situation, in this status quo," then it weakens the case considerably.

I may say, incidentally, that men have a great deal to gain from changing some of the stereotyping that goes into textbooks about men, that they are always to be strong, dominant, never cry. No human being can live up to that, but many men think that they have to.

Look at the death rate from cardiovascular diseases and you will see some of the effects of this on men. It is three times the rate for women. I think that men have a great deal to gain from changing what is known as male stereotypes.

We have many men friends, and I hope that I may count you as one of them.

Mr. HAWKINS. I think that you have convinced me pretty well. Thank you, Dr. Ramey.

Mrs. Mink?

Mrs. MINK. I want to commend you, Dr. Ramey, for your testimony and for your presenting this new perspective to the committee. If I were a male physician, or a male professor in a medical school, I would be thoroughly offended and insulted by the textbooks that you have described, as really insulting the mentality of the reader. I am appalled that the women students have not been more aggressive in seeking changes in these textbooks.

I might suggest that the people who suffer most are those individuals outside the profession, like myself, who will have to go to these physicians who have been taught to consider these matters in such a vein.

I hope that your testimony will be well read and considered by women's organizations, generally, and adopted as one of the main focuses of their attention. This requires, I think, the concern of women everywhere, not just of those in the professional schools and in the profession of medicine.

I think that those who have the benefit of this hearing will certainly be most grateful to you for giving us this perspective this morning. Thank you.

Dr. RAMEY. I would like, in the defense of the medical profession, to say that most male doctors try as hard as they can within their own programing to treat all patients humanely. Some of them don't, but they suffer from the programing also.

I might say that gynecologists are astonished when they read that women resent the fact that they are being treated like children, because they are only trying to be kind with them.

Mr. HAWKINS. The next witness is Ms. Phyllis Alroy, representing the Women on Words and Images, Princeton, N.J.

I understand that your presentation is in the nature of a slide presentation?

Ms. ALROY. That is correct.

Mr. HAWKINS. But you do not have a prepared statement. You may proceed.

## STATEMENT OF PHYLLIS ALROY, WOMEN ON WORDS AND IMAGES, PRINCETON, N.J.

Ms. ALROY. The slides you will see are the result of the research done from the book "Dick and Jane." The slides were selected from 150 readers studied, representing the 15 major publishers.

In all there are 1,447 stories featuring males as opposed to 495 stories featuring females, or 25 percent of the stories for over 50 percent of the population.

The slides reflect the patterns of passivity and domesticity which defines the feminine world, and these readers in the same way reflect male patterns of competition and accomplishment through which the readers expose boys to excessive and frequently unrealistic pressures.

Initially the purpose of the study was to find a series which treated all children fairly, but not one was found that could be recommended. This is how the illustrations in these readers show the world to children.

Ruth Hartley reports that when a task group of boys 8 to 11 asked what they needed to know and be able to do, the answers were remarkably consistent. Boys have to be able to run fast, play many games, and play rough games. They need to be smart to know how to take care of themselves, to know what girls don't know, how to climb, how to make a fire, and how to carry things.

They should have more ability than girls. Men are "boss." They have the most money. They get angry a lot, but are more fun than mothers, and have better ideas.

"What I can do." The boy tells what he can do. Notice the variety of options. The total involvement in their activities, their intense concentration. The smiles are wide and white. Keep these illustrations in mind, as you watch the illustrations showing girls.

"What can I do?" the girl asks. The boy told us what he could do. There are few options given to girls by the readers. Body activity is limited. Skipping rope is about the most active thing girls do. They are geographically limited as well, we see them most often at home, nearby or at school.

Contrast the girls' faces with the boys. Their distance from what they are doing. The form of waiting is appropriately illustrated, because that is what a surprising number of these girls in the books are doing.

This slide action is shared by 6-year-old twins. Jill is taught that it is more acceptable to help Jack than it is to win for herself. Goldberg's study finds that children—he finds that during those years, all children increasingly identify with males.

This group of slides, which we call "Passive girl watches active boys," school readers are sublety telling the boy that is the doer and telling the girl that she is his passive audience. In other words, school readers agree with Goldberg's study that males are the important people.

It was not until after the slides were shot that the girls' hands were noticed. Stereotyping can be very subtle, and in this case the illustrations have been, perhaps, unsconciously accurate. Girls appear to be physically holding themselves back as they cross their hands and hold their arms.

The inbalance continues among older boys and girls. The girls in the slides seem to have even stopped watching. The girl in pigtails could best be described as catatonic.

Even in parallel situations, like the story with the box, boys appear much more clever. The box is a boat, a train, and then a plane for the boys.

Then the girls find it, and it is not a boat, or a train or a plane, but it is a house. They play house all day.

The substantial part of children's play is spent in rehearsing adult roles. Boys often want to imitate their fathers, and other adult males, since this means added status and brings them closer to manhood.

In this process, they often require skills used for outside the home, and beyond childhood. Girls also imitate their mothers, but too often they find that helping mother means routine, dirty work. Waiting on father and brother.

The kitchen already belongs to 7-year-old Ann, and she is learning to clean up after Walter and Sam. The girl quickly learns that the "u" in scrub means her.

The parallel story about two boys and two girls who work. Now, the boys do a variety of jobs, and at the end get money and thanks. The two girls go off to their babysitting jobs, and the story focuses on the two active little boys they are watching. At the end they wave goodbye, and we don't see them get paid.

This situation continues into adult life, when the woman services in the home and community. She sometimes receives praise, but seldom money. From the earliest preprimers, boys usually display character traits, which society considers healthy and positive.

Sometimes, however, the heroism and the daring described is so exaggerated that no real child could imitate them. The Readers' boys are brave. Boys rescue adults, animals, and other children.

Boys are inventive. Boys are good sports. Boys win recognition. Boys are tender despite society defining tenderness as a feminine trait. In the Readers, the women are rarely shown as tender.

Females large and small are denigrated for their stupidity, lack of perseverence, and simply because they are female. In the Harper Roe reading program, we have "Just look at her, she is just like a girl."

From the same publisher: "Get lost." Says Ann: "I am just a girl, but I know enough not to say that." From Scott, Foresman, "We don't want to play with girls, they would be too easy to beat."

"We are willing to share our great thoughts with mankind, but you happen to be a girl." This is from Houghton-Mifflin. "I do not want girls to help me."

They offer an explanation of why Judy got a nosebleed, "Perhaps because you are a girl, your skin is thinner than ours."

From Backstreet Readers, "Jerry always ran away." He said: "I don't like girls." In American Book, we found: "I guess I don't really care what my sisters call me, after all they are just girls."

In the readers, girls generally display character traits, which our society defines as negative, and even neurotic. The readers' girls are fearful. They always give up.

In this story of Janet in the 1960 issue, 12 years later in 1972 the illustration has been changed, she wears pants instead of a pleated skirt, ethnic instead of white, but the story remains exactly the same. Girls still give up.

Girls need to be protected. Girls are tattertales. Calamities happen to girls.

Even though they are both carrying fishing rods, Sam went fishing and Ann went with him.

Girls are narcissistic. Janet looks in the mirror in this edition of the 1960 reader, and now it is 1972 and Janet may have changed, but a decade of feminism has not affected her concern with her appearance, she is still looking in the mirror.

For a girl, happiness is as simple as wearing velvet.

We found a picture of a boy looking in the mirror, and he had enough confidence to make a face at himself. This is what the girl is concerned with, how she will look and what she will wear. Boys are concerned with that they will be, and this one will not be 5 until next spring, and he has many, many options.

The antagonism expressed by boys for girls, and the reaction of girls as seen in this slide, is the unavoidable result of sex stereotyping. You cannot question the effect that this must have on marriage or any other future relationships.

Studies show that girls submit to authority significantly more than do boys. Girls take suggestions and are more dependent on the opinion of others. Girls are more substantially influenced by their home environment and what is expected of them.

Girls are more apt to accept school, and the value of their teachers, than are boys. When a teacher gets a reader, and is receptive to what she reads and sees there, it represents a socially approved statement of what is proper, and she respects the authority from which it comes.

The message boys get from readers is that they must be everything that girls are not .They must relentlessly strive to be superior, something of a superhuman.

Next we will see the readers' view of adults. A psychologist, Bruce Hartley, asked a group of 8-year-old boys about women and housework, and received the following answers:

"Women are always at those crazy household duties, and don't have time for anything else."

"Their work is regular drudgery. Women do things like cooking, sewing, and washing because that is all they can do."

If we tried to do men's jobs, everything would fall apart. Women do not have the strength in their body to do those jobs.

This poem does come from a 1972 reader which was published last spring:

Heritage from childhood days
When she played house beneath the trees,
Her hearth is tendered carefully,
She passes up affairs of state,
For hallmarks on a silver plate.

Dad by contrast is an exciting person. He sometimes brings gifts. He is happy to see his children, and he gives them love and attention.

On the other hand, mother, in the reader, is too preoccupied with maintaining cleanliness and order to be concerned with the positive side of parenthood.

The father plays with his children, and mother services everyone's needs.

The father goes down the slide with the children, while mother waits with the towel next to the slide.

Father takes children on outings. Mother gets them ready to go, but often stays behind. This time the whole family goes to an amusement park. Mother virtually disappears from the scene, while father gives the children a good time.

At homecoming time, mother reappears carrying a balloon like one of the other children.

Father is involved with his children. He teaches them skills and shares interests with them. Father relaxes at home, but when mother relaxes, she does not forget her "responsibilities."

Often she is seen leaning on father as though for support. In this illustration, mother appears to be an invalid, she needs the help of father and grandfather to get her up a 3-inch step.

In this story, the mother needs her 6-year-old son to catch a pigeon, and she cannot do it, but it is important because father will not like it.

Mother in this story cannot get Mike out of a tree. It takes daddy to think of getting a ladder; she could never have thought of getting it by herself. This is ironic in view of the fact that most fathers are simply not around during the day when most problems arise.

In a few stories, there are bad jokes. Mother walks out of the house with her gloves on top of her hat. For example, the story focuses on mother's search for the gloves, and the children find them for her.

There is mother who forgot to put on her other earring; mother who is afraid of the mouse in the cage.

Now, in present suburban communities, mothers spend hours chauffeuring and shopping, yet we find only four pictures of a mother driving. In this reader, where the family was shown as having two cars, mother tried to take the bus and just missed it.

Mother rides in the back seat of the family car in the 1966 edition, and in 1972 the seatbelted dad and son are still up front. Mother rides in the backseat of the boat and the plane. It is as though Montgomery, Ala., never existed.

Six million children have mothers who are employed outside the home, yet we found only one story which showed a mother leaving home to go to her job. She works in the school cafeteria.

There is another story where a mother works, it is about Martin, a sullen bully, who habitually picks on his younger next-door neighbor. This story makes it clear that if his mother were home, Martin would not be a bully.

Boys have a wide variety of career choices. Men are shown in 147 different careers, and females in only 25. Biographies are a source of inspiration for children, male biographies appear six times more frequently than female biographies, but they range from explorers to rulers and hunters to sportsmen, and cover the scope of men's accomplishments. Francis Scott Key, Goddard, Martin Luther King, the Wright Brothers as children.

In female biographies, the woman is often upstaged by males. As a matter of fact, it would appear that the subject of the biography is a male in this illustration of Madame Curie.

As you have seen, there is an enormous range of activities and involvements that are available to boys. A disproportionately small range of activities is available to girls. Boys are involved in learning competence, and striving for excellence.

Girls are prominently passive, helpmates, or incompetents, these are the basic statement of the study. In the form of the girl, "What can I do?" This means, what is allowed, proper, or expected of me. In other words, "What may I do?"

Compare this with the boy's statement, "I can do this." The boy can do very little, but the emphasis is on that which he can accomplish, for a boy should try hard to succeed. Accomplishment is not the issue for girls in these readers.

The truth is that human accomplishment is human accomplishment; whether one is a boy or a girl is irrelevant. The proper attitude of readers would be to encourage all children to grow to the limit of their own individual potential regardless of their sex.

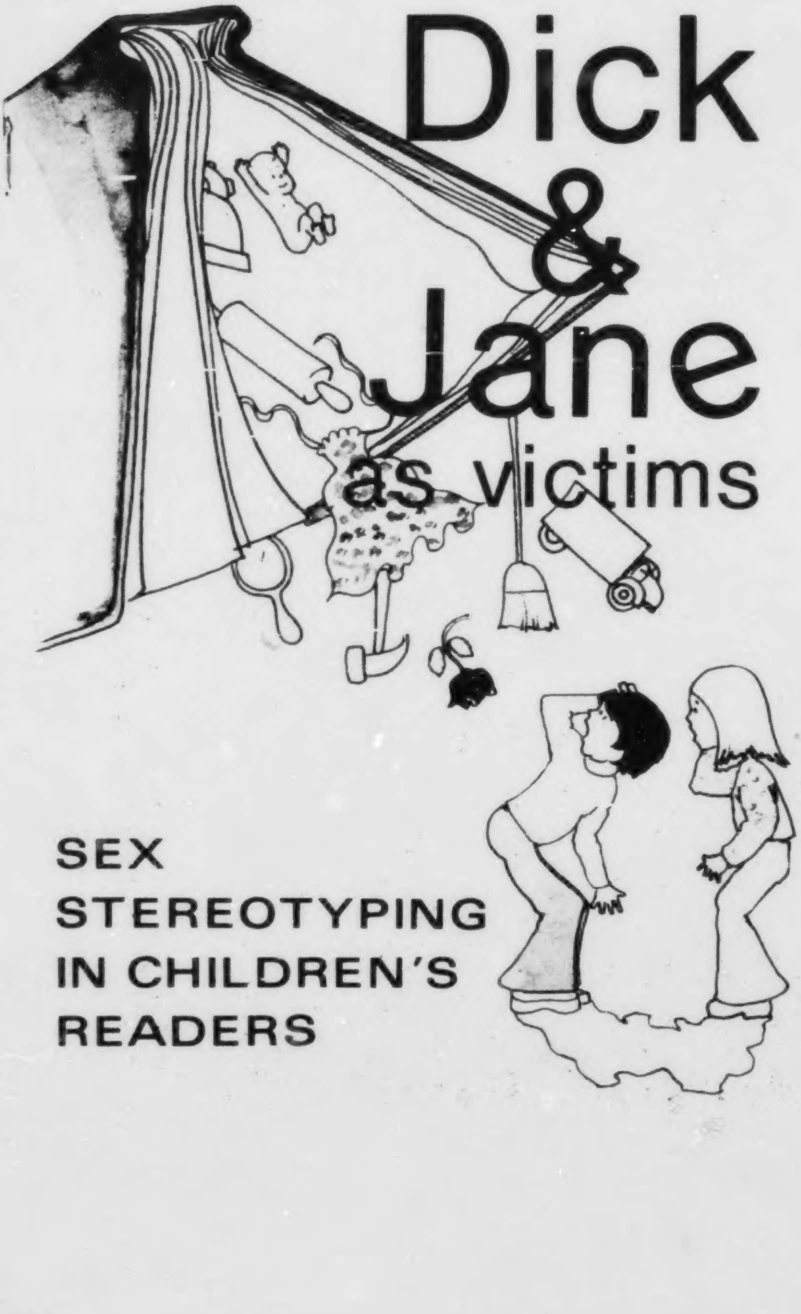
Mr. HAWKINS. Ms. Alroy, does that complete your statement?

Ms. ALROY. Yes.

Mr. HAWKINS. We are certainly indebted to you for a very fine presentation We will include the material you have submitted, at this point.

$1.50

# Dick & Jane as victims



## SEX STEREOTYPING IN CHILDREN'S READERS

## Chapter One

## *INTRODUCTION*

Johnny says girls aren't fun. Janey says she wants to be a doctor when she grows up, but she knows girls cannot be doctors, so she will be a nurse instead. Dick says he will be an engineer. Sally says she will be a Mommy. Dick says girls are stupid. Janey says she might be only a girl, but she isn't stupid at all.

Where does this all come from? Some station is transmitting a clear message to our children about their place in life. They have been tuned in from birth to a frequency that directs everything they attempt, from skipping rope to getting a Ph.D. Something insures that any deviation from the norm will be fraught with personal hazards and traumas. If Janey does become a doctor, she will feel guilty at not being a Mommy, or as good a Mommy as she "ought" to be. Johnny will not feel at all guilty about being a doctor, whether he is a Daddy or not. Dick will say girls are stupid and most girls will agree

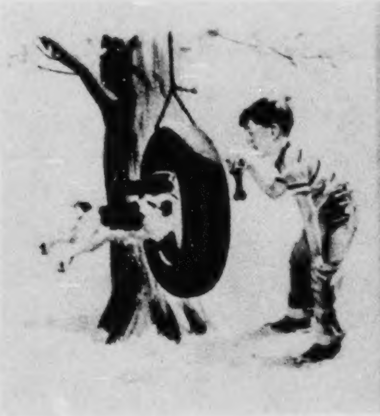


*Illustration from Childress, White and Walter from Fun With Our Family. Copyright (c) 1965 by Scott, Foresman and Company. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.*

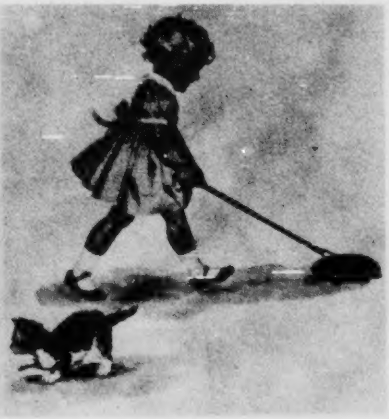


*Illustration by Childress, White and Walter from Fun With Our Family. Copyright (c) 1965 by Scott, Foresman and Company. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.*

*From one of the earliest of the classic "Dick and Jane" series, we selected these illustrations to demonstrate the expectation that Dick is to be innovative and active, while even in early childhood, Sally learns to play with a carpet sweeper in anticipation of her later expected adult role* with him, except for Janey, who is thereby on the way to becoming an "aggressive" woman. Dick himself will feel no guilt at his remark. Sally, however, would feel very bad indeed if she called Dick stupid, for it might wound his self-esteem, which, even at the age of nine, Sally knows is a very serious thing. Johnny will spend much of his working and playing life with boys, who he expects will be much more fun than girls; and his wife, locked into domesticity, will be even less fun as a result of her confinement. Sally, being a complete Mommy, will drive her children from one achievement to another, imprison them in a spotless home, and project her own ambitions onto them in a classic smotherlove pattern until they finally break for freedom. Then Sally will find herself out of a job, frustrated, and "growing old," often before her chronological time.

Again, where does it all begin?

One early source of the messages children receive is their elementary school readers. These readers abound in stereotypes. The typical girl in any reader is a frilly little thing with a smile on her pretty face and a passive attitude toward life. The boy portrayed in the readers

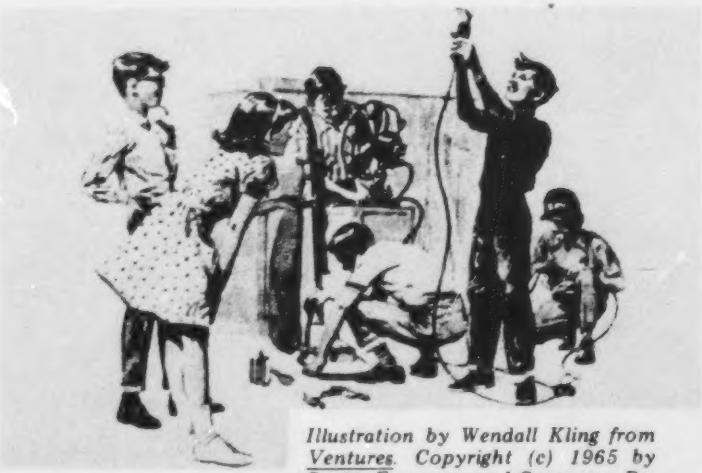


*Illustration by Wendall Kling from Ventures. Copyright (c) 1965 by Scott, Foresman and Company. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.*

*In the story this picture illustrates, several boys are constructing a contraption they call an "Electro-Thinker." "Smart Annabelle," who throughout the story is called by that epithet, stops to ask some questions. She is rebuffed by being told, "We are willing to share our great thoughts with mankind. However, you happen to be a girl." Poor Smart Annabelle, who has thus been forewarned not to dally with a "man's prerogative" (namely, thinking), bows out of the story.*

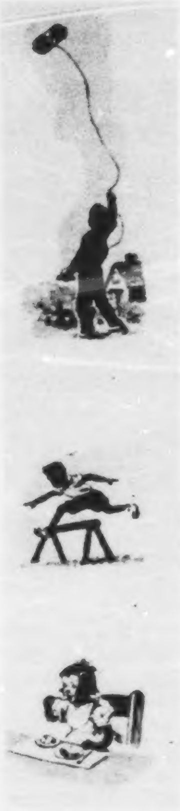
has a look of stern concentration: he is busy preparing to be a "man." Mothers and fathers in the readers reflect a simple, standardized existence, which becomes for the child the American Way of Life.

What is at specific issue in our study of current readers is the way in which girls are portrayed in these stories—the activities in which they engage, the attitudes they display, the way in which people treat them, the generalizations which are made about them, and the directions for future life and work which are offered to them—as contrasted with the treatment of boys, whether contemporary or historical—their activities, their ambitions, their hopes and dreams, and their ultimate objectives. The degree to which the treatment of boys and girls differs in Primary School Texts is a good indicator of current social expectations for each sex, and offers some insight into the premises underlying these expectations. Once we know what society, as reflected in the readers, is asking from young people, we will know how young people feel they must behave in their private and personal capacities to become acceptable members of their peer group. If the effort for approval or reward as a boy or a girl involves the warping of an individual's natural proclivities, the outlook for her or his happiness and effectiveness is poor. How many potentially effective human beings can we afford to suppress in the name of traditional role playing?

The message from the readers which is beamed to small girls is very different from that aimed at small boys. This study shows in detail how, and in what ways, it differs. The preponderance of boys to girls, famous men to famous women, adult men to adult women — a pattern which exists without exception in all of the readers we analyzed—does not reflect current reality. Yet the trouble goes deeper than numbers. The authors of this study assume that there are ways in which we can make better use of the talents and energies of our female population beyond directing them into the kitchen and the obstetrics ward. In the coming years there must be a drive in all educational fields to improve motivational incentives for this underrated, under-encouraged fifty percent of the population. Grade school readers are a top priority area for change, since they influence children at their most vulnerable and malleable stage of development.

## Chapter Two

## *METHODS*



One hundred thirty-four elementary school readers from 14 different publishers were the basis for this study. These readers were contributed by the school systems in three suburban New Jersey towns where they are currently in use.

The initial examination of these books indicated that most stories in beginning readers were about children, alone or in groups, or interacting with their families. Folk, fantasy, and fairy tales were found at all reading levels, as were poems and informative articles. In the higher reading levels, adults often became the central figures in stories, and biographies began to appear more frequently. All of these general observations were used subsequently as a basis for analysis.

A general classification system was developed from these observations for subsequent use in doing a content analysis of all stories in each book. A statement summarizing each story was recorded on a work sheet, and was placed in the appropriate category or categories, such as stories focusing on girls, stories focusing on boys, stories about both boys and girls. We also recorded on a work sheet, and the story was placed in the appropriate category or categories in stories concerning children and adults. A numbered code was established, and all such stories were evaluated according to their emphasis on these themes. A copy of the typical work sheet we used, which shows the overall system and code, is included as Table 1. The numbered theme code is summarized in Table 8 and the patterns which it revealed are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

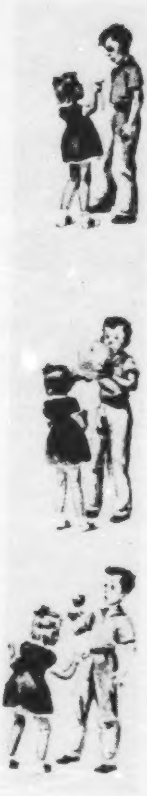
*Illustration by Trina Schart Hyman from McKee et al, ed. Reading for Meaning: Up and Away. Copyright (c) 1957 by Houghton Mifflin Company. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.*

*This series of illustrations graphically demonstrates certain of the physical attitudes and activities we found in all series, which we subsequently coded. Boys were almost without exception portrayed as taller than girls. Boys engaged in athletics, while girls watched from the sidelines. Boys acted independently; girls did not.*

On these worksheets, quotations from actual stories which offered evidence of culturally acceptable anti-feminism were recorded. A partial listing of these quotations is set forth as Table 2. Illustrations also were found to be significant. For example, the relative positioning of individuals in groups and their physical attitudes and activities gave graphic evidence of stereotyping. We have utilized some of these illustrations throughout this report to show the patterns which prevailed.

The study was undertaken as an exploration. Its shape has been dictated by the discoveries of the researchers. As the work progressed, first impressions yielded to more complex observations. Some series were re-read in the light of these subsequent refinements. Some researchers were dubious at first but finished with unshakeable convictions that these readers contained a distorted view of reality. It is important to note that this body of research covers only a small segment of the total volume of material reflecting stereotypes presently available to small children and to adult readers as well. There remains a vast amount of work to be done, for which this study is but a rudimentary blueprint.

134 elementary school readers from 14 different publishers were the basis for this study. These readers were contributed by the school systems in three Suburban New Jersey towns where they are currently in use.



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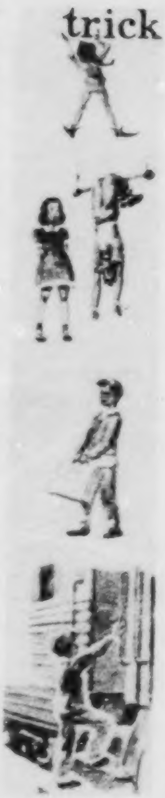

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## Chapter Three

### *STATISTICS*

From the 2,760 stories we read in 134 books, some startling ratios were derived:

| | |
|---|---|
| Boy-centered stories to girl-centered stories | 5:2 |
| Adult male main characters to adult female main characters | 3:1 |
| Male biographies to female biographies | 6:1 |
| Male animal stories to female animal stories | 2:1 |
| Male folk or fantasy stories to female folk or fantasy stories | 4:1 |

Table 3 provides conclusive statistical evidence for what we initially observed: boys and men are present in the readers in overwhelmingly larger numbers than are girls and women. In some books girls are virtually nonexistent, appearing only as minor characters or in background illustrations. No series has an equal number of boy and girl stories and very few even approach equal numbers.[1]

Particularly appalling is the scarcity of female biographical stories.[2] There are 27 stories about only 17 different women, whereas there are 119 stories about 88 men. Clearly, it is not considered important to give girls and boys examples of women who have succeeded outside the home. Interestingly enough, the few women who are portrayed in the stories overcame great societal and personal obstacles to be successful outside the home, while for the most part the men portrayed had no societal barriers placed in their paths.

Another statistic of particular interest is the number of occupations shown for men compared to that for women in each group of books. We found women in the stories — as opposed to the biographies — in only 26 occupations, while men participated in 147 different jobs. These numbers include characters pictured in the background illustrations as well as those who actually play a part in the stories. Furthermore the women in the stories were engaged only in "womanly" occupations, such as teacher, nurse, governess, dressmaker, and telephone operator.[3] No female jurists or college professors were to be found, needless to say.

Obviously, quality is as important as quantity in the readers, and the qualitative findings of the study will be detailed in Chapter 4. But even if the stories that feature women and girls were all excellent from our point of view, there are simply not enough of them, nor are they sufficiently varied.

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[1] The exact statistics we compiled are attached hereto as Table 3, together with a breakdown by publisher series.

[2] The persons portrayed in the biographies are listed in Table 4 and 5.

[3] A complete list of the occupations shown in the stories is given in Tables 6 and 7.

## Chapter Four

## *CONTENT ANALYSIS:*

### Section I

### *The Active Mastery Themes: Girls Need Not Apply*

Ingenuity. Creativity. Bravery. Perseverance. Achievement. Adventurousness. Curiosity. Sportsmanship. Generativity.[1] Autonomy. Self-Respect. The development and display of these traits is the major theme of the great majority of reader stories. These are the traits universally regarded in our society as positive and desirable. They spring from a solid sense of self and are considered not merely socially useful but necessary for survival as well. Those who possess such traits can be said to have power over themselves, their surroundings, and their circumstances: they "have it made." Who are the chosen ones who virtually monopolize the leading roles in these tales? Males — young and old. The odds against females making it are *four* to *one.*

Let's look at the evidence.[2]

*Ingenuity, Cleverness, Creativity* and *Resourcefulness.* The male protagonists of the stories in this category meet situations with intelligence. They try unusual, thoughtful, or daring approaches to their problems. They make things, build things like walkie-talkies and soapbox racers, create things like ice sculptures, silver pitchers, even television commercials. They use their "wits" in promotional schemes, capturing hijackers or dealing with a genie. Girls are conspicuously absent from most of these tales. Clever girls appear 33 times, clever boys 131! The discrepancy is so large that the girl who figures out how to earn bus fare when she finds herself stranded seems like a visitor to these pages. Another girl who discovers silk when a cocoon falls into her tea is far more typical, since her discovery is fortuitous, a "happening," not a product of her cleverness.

*Perseverance, Industry* and *Initiative.* In this area, the favorite story line shows the protagonist overcoming all sorts of obstacles, like the young man who clings to his bug collection over the family's strenuous objections which they withdraw (one assumes) as soon as he is hailed for the discovery of a rare specimen. Persevering boys are a dime a dozen. Persistent girls are, like that bug, a rare specimen. The actual score is 169 for the boys to 47 for the girls. One of these girls is a tennis player who overcomes pain, hunger, depression and *a dirty tennis dress* to win her match. (The dress keeps the feminine stereotype alive and well.) The boy who eventually succeeds in taming a wild horse is *not* shown to be worried about the cut of his jeans. Another girl who had the initiative to vote for herself in a class election is defeated eighteen to one for her bad manners, i.e. unfeminine, aggressive deportment.

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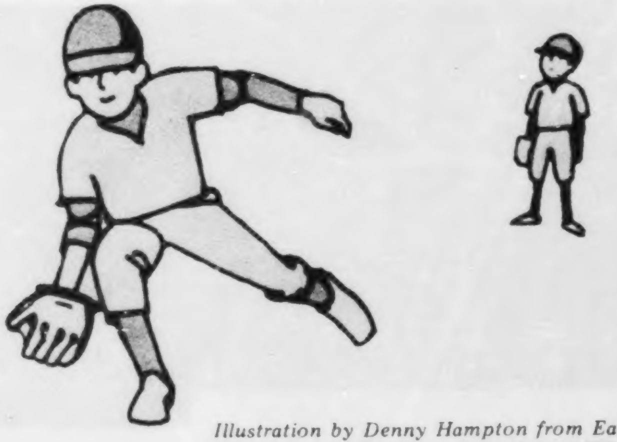
[1] A term used by Erik Erikson to indicate a process by which an individual has gained sufficient fullfillment and maturity to feel motivated to guide and teach the next generation. Interest in fostering plants and animals is also implied in the meaning. *Childhood & Society,* 2nd ed. Norton & Co., (New York) 1950 & 1963, p. 266.

[2] Throughout this Chapter we will examine patterns rather than individual stories; therefore, we have not cited each specific example used. All are drawn from books listed in the Bibliography. Statistical patterns are summarized in Table 8. All quotations appear with citation in Table 2. Biographies and occupations are listed in Tables 4-7.

Boys show industry and initiative in overcoming obstacles as they shear sheep, study guppies, track down the pilferings of a raccoon. One boy overcomes sensitivity to cold water through grueling training in order to become a life guard, and a crippled boy earns enough money through fishing to buy a brace and special shoes for himself. Even the handicapped, if male, show more autonomy, initiative and perseverance in overcoming obstacles than the two-footed females who listlessly droop through the pages of the readers.

*Strength, Bravery* and *Heroism.* Since most people think that strength, endurance and coping with danger are male prerogatives, it will come as no surprise that boys are in great demand where these themes appear. We found 143 instances of heroic boys, 36 of heroic girls. It's a boy who skates all day after eluding capture by Indians to warn a distant village of an impending attack. Boys rescue adults, girls, and other boys from fires, cattle stampedes, drownings, storms, angry bulls or buffalo and save planes and spaceships. From time to time,



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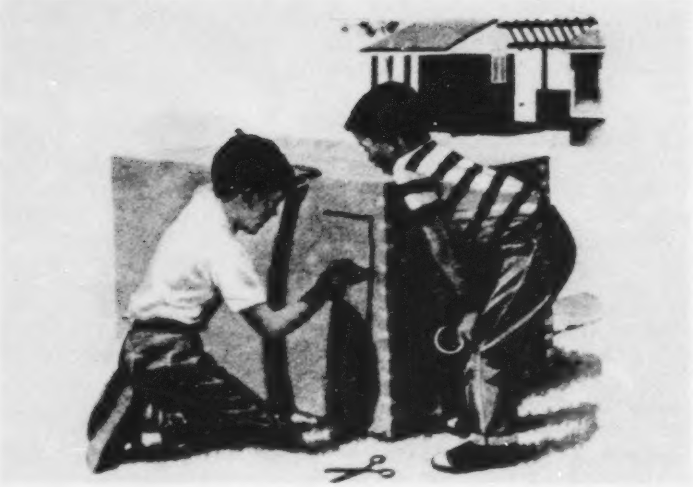

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girls act bravely too. They carry warnings by horseback for instance, or go to the rescue of a wrecked ship. But far more often they are only seen saving little, *younger* siblings or small animals, or working as sidekicks to clever boys outwitting hijackers or jewel thieves. Their feats are nowhere as conspicuous, have nothing like the range presented for boys.

It is through achievement that a boy in the readers seeks approval. As he learns the necessary operations to go forward, he gains confidence and as he gains confidence, he looks less to others and more to his own mastery. His female counterpart seeks approval by being pleasing, docile and defaulting — i.e., living vicariously, like the girl whose brother becomes a great artist because she encourages him to shape up and stop dreaming. We wonder what advice *he* gave *her?*

*Routine Helpfulness* and *Elective Generativity.* Generativity is something one *elects* to express as a representative of the culture whereas routine helpfulness (making beds, washing dishes) is service work with servant overtones. Throughout the series both boys and girls perform routine drudge work — 53 boys, 68 girls — but with very different basic assumptions. Girls are expected to be helpful in this way; boys often acquire moral points for their helpfulness. When girls in the readers attempt to be helpful, it is usually through imitation of a stereotyped motherly role. They cheer up and wash younger boys and even mend their clothes. But the restrictive, unfriendly aspects of motherliness are all too often stressed, when, for example, a girl angrily makes her little brother clean up a wall he has dirtied, or scolds the boys for not eating their dinner. Adult women mainly teach cookie baking and dirt-chasing. It is men — fathers, grandfathers, school masters, older brothers, and just plain boys — who, three to one, encourage others to learn the things they have mastered. When a mother decides to encourage her son in his coin-collecting activities, she takes him to a numismatist who is, of course, male. Fifty-four times boys choose to be generative — to teach younger siblings and friends to write, to mend a bird's broken wing, to better handle an argument, to take care of a frightened fawn, and to use one's senses to differentiate between fruits — and it's boys three to one in the stories about raising plants and training animals. Only 19 times did girls act this way. Boys elect to be generative, not only toward animals, plants, and younger children, but also toward adults. Girls tend to *feed* growing things, rather than experiment with and guide them. When boys choose to help sister with *her* dishes (a la papa), it is noteworthy that girls are being helped to accomplish tedious, dead-end jobs. There is nothing generative in this exchange.

Thus it would appear that the creative and compassionate aspects of parenting, those we have called generativity (and its close relative, nurturing) are removed from the mothering stereotype and assigned to men. Later this interest in fostering the growth of the young can be transferred to interest in important professions such as pediatrician, professor, or civil rights leader — mothers need not apply.

*Apprenticeship, Acquisition of Skills, Coming of Age.* Another popular story line concerns coming of age — a child who masters an adult skill or fills a grown-up's shoes. Time and again, (151 times to be more specific) the child is a boy and the shoes are a man's, as when a boy becomes a real member of a submarine crew after passing a crucial training test, or a son manages the ranch when his father has to leave. "Pa had left him to be the man of the house. Here was the dead grizzly to prove that he had been worthy of the trust." Boys are stimulated to feel pride and self-worth at the prospect of becoming an adult. The highest praise any of the girls in this category (53 instances) receives is to be told explicitly or by implication that she behaved as competently as a boy. When a girl looks ahead to the future, she is like Jill, a girl who wants to be a farmer's wife and ". . . have lots of children, play with animals and go on picnics." The vision projects an overgrown child rather than an adult. In the same story, Jack's aspiration is to work hard and become a forest ranger or fireman. Boys are shown how to grow up and become a *man,* not a father (father, after all, is a subdivision of manhood).

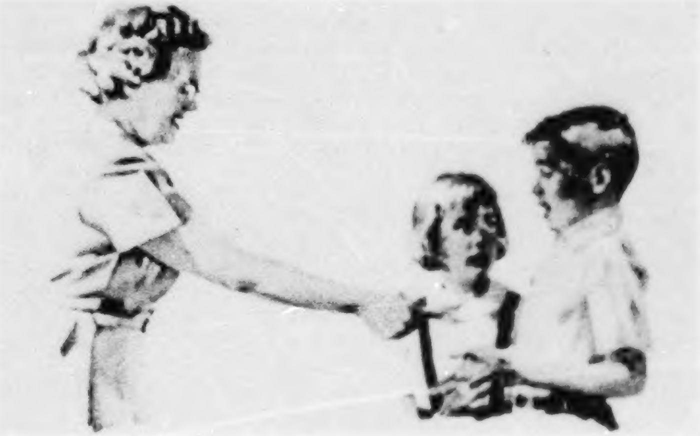
When a girl masters a grown-up skill, it is usually a domestic one — she makes a cowboy scarf for her brother or overcomes schoolmates' hostility by baking cookies for the fair. Her skills lead through a revolving door back to the pots, the pans, and the sewing box. When both a boy and a girl are left in charge of a situation, it always appears to be the girl who is the younger and less clever of the two when problems arise. Though boys may be asked to do a "man's job," girls are never asked in so many words (or by implication even) to do a "woman's job." It does not convey the same honor or dignity, nor imply an equal reward.

Stories of cowboys and Indians and life on the frontier gloss over most of the brutal realities of early colonization, as you might expect, and play up the "rites of passage" theme. Though frontier life gave women a measure of autonomy unknown back in the effete East, there is little hint of it in the readers. Only two girls rival the males who have things pretty much to themselves when it comes to taming wild horses, going it alone on the desert or the plains, panning for gold, riding the Pony Express, protecting the settlement, and, of course, shooting it out.

Very few stories on the being-a-man theme are set in present-day urban situations. Today, most fathers work at jobs that cannot be done by children and children have little idea just what their fathers do for a living. Such stories are set in other cultures, or in a past situation where the roles were quite clear cut. They say about a Chinese boy enroute to the United States of America, "Big he is and strong, he is ready for a man's work." In such settings as trapping or ranching, leaving the boy to be "the man of the house" or taking over had a definite meaning. As the roles of men and women have inevitably become more interchangeable in an urban, technological society, the readers have fallen behind in providing more realistic definitions of "being a man" than one based on protecting the family from grizzly bears. Defining womanhood in terms of cookie baking and aprons is scandalously further behind.

*Earning, Trading* and *Acquisition.* When it comes to earning money or acquiring possessions, boys are predictably the central actors in all but a few of the stories. The enterprising males trade, earn money and obtain benefits for themselves by doing everything from working in roundups to teaching Spanish. Does one little girl harvest apples here and another sell a lamb there? Yes, but it's not the custom of reader country. The readers convey to boys that getting rich (downright greed and avarice) is a highly desirable goal for them. But what can a poor girl do? Marry well. Marrying a rich man of high position is shown as a desirable goal for girls. In the fantasy tales they are willing to be given by their fathers to this type of stranger without a murmur. There is practically no mention of the fact that girls need to learn how to earn a living too, or, that they might *like* to.

*Gratuitous Fame* and *Fortune.* There are a surprisingly large number of stories dealing with the themes of stumbling onto large windfalls and fame through luck. Once again, it's lucky to be a boy. Just by leaving home, a boy is available for adventures which lead to an all-giving Genie or a royal patron whose fortune and beautiful daughter can be his. The only comparable story about a girl is one in which she is given a magic porridge pot which can provide all the porridge she could ever want. This seems rather meagre fare but it's quite enough to choke on in comparison with the castles, jewels, the remains of earlier civilizations, beautiful princesses or even a plain bicycle which young males win by birthright. We found boys clearly in this position 87 times, but girls only 18 times. A courageous princess is never given a handsome prince as a prize. Is anyone surprised?



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*Competitiveness and Use of Power.* Most competitive stories deal with sports such as football or racing and a few with intellectual competition or 4H projects. Girls are allowed to compete about half as often as boys, but when it comes to winning, the ball game goes to the boys. If one were to handle winning in general as a broader category, then boys in the readers are the overwhelming winners at life, reasoning, swimming, football, baseball or anything else you can name. There is one story in which a girl swims against a boy and wins — but he goes on to beat her five times! So much for that. When girls do win, it's often the result of a fluke, or after the boys have painstakingly taught the girls to play in the first place.

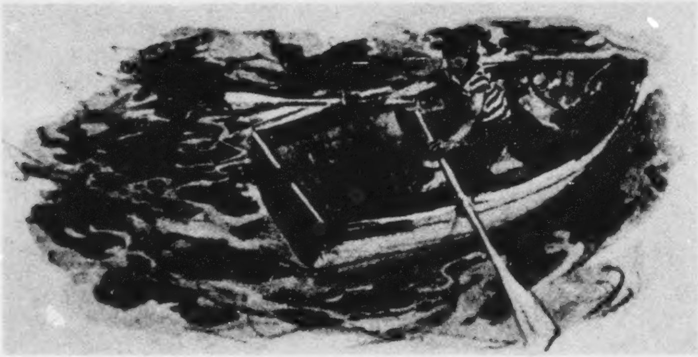
In all the stories, males both large and small are in the position of power. They bestow financial rewards, prestige, personal validation, jobs and incentives. In one story where Indian girls race each other, the judges and prize-givers are males. (The prize? A dress!)

*Exploration, Mobility, Imaginative Play, Adventure.* These interrelated themes have to do with a child's curiosity and experimentation with the wider world beyond the home and family. In the process of growing up, children come to grips with future possibilities and situations, using role-playing and fantasy as a dress rehearsal. In story after story, adventure after adventure, the reader boy finds out about the world he lives in and his relationship to it. His adventures take him exploring in China, panning for gold, meeting bears in Yellowstone National Park, weathering a tornado, accompanying Amundsen to the North Pole and catching cattle rustlers. No one is clocking miles for boys as they go adventuring in 216 stories. As you might expect, adventures for girls are severely limited in quantity — 68 instances — and constricted in space. A girl watches her first snowstorm, but from the safety and comfort of a house. By the third and fourth grades, adventure stories fill the readers, and female characters are increasingly phased out. When females do investigate the wider world, there is a "Catch 22." They must be led there by males and be shown what to do. The girl who discovers some old paintings in a cave is accompanied, typically, by her father.

And what about dressing up and pretending to be the someone you might become someday? Boys fantasize about becoming a cowboy, an astronaut, a wild animal trainer, a housebuilder, a king. They're scientists conducting experiments, or adventurers on an imaginary trip with some little green men. And what are our female Walter Mittys doing? They discover a box and play "house in it all day." For every girl in the readers who dreams of becoming a tight-rope walker, there are hundreds whose minds are mired in domestic arrangements, and who never stir out of the compound of their own back yards.

*Automony, Normal Assertiveness, Selfhood.* Active Mastery is the composite of all the qualities that lead to growth of the self. Boys are advised to be autonomous, separate individuals, to reason, plan and execute activities which promote their independence. This is partly accomplished by boys going about alone so frequently and acting as surrogate adults. They rarely hold back or doubt their prowess for long — success is all but assured merely because they *are* boys. Girls need not apply for personhood. Stories about girls behaving as complete and independent persons are so rare that they seem odd. But the type of selfhood and achievement extolled for boys in the readers and coming together in all the active mastery traits is a conforming one, the type prized in our society. The readers shy away from stories about living up to one's convictions, though we do have the story of the boy who finally succeeds in hatching a dinosaur egg despite ridicule from his sister and, what is this? the girl who takes her leaf collection to school and, facing down a male detractor, instructs the class.

There is some vague hint at a struggle for identity in what are called "tomboy" stories in the trade. The "sissy" stories are never categorized as such but they turn up now and then too. A girl who has a knack for baseball helps win the game and makes a deal for the boys to do the dishes so that she can practice. In a girl's world, dishes must always have primacy. If a boy acquires a doll at the risk of derision, it is in order to trade with a girl for her printing press (a girl is apparently



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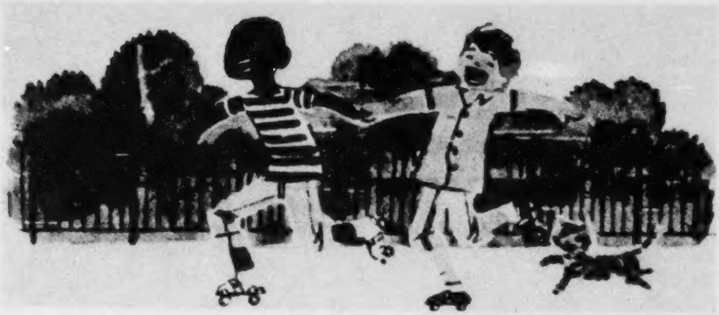
not expected to be interested in a printing press when a doll looms). In one story, an Indian boy succeeds in becoming a brave despite the fact that he liked to make baskets and blankets. How sad that it has to be "in spite of." Usually the outcome for the girl who wants to assert herself as a human being is less felicitous. An Indian girl wants to be tall, brave and strong like the males of the tribe; but she is teased and told, in a prediction that comes true, that if she does not stop following braves the laughing waters will turn her into a shadow. In another case where boys tolerate a girl on the team, she bunts, but accidentally, to win the game for her team. Girls are subjected to contemptous remarks for their supposed ineptitude at skills boys acquire "naturally", "except Rachel," who has to play ball *better* than the boys to win their praise. In only one story is this terrible conflict between renouncing human traits (deceptively called "tomboy") in order to become feminine, discussed, and the heroine really never resolves it. Boys don't have to.

*Friendship.* A Real Friend, as defined by the readers, is usually of the same sex, and males are better at friendship too. Boys are considered to be demeaned by association with girls, though girls may associate with boys, when permitted, without losing caste. There are a few brother-sister friendships. A diluted form of friendship, really "pairings", are shown in the illustrations from time to time, and these "pairings" may cross race, age and sex boundaries. But rarely does the text reinforce these messages. The rigid separation of the sexes that occurs among pre-teens is foretold and perhaps even helped along by the reader's sex-segregation policy. One girl who attempts to break out of it and initiate a three-way friendship between herself, her brother and another boy gets frozen out before it's all over, for she has broken the unwritten rule that boys are to lead the way when the sexes mix.



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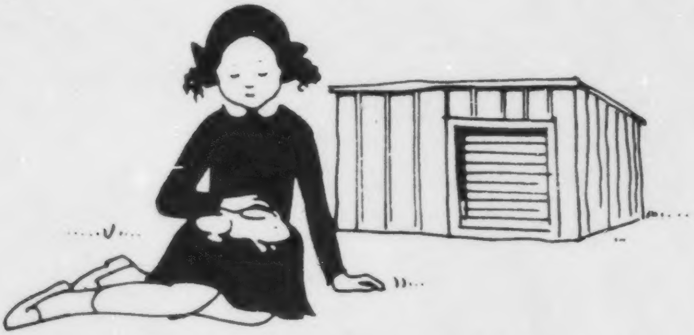
*Morality.* Only boys are confronted with temptations and extralegal possibilities and therefore they alone must face moral questions of honesty and corruptibility. One exception is the story of a helpful ghost leading a boy to gold, only to have the *old* female housekeeper abscond with it. The omission of issues of conscience for females reinforces Freud's stereotype of women as creatures who have underdeveloped super-egos (consciences). The picture is mixed as to how well boys' integrity holds up. There is a blurry line drawn between praiseworthy enterprise and rather shady accomplishments in which a bright lad with a head on his shoulders bends the rules to his needs. Sometimes dishonest acts are punished, sometimes not. Twin boys rob a female bank teller as a prank and get arrested by the Sheriff and it's "boys will be boys." An old man feigns to paint portraits that only wise men can see and successfully makes off with the plunder when exposed. When a boy tricks his father and teacher to make them come to a ball game, he's presented as resourceful, not deceptive. There are several examples of stealing among young aspiring males who are actually rewarded rather than punished. The story of the fellow who became rich and famous after stealing a magic tinder box from an ugly old woman is a classic example. Tricking ugly old women occurs several times.

So much for the "snips and snails and puppy dog tails," what are little girls made of in the readers?

## Section II

### *The Second-Sex Themes: Nice Girls Finish Last*

Explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously, the stories we are going to examine illustrate the negative of active mastery. Dependency and Pseudo-dependency. Passivity. Incompetence. Fearfulness. People who have these traits — people who are docile, fearful, dependent — cannot conceive of themselves becoming responsible for their own lives or taking the active role in a situation. They are denied the dignity of solving their own problems. They see themselves as the Other[1], one who supports those who act or one who provides the background against which the action takes place. Their goals are painfully limited. If they do act, it is usually stupidly. Naturally, they have mishaps. Inevitably, they turn away from the frightening, punishing, overwhelming outside world and focus on the friendly, familiar terrain of the home. Naturally they are victims and targets for ridicule. Could anyone seriously hold up such narrow, unenviable, life-denying traits for our children to model themselves on? The answer is yes and no. No, if you're referring to boys. Yes, if you're speaking of girls.



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More subtle indoctrination, equally unhealthy for little girls, is the insistence on self-abnegation and the womanly "virtues" of domesticity. The message clearly written between the lines for even the slowest reader to read is for girls to be obedient and comply uncomplainingly — even happily — with the wishes of others. What happens to a girl who is told repeatedly to minister to others needs and comforts and to put others first? She gets in the habit of putting herself last. Behind the stove where she is told she belongs.

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[1] Simone De Beauvoir in *The Second Sex*, Bantam, (New York) 1961, p. 129, discusses the implications of this term.

*Passivity, Docility, Dependency (Pseudo- and Real).* Always it is the female of the species who exhibits this mild, soft, spiritless behavior within the pages of the readers. By our count, over six to one — or 119 girls to 19 boys. Mothers move through these pages like so much ectoplasm. Little girls endlessly play with dolls, cry over dolls, give tea parties, look on helplessly or passively or admiringly while boys take action. Tommy, on the other hand, doesn't play house — he builds one. Sally's role in the same sorry tale is clear — she puts on her bonnet and admires the results.

In story after story, girls like Sally are shown as spectators of life. They are given things, told things, provide a ready-made audience and instant admiration for whatever's going on. In illustration after illustration, as well as in the stories themselves, girls look on with hands behind their backs. They look on while boys play cowboy, look on while boys make carts, look on while boys rescue animals, look on while boys save the day. And they admire, oh, how they admire what they see: "Oh, Raymond, boys are much braver than girls!" When one girl merely reports a forest fire — what anyone breathing might be expected to do under similar circumstances — the author is so overcome that he pours praise on her as if she had put out the blaze single-handedly at the risk of her life.

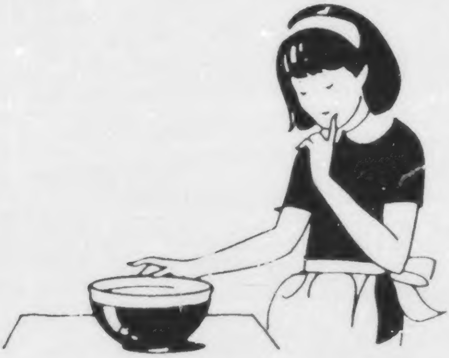
Girls often depend on boys when they are quite capable of handling the situation themselves. One finds she can only skate when she has Mark to lean on; another can only reach a jar if a boy brings a stepladder. Almost without exception females in the readers are subordinate to males. Girls, small and large, are helped out of one difficulty after another by their brothers, older or younger. On a trip to the store the two boys, symbolically enough, walk in front; the two girls follow meekly behind.

*Altruism, Kindness, and the Womanly "Virtues".* Altruism is admirable. Everybody knows that. Yet in the readers, the altruism of girls is always tinged with self-abnegation. Girls' frequent efforts to help others are motivated by very generous and noble impulses, but such efforts always require a personal sacrifice, which is presented as a normal and positive thing. Girls in the readers are good by definition. Mary is a kind, thoughtful, industrious sister. When Sam eats up the cake, when Walter reveals the secret, the girls understand — and forgive. But these splendid virtues are called up exclusively in the circumscribed arena of the female world.

Boys, when *they're* good give up some time and energy for others but there is no sense of sacrifice. They are creating something new not taking something away from themselves. They are *civic*-minded like the fellow who figured out how to utilize sidewalk space for play space or like the boys who raised money for a hospital. They use initiative in carrying out their good impulses. Since their time is valuable, they can rarely stop and help on a one-to-one basis; boys' help is provided on a wholesale basis, to whole neighborhoods or villages or groups of people. Altruism is a positive characteristic for benevolent boys, 55 times; a self-effacing one for "good" girls, 22 times.

*Goal Constriction and Sex Role Stereotyping.* Girls in the readers rehearse their domestic roles continuously — 166 times to boys' 50. Girls are found cooking thirty-three times, cleaning twenty-seven times. The most popular room in any given house, for a girl, is the kitchen. This could be true because the refrigerator is an acknowledged mecca for all small people, but the reader's girl is in her kitchen for other reasons. She is reinforcing her major sex-dictated stereotype. Domestic. These girls make lunch, fix dinner, prepare sandwiches or a salad and fill a picnic basket (while the boy-picnickers play), or bake cookies for a coed party. They stand at sinks high with pots and pans, scoop up broken eggs, set the table, scrub floors, wash laundry, wash dinner dishes while their brothers scoot out to play. They're incorrigible, these girls. One of them insists on helping cook, clean, and serve supper, though she has just succeeded in rescuing a drowning fisherman. What boy could equal her? Or would want to? One young girl who longed to go out to play Jack-in-the-Box had to clean up after dinner since she was the only girl in the family. But she is an exception; some reader girls are known to be happy only when cleaning and we quote:". . . she never thought of anything but dusting, washing, rubbing and scrubbing."

When they leave the kitchen, what do little girls do? They go marketing. Once a girl who wants to do "something different" is offered a shopping trip to buy her brother some t-shirts. Girls are also



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pictured as addicted to sewing and mending, but nowhere is one shown making a new dress. Creativity, even in the domestic ghetto where they are purportedly sovereign, is still out of reach for girls.

Except for these domestic chores at which girls are sometimes as expert as their mothers (a girl's inborn aptitude for drudgery is presented in the same spirit as a black person's "natural rhythm"), only rarely are girls permitted to be at the center of the action. In one such real life instance when a girl succeeds outside her domestic role, her success is explained as exceptional: "Amelia Earhart was different from the beginning from the other girls." In order to be popular, Katie, a genuine achiever, takes care to disguise her prowess. What price success for a girl?

Where boys are concerned, domestic chores are performed grudgingly in order to assist their mothers and sisters, whose proper province it is to cope with such matters. Now and again a boy might help with the dishes or do heavy work such as waxing a floor or clearing out a woodsman's cabin. There are very few instances of boys scrubbing, cleaning, or scouring in the ordinary course of things as their share in the common domestic responsibility, just as a girl is never depicted changing tires or sawing and hammering. If a boy cooks, it is to make a mustard sandwich for himself or to cut ham with a big knife. A boy may eat cookies, but he mustn't bake them. Not on the pages of the readers. Only once is a boy required to act as a babysitter, which he does reluctantly, whereas this is a common occupation for girls. But even here the achievement and learning aspect for boys is not forgotten. In the course of his term as sitter he is required to use his ingenuity to get his foolish sister out of a locked closet.

In the readers, gender terminology is often used as a means of indicating or underlining characteristics in animals or inanimate things. Soft, delicate fluffy kittens are usually female. So is the lazy magpie. Boisterous, playful dogs are male. Old people who are mean and ugly are female (possibly an unconscious carryover of the wicked old witch syndrome, but where is the equally infamous bogey man?). Wise old people are without exception male, and a human being of any stature is male by definition. Thus, hieroglyphologists are "men" who study Egyptian writings, and elsewhere we meet "sayings of Wise Men." We don't want to be unreasonable and hold the readers responsible for the sexism built into the English language, which symbolically has handed over the entire world to the men, with pronouns like the bisexual "he" for he-and-she, and words like "mankind" that stand for all of us. But the readers don't have to extend this practice by defining archeologists as "men" who dig. Archeologists are also women. Why not, simply, "people" who dig? A preponderantly female Red Cross Unit is referred to as "brothers." Why not as "one family"? The built-in sexism of our common language is loud and clear in a comment made to the young Oliver Perry on these pages: "You're certainly not up to a man's work, so you'll start as a scrubwoman."

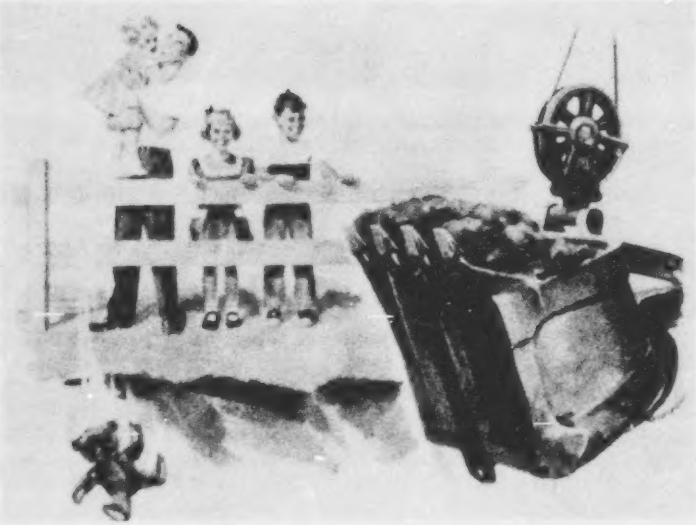

*Illustration from Childress, White and Watter from Fun Wherever We Are. Copyright 1965 by Scott, Foresman and Company. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.*

*When Sally is frightened by a steam shovel, she jumps into Daddy's arms and drops her teddy bear. Daddy and Dick reassure her that the shovel will bring it back to her. Jane stands by and smiles.*

*Incompetency and Mishaps.* Both boys and girls have mishaps with equal frequency, but girls' mishaps come about while carrying out domestic responsibilities or through simply being female (hence foolish). Boys' accidents come about through rough housing or adventuring. Thus, one kind of mishap results from stupidity, the other from curiosity and enthusiasm. One girl manages to get dirty simply by sitting down whereas an active boy soils his clothing by playing with a dog. There are often stories about girls who have ripped and spoiled their clothing, and, in one rare instance, when this happens to a boy, the school principal appoints his assistant, a woman, to do the mending. Boys' mishaps are thoroughly mitigated because they are part of an adventurous experience from which they profit. If a boy is temporarily incompetent, say in putting a toy together, the ineptitude doesn't last long and he soon fixes it. Girls had better make it on the first chance as they are not given a second try. They don't. A girl falls from stilts on her first attempt and that is her final downfall; she gets no other chance. All too typically, a girl's failure is often in tandem with a boy's success. A boy solves a problem that a mother and daughter cannot unravel. A girl who mistakes a stick for a snake is shown the light and reassured by a boy. Boys are seldom conned. That's for girls. A foolish princess believes every word she hears, just as Red Riding Hood believes the wolf. In one amazing story the author, by some Freudian slip, changes the sex of the stupid *female* kitten in time for "him" to out-wit the fox!

*Victimizing and Humiliating the Opposite Sex and Excessive Agression.* We discovered close to 100 stories that condoned meanness and cruelty as part of the story line. This figure would be far higher if we had included fantasy and animal stories in our statistical count. There were 67 stories in which one sex demeaned the other: 65 of these were directed against girls, only 2 against boys. This particular aspect of cruelty would be greatly swelled if fantasy tales were included as well. Girls are attacked as a class. The negative behavior always goes unpunished and is never commented upon as such. The way to gain a sense of superiority albeit a highly immature one, is to make someone else seem unimportant. Possibly this is a misguided attempt on the part of the readers to co-opt the boys, since they have more difficulty learning to read and girls usually outstrip them in this all-important area in the early school years. More likely, however, it reflects the way society unconsciously views females.

There is also a slightly higher frequency and less subtle onslaught of these stories in the early grades when children are young and impressionable. Since we find this fault such a serious one, we would like to point out that Sullivan, Harper and Row, Houghton-Mifflin, and MacMillan, in that order, are the chief offenders, although the other series follow closely behind.

In the stories of excessive aggression, it is notable that males are usually the aggressors and that females are only one of several types of victims. But girls as well as boys join in the sport of demeaning girls in their anxiety to please the power faction. You can hear them put themselves down with remarks like: "I'm just a girl but I know enough not to do that." or, "Even I can do it and you know how stupid I am." The readers give boys the ammunition, if society hasn't done so already, to attack girls as foolish, vain, silly, dumb, boring, no good at games and sports, etc. ad nauseum. To be in the company of girls lowers one's status, children learn at age six, as they are learning to read. Boys are never ridiculed as members of the group "male." In the 65 stories in which the readers ridicule and demean girls, girls are excluded from groups, rejected from gangs, deliberately shown up as scaredy-cats and made fun of for their domesticity. A boy ridicules some girls who are cooking by remarking: ". . . but who wants to eat dinner with a lot of girls anyway?", ". . . good thing for a girl to learn to cook", ". . . women sure are funny!" One girl gets into a baseball team but the other team laughs at her and at the team since "They must be terrible if they have a girl pitcher." "Don't be silly", says a small boy to his older sister when she points out his error, "Girls never understand anything."

Not only do boys tease girls for their stupidity when they make mistakes, they show them up repeatedly by succeeding where girls fail. They charitably "allow" girls to do things "even though" they are girls, but the smartest girl in the class is not smart enough to get on the passenger list of a time machine in a reader story — space is reserved for the smartest boy.

It is important to note that while boys are being given permission to vent a twisted type of aggression and sadism, girls are being told not only to suppress their natural aggressive urges but to accept their role as victims and passive foils without a struggle. Quite often, animal stories offer a mask behind which aggressive tricks can be played, as in the case of Mr. Fox who tricks Mr. Crow by flattery until Mr. Crow opens his mouth and loses his food to the fox. Aggression of the excessive type is shown twice as often by male children as they shoot animals to prove their strength, trick girls, animals and other boys in a sadistic manner. Now and then a girl hits or strikes back at a boy, or is rude to another girl, but she has to become a witch before a female may be permitted any real wickedness. And witches usually get it in the end. Of all the areas studied, girl-baiting and belittling has the most pernicious potential for lowering the self-esteem of females, too young yet to assess the truth of the claims that they are the inferior sex.

*Feeling and Expressing Emotion.* Neither girls nor boys in the readers exhibit any realistic range of human emotions, but even the few permitted are off-limits to boys. Emotions belong to the lesser sex, something that weak, foolish people alone experience. Boys must fight back fears and tears, while girls succumb without a struggle to irrational terrors and foolish weeping. Only on the pages of a reader does a girl weep non-stop from morning to night over a broken doll. Only on the pages of a reader does a boy remain impassive while his canoe proceeds out of control through the rapids. Gender determines these things. Other natural emotions such as anger, joy, compassion, sadness, even love, make only brief appearances in the entire series. Spontaneity and honest expression of feelings is a rare thing indeed, here or in life, but its absence in the readers is the more lamentable because it reinforces unreasoning cultural taboos against expressing emotions, and reduces those that can be expressed into mere sex-role stereotypes. It is cruel to urge young boys to suppress all feelings and to stunt little girls by urging them to vent immature ones. One emotion, however, is dwelt on almost obsessively in the readers. Fear. For this reason, we are discussing it as a separate entity.

*Fear.* As we have examined in Section 1, the chief stereotype for boys has to do with the maintenance of a facade of bravery and dauntlessness, like the boy who has to face a moral decision about whether to sustain his sister's flattering image of him as a pillar of strength or to tell her the truth about his feelings. The image of girls as fearful and inadequate serves only too well to further enhance boys' aura of success, and shore up the male ego. Girls are used to making such sacrifices.

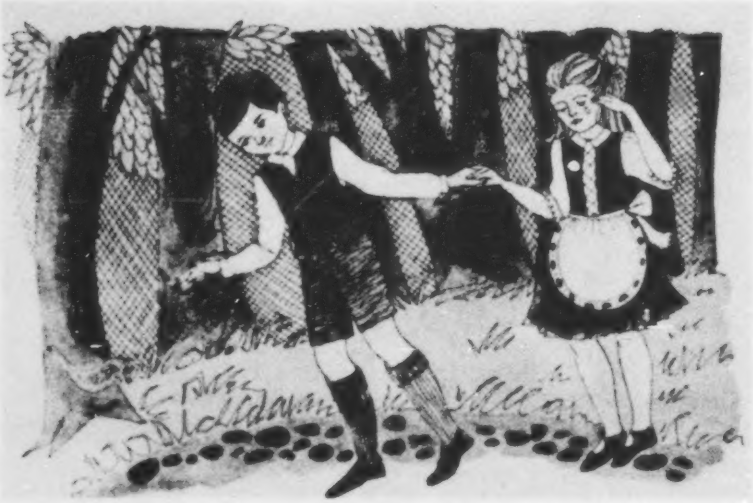

*Illustration from McCracken and Walcott, Basic Reading, G. Book. Copyright 1970, 1964 by J.B. Lippincott Co. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.*

In the readers, girls are heard to express fears three times more often than boys. Girls are fearful of woods, older boys, snakes, insects, the dark, animals, and sometimes, alas, "just everything" and are allowed, even encouraged, to hang on to their fears. For boys, a recurrent theme is overcoming fear through suppression or perseverence. Take the fear of water. Little boys fight it; little girls hang their clothes on a hickory limb and don't go near it. Boys struggle with and subdue fears of horses, heights, crawly things, the dark, and even of a buffalo stampede. One boy overcomes his fear of horses and rides on in an emergency. When two little girls stand on chairs and shriek for their younger (!) brother to rescue them from a frog, it is in the best feminine tradition.

*Comedy and Humor.* There is little in the readers to relieve the deadly seriousness. What passes for humor has already been discussed under "Demeaning the Opposite Sex." That a girl bakes a cake and forgets to serve it can only be funny if you think girls are foolish. The other attempts at humor come through animal escapades, such as a hen who lays square eggs. Again, the females of the species are the silly ones as epitomized by Mrs. Goose who takes a bath without water. Just like a woman!

*Loneliness, Boredom, and Aimless Activity.* Only a handful of stories take up loneliness and boredom but quite a few stories of the filler type have to do with aimless activity. These latter stories seem to have no point to make, as if they were put in between acts to give the real actors time to change their clothes. And so it will come as no surprise that girls predominate in these stories two to one, standing around, watching television, sitting in the sandbox or getting new clothes. The same ratio holds for loneliness and boredom. A girl who is lonely and bored on a rainy day is resigned to her fate (while her mother and sister who are busy with the cleaning are apparently resigned to theirs), but a boy who finds himself bored in school devises an imaginary journey through Dictionopolis and amuses himself with new words. Boys are rarely described as lonely.

*The Motivation Gap.* Rarely are we offered an explanation why people behave as they do. Why do boys tease girls? Why are women mean to animals or mothers cross with children? Why are children so unkind and even cruel to newcomers in their midst? People, simply, come in two styles — good and bad. To present the world in this motivationless way implies the even more insidious idea that all these traits and more are inborn, not subject to change. The same is true for sex-role stereotypes. They are presented as *given*, not *created*.

On the rare occasions when the readers do try to explain these "phenomena", their rationale seldom accords with any existing theory of behavior. It appears to be derived intact from "common knowledge" which could more properly be called common ignorance (most of it collected and preserved and passed along from reader to reader till it reaches our children). An example of such "motivation explanation" appears in a story about a bully. His abominable behavior is attributed solely to the fact that his mother works in contrast to the good boy whose mother is home all day. What kind of idea is this, we wonder, to instill in the minds of millions of school children whose mothers work outside the home, and whose families are dependent on that income?

*Physical Appearance.* Boys never seem to care how they look, but girls have a great need to be beautiful and well-groomed. Do the readers attempt to correct this imbalance? On the contrary. Girls are encouraged to dress up and play, to covet clothes and to preen, whereas clothing or physical attractiveness is virtually ignored in relation to boys.

Everybody knows a princess is always beautiful. Again, by definition. Is she also interesting, intelligent, humourous or witty, kind, adventurous — they seldom say. We assume so since beauty notoriously fades so fast and princesses live happily ever after. But what about the prince? He's usually handsome but that's rarely his only claim to fame.

Size is frequently mentioned. Any illustrator of readers knows that girls are invariably smaller than boys. If a visitor from Outer Space picked up one of these books, he or she would have to assume from the illustrations that girls as a species come smaller and younger than boys on planet Earth.

The reader girls are indeed stunted. . . in *all* ways. Nice girls finish last!

## Section III

### *Adult Role Models*

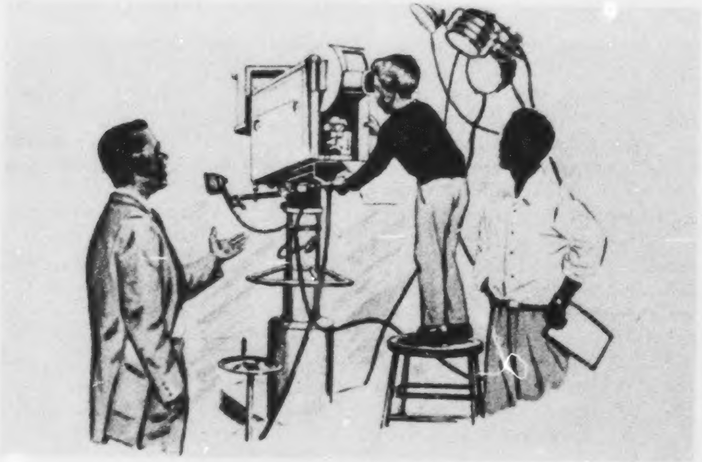

*Illustration from McCracken and Walcutt, Basic Reading, C. Book. Copyright 1969, 1963 by J. B. Lippencott Co. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.*

In the readers, there are many role models for boys to shop among, from which to select a skill, a trade, a profession. Men are shown in almost every conceivable role; for girls, the Reader Seal of Approval is reserved for one form of service or another, with wife or mother the overwhelming favorite. A girl with any other designs on the future must consider herself some kind of misfit, even though one indomitable woman does slip through and succeed in becoming a doctor. It is hardly enough to give back perspective. Painter, lawyer, lighthouse keeper, baker, whaler, naturalist — girls need not apply. Architect, scientist, mathmatician, engineer, professor — it's a closed union unless you have the right sex. Technicians, factory workers, sales personnel and other occupations, in reality open to both sexes on a large scale, are 100% male in the readers. To be more exact, there are 147 different possibilities suggested for boys. For girls, a mere 26.[1] Adult males are job holders and fathers. Adult females are either job holders or mothers, rarely both. Only direct necessity drives mother to work, never mere desire or special skill or burning talent. The entire reader study of 134 books unearths only three working mothers, though the United States Office of Labor statistics tells us that 38% of all working women have children under 18.[2] A young girl is constantly being "sold" on nursing over doctoring, stenography over business administration, teaching over school administration, and on motherhood over all other alternatives. The little lamb asks her mother what she can be, and Mother says: "You can be a sheep. A mother sheep, just like me." The message is rarely this explicit; it doesn't have to be.

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[1] See Tables Six and Seven.

The reader mother is a limited, colorless, mindless creature. She wants nothing for herself you have to assume, since her needs are mentioned only once in this entire study when she treats herself to some earrings on a shopping trip. She is what we have all been looking for all our lives, the perfect servant. Not only does she wash, cook, clean, nurse, and find mittens; these chores constitute her only happiness. In illustrations she frequently appears in the classic servant's posture, body slightly bent forward, hands clasped, eyes riveted on the master of the house or the child. She is perpetually on call, perpetually available, perpetually a reproach to any female who might aspire to anything more than waiting on others. Says Jack in a retelling of "Jack and the Beanstalk:" "Mother, get me my ax." And mother gets the ax.

The mother in the readers is more remarkable for what she *doesn't* do than for what she *does* do. She is never shown making something of her own or working at some task unconnected with domestic duty. Children never hush to allow her to concentrate. They never help with chores in order for her to have some time of her own. They never bring her cups of tea while she relaxes with the papers. They never meet her at the station or the airport as she returns from some independent expedition. Her unlucky son sits up on a tree for hours waiting for father to come home and rescue him with the ladder. Clearly, one needs masculine resourcefulness to think of such an ingenious solution.

Wives and mothers are not only dull; sometimes they are actually unpleasant! One mother chases the children with a rolling pin and a wife nags her husband until he misses his three wishes. Mom spanks, yells, gets mad. She hates fun and spontaneity almost as much as she hates dirt. In fantasy stories, women are sometimes extremely cruel to animals.

Father is the "good guy" in the family. He's where the fun is. He builds things with his children, and takes them hunting, fishing, and up in planes. He solves the problems. No wonder he's allowed to rest and relax in his favorite chair so often. If mother isn't, could it mean what it seems to mean — that she does no "real" work and therefore doesn't *deserve* a rest?

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[2] See *Women at Work*, United States Government Publications, 1969, comparative tables.

Responsibility in the home is rigidly defined. The inside jobs go to Mom, the outside jobs to Pop, along with all the mechanical failures. Father's the fixer, even though Mother actually uses most of the domestic equipment. For mother to change a tire would be as blasphemous as if father were to whip up the supper. Sooner would the readers have children witness a little violence and cruelty than such unsettling social patterns. In one little attempted comedy, a husband and wife change roles with disastrous results. The moral is clear: we must each be content with what we are meant to be.

Sometimes we wondered during this study why all the marriages shown in the readers are so joyless. There's no closeness between husband and wife — all the interaction is between parent and child. There's virtually no touching between adults. Fathers rarely give wives a hug. Mothers never kiss husband or anybody else. Outside of sad-happy waves from a doorway, and food offering, demonstrations of affection are out-of-bounds. Yet marriage is presented not only as the happy ending but as the only ending. Single parents, in real life a sizeable statistic in this country, are rarely permitted on stage in the readers (as if they had a communicable disease.) In one reader story they come right out and say it: "It's so good to have a man around the house," though the man in question is an out-of-work relative who is invited to move in with the struggling widow and her two children. This cliché is not inevitably wrong; but used in a situation like this, it has the effect of belittling the survival skills which the woman has already demonstrated.

Parents never "have words", let alone conflicts with each other. Now and then a wife will nag her husband into doing something foolish, or give him bad advice which he quite properly ignores, as the story proves. Any less-than-perfect marriages are projected onto animals, like the cat and dog who set up house together, she (cat) to do the housekeeping and he (dog) the rest. When he finds her asleep one day, he accuses her of laziness and they fight like, well, cats and dogs, ever after.

Single females don't hang around the readers very long; they are in the marketplace, quite frankly, like the girl who attended the king's birthday party because "it might be a good place to catch a husband." One backward nineteen-year-old daughter is prodded by her mother and told she ought to be thinking of getting married. No mother is in a hurry to unload a son, and never are males casting about in search of a wife as their ultimate goal — unless, of course, she has a kingdom attached. If love is woman's *whole* life, it is because her life is, perforce, an incomplete one.

Victorian children's morality tales that picture the most sadistic punishments for the mildest crimes — such as bad table manners — have been routed from our children's libraries and exiled to the curio shelves. They are no longer considered suitable for impressionable young minds. Yet Victorian modes of living and Victorian casts of thought throw a long shadow over the readers. Because these are no longer applicable to the present situation (if they ever were more than a middle class delusion) and immoral besides in the bias and strictures against women's participation in life, it is time we re-examined these attitudes and let the sun shine in.

## Section IV

## *BIOGRAPHIES*

Much of the inspirational material in the readers is found in the biographies. As we pointed out in the statistical summary, they are overwhelmingly male -- 119 stories about 88 men, and 27 stories about 17 women.[1] Governmental leaders as disparate as Alexander the Great, George Washington, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt are portrayed, yet women of power such as Cleopatra, Queen Elizabeth I, or Queen Victoria never appear. To be sure, there is Joan of Arc. There is always Joan of Arc, although one story about her life made a special point of describing how her parents sent her brothers to protect her! Other favorites such as Amelia Earhart, Marian Anderson, Marie Curie, and Helen Keller also bow in at least once. We're glad to see them and others like them whose lives have been great personal achievements against great odds. But we wonder why there is a blanket of silence about women whose lives have had political implications. Where are women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, or Amelia Bloomer? Where is Rachel Carson? Or even an old favorite like Clara Barton?

The readers give the impression that the only people who make history are men. Mother, who were those women walking down Fifth Avenue with placards? Silence. Why were those women chaining themselves to the White House railings? More silence. One half of the citizenry of a country founded on freedom win the right to vote after a long struggle and the whole chapter is passed over as if history had made a terrible gaffe. To be sure the readers are not history books and are under no obligation to show all phases of our national history. But since they do attempt to provide children with historical role models, they are obligated to show women as *people who can change history* and can act in their own interests. Otherwise we are left with images of women as spectators and handmaidens of history — a Betsy Ross, for example.

In addition to biographies of real people, boys are given a number of fictional lives to contemplate. Girls have nothing comparable. For example Dick Whittington, twice Lord Mayor of London, summarizes in his life story all the various elements that make for active mastery. He is an orphan, thus autonomous. He is industrious. He perseveres at school, saves his money, wins a fortune through his ingeniousness, marries his master's daughter (the prize), achieves power by becoming Lord Mayor, and is generative to his constituency! For girls there are only Cinderellas and beautiful princesses who have no direct hand in their own fates. Sleeping Beauties all!

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[1] See Tables Four and Five.

## Section V

## *SUMMARY*

One of the prime functions of literature and poetry is to make some sense out of the chaos in which human beings live. But readers consistently duck the real issues confronting young lives. Little girls (and boys) seldom have to face grizzly bears or wolves these days. But females frequently have to overcome ridicule and discouragement over gender prejudice. The readers give girls even more to overcome by constantly belittling them.

And what are the subjects so visibly absent from these books?

*Challenges and Conflicts.* Absent from the readers are fathers and mothers backing their children in their quest for selfhood. Missing are fathers complimenting their daughters on their intelligence and perserverence, rather than their looks. Absent are family moments of mutual appreciation, of love between parents, and non-romantic affection between people. Glossed over are the inner and outer conflicts and moments of indecision that are inevitably part of the human condition. Ignored are one-parent families, adopted children, divorced and/or fighting parents. Missing are *realistic* stories about how to make friends in a new situation. Silent are the readers about the facts that some people remain poor and hungry and that everyone has to cope with aging. Even the wisdom and peace that can come with old age is barely alluded to.

*Girls Do Not Excel.* Girls are not even shown excelling in school work, something they actually do better than boys. The supposedly fragile male ego is often protected in this way at the expense of girls. The readers present a twisted view that happiness for girls lies chiefly in giving happiness to boys and men. Success, excitement, confidence, and status must be derived from association with the "powerful" sex. Even the real world, prejudiced as it is, allows girls more scope than this. In the readers, girls must take on every trait left over after boys are assigned theirs. Girls are innundated with messages that boys are doers and that girls must stand back passively if they are to remain feminine. Nothing in the readers encourages girls to persevere to complete a lengthy task from beginning to end or to tackle something difficult. Short, mindless tasks like daily domestic work do not lead to future growth or fullfillment.

*Boys are Multidimensional.* Boys get a potent message that they are superior human beings above household chores. They learn through countless "rites of passage" stories that they will one day become the sex upon whom the workings of the world depend. No comparable attempt is made to build up the expectations of girls, to create esteem and optimism about their future possibilities. Boys are given a perfectionistic model of the multi-dimensional human being. Not everybody, not even all males, can be superheroes. Ironically, intermixed with the stories of hard work and use of skills are Walter Mitty and dreams-of-glory tales with magical solutions and happy windfalls. To be a boy is to be one of the lucky breed. The readers contain a stronger taboo against boys being dependent (sissies!) at *any* age than they do against *young* girls breaking out of their mold (tomboys) a little bit. Girls must abruptly rout out the so-called masculine component of themselves when they become teenagers, but boys must never give away to the so-called feminine component. This is partly carried out as we noted, by showing boys of all ages alone and away from home, courageously coping with anything that comes along. They never cry; they need no one.

*Man Over Nature.* There are numerous stories about men or boys subduing or conquering nature. Little is said about learning to appreciate and protect the natural environment. In a multitude of stories, males bend nature to their wills. Yet it is clear, in this new age of environmental awareness, that men and women will have to learn to live in harmony with nature rather than run roughshod over it. Can our young conquerers be re-directed once they gain maturity?

*Sexism, No Respecter of Race.* Indians are the race we meet most often in these stories and the readers are very ambivalent about them. Now they are courageous, marvelously skilled at meeting the challenges of the wild, and the friend of the white man. Now they are irrational, treacherous, and enemy of the white man. The terms "good Indian" and "bad Indian" are used here exclusively in the sense of what's good or bad for the white settlers, who only once in all these stories go on trial — speaking figuratively — for *their* treatment of the Indians.

But there is no ambiguity about who is the bravest sex of all. Indian males are as achievement-oriented as any palefaced male. The Indian girl, no matter how resourceful or courageous, is no better off than the rest of her sex, and when she is not changed into a shadow for trying to break out of the mold, as in one symbolic story referred to earlier in this chapter, she is subjected to similar subtle propaganda mechanisms that turn her into a domestic, condemned to live in the shadow of other people's lives. Eskimo girls don't fare any better. They are sealed up in their igloos turning hides into clothing, while the men roam the wilds with their reindeer herds or pan for gold.

After an almost total absence of blacks before the mid 1960's, an accelerated effort has been made in primers and pre-primers to integrate the lives of black and white children. They are often seen playing together in their integrated neighborhoods and schools. When blacks play an active role, it is, unsurprisingly, the male who leads; black girls, along with their mothers and white sisters, are used as scenery. Only 9 blacks out of 108 biographical subjects are found in the readers — a shocking fact in the second decade of the Civil Rights Revolution.

Chinese-Americans, though statistically fewer, fare better as a group. They suffer little overt prejudice but the same sex role patterns prevail in their families. In one notable story an old grandmother's precious stone from the old country is saved by a girl so that her *brother* can go to school. As you would expect, traditional sex roles are strongly supported in stories about Mexican-Americans, along with the mystique of *machismo*.

Life in other cultures and/or in other times — Norwegian, Swiss, Hungarian, Russian, Arabian, African, Japanese, Aztec, the Middle Ages, (but notably *not* Jewish life, during Biblical days, the Diaspora, or any other time) are touched on by the readers in some of their infinite varieties. But whatever country or century is being described, when it comes to sex role stereotyping, you'll find tucked away in those faraway places and times the same old sexist plots.

*Subliminal Messages.* Dr. Edward Hall, in *The Silent Language* [2] finds that children are indeed assimilating the content and values of their books as they learn to read, without giving it any conscious thought. Watson and Hartley both find that by the age of eight, ninety-nine percent agreement is found among children of both sexes as to which sex does which job, what kind of person a girl or boy should be and what the role limitations and expectations are.[3] School readers must assume their responsibility in directing the subliminal learning process toward more psychologically constructive ends.

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[1] As this study was going to print, the reader *I DO, DARE, AND DREAM,* (ed. John M. Franco et. al, American Book Company, Litton Educational Pub. Inc., 1970) was called to our attention as a good example of the new reader designed for Inner City use. Aside from a story about a Black cowboy, the settings are urban and problems of race and environment are faced with candor and honesty. Photographs of children of many hues are excellent. But the sexism, especially in the pictures, is even worse than in the earlier readers! Overall there are six stories about girls and one biography of a woman, but nineteen stories about boys and four biographies of men. In one story about girls the stress is on a sick Papa; in a second the girl is a hostess for boys; in the third the girl narrator describes a man-run community center; and in the fourth girls babysit and coo over the accomplishments of two little boys. This reader is obviously intended as a boy's book and is a good example of aggravating one wrong in the attempt to correct another.

[2] Greenwich, Connecticut. Fawcett Pub. 1959

[3] Ruth Hartley, "Sex Role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child", Psycho. Reports 1959, V.457, p.268.

Goodwin Watson, "Psychological Aspects of Sex Roles", Social Psych.: Issues and Insights, 1966, p. 427.

# Chapter Five

## *IMPLICATIONS*

There are broad social implications in the use of sex role stereotypes which are seldom considered in connection with the readers.

Children are exposed to conventional sex stereotypes long before they learn to read. The attitudes shown by friends and family, television and books are among the influences which have already begun the process of socialization. School readers have a special place in this process. They convey official approval. In many states, they have to be approved by state officials since they are bought with state money. They are used in state public schools which are attended under state compulsion until a certain age is reached. They are presented to children within a context of authority, in the classroom. Finally, every child must read them. Through the readers, society says, "This is what we would like you to be."

This expectation is presented to children at a time when most of them have not yet attained a critical perspective on themselves and their backgrounds. The official version cannot help but become the norm in childish vision. Dr. Naomi Weisstein in an article entitled "Kinder, Kuche and Kirche as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female"[1], describes numerous experiments in which both humans and animals, without outside coercion, were forced by the experimenters' expectations alone to behave in prescribed ways even when their natural abilities, desires, and moral standards would have urged otherwise. In the most shocking of these experiments, 62.5% of the adult subjects administered what they thought were lethal electric shocks to uncooperative "students" who acted as if they were in great pain as the shocks increased. The bizarre behavior of these subjects was apparently motivated solely by the pressure of the experimenter's demand for cooperation.[2] If adults are so vulnerable to the power of other people's expectations, how much more vulnerable must young children be!

The pressure of official expectations has a different impact on those children coming from backgrounds which differ sharply from the "approved". They are left with three choices—condemnation of themselves and their families for being atypical or abnormal, a forced conformity to societal norms, or rejection of a society to which they can never fully belong. For these children and for those who realize that the norms are unrealistic and the ideas harmful, exposure to readers can be an introduction to general disaffection with "official" American culture.

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[1] In *Sisterhood is Powerful*, ed. Robin Morgan (Vintage, 1970) p.205-219.

[2] *Ibid*, p.216.

Clearly role models of one kind of another must be used in the process of socialization. For example, Margaret Mead in *Male and Female*,[3] and Eric Erikson in *Childhood and Society*[4] have shown clearly that all societies use role models to encourage self-development of their children as individuals and functioning members of the group. But when the role models remain static while society changes, they lose their value as educational devices and become instead psychological straight-jackets which constrict individual development and preparation for life. When the models deliberately build up the self-images of one group at the expense of another, they become viciously repressive. In America such practices are particularly inappropriate to the principles upon which this society supposedly was founded, and to which it still gives at least lip service. If socialization has twin goals, to rear fit individuals as well as individuals who fit, the models presented in school readers can be faulted on both counts.

Psychologists who are women are now beginning to call attention to the great damage done to both men and women by our narrowly defined role models. In a statement to the American Psychological Association in September, 1970, the Association of Women Psychologists said:

> Psychological oppression in the form of sex role socialization clearly conveys to girls from the earliest ages that their nature is to be submissive, servile, and repressed, and their role is to be servant, admirer, sex object and martyr . . . the psychological consequences of goal depression in young women — the negative self-image, emotional dependence, drugged or alcoholic escape — are all too common. In addition, both men and women have come to realize the effects on men of this type of sex role stereotyping, the crippling pressure to compete, to achieve, to produce, to stifle emotion, sensitivity and gentleness, all taking their toll in psychic and physical traumas.[5]

The practice of separating all people into two arbitrarily defined molds on the basis of sex alone is the Procrustean bed of modern life. Those who do not fit are either stretched out or chopped up. We stretch our sons to fill the ideal dominant male role and fragment our daughters' personalities to make them fit the servile female role. Both processes do violence to the individual. Each damaged person depletes the human resources of the whole society. How many damaged individuals can we afford?

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[3] Dell, (New York, 1949.)

[4] Norton, (New York, 1950 and 1963.)

[5] From printed "Statement, Resolutions, and Motions" presented to the American Psychological Association at its convention in Miami, Florida, September, 1970 by the Association of Women Psychologists.

The society into which our children will be expected to fit is very different from that presented by the readers. In a lecture at the Princeton Adult School on October 16, 1970, Dr. Suzanne Keller, a professor of sociology at Princeton University, outlined the rapid changes which are reshaping the roles our daughters can expect to fill as adults.[6] Briefly, they can look forward to biological developments which may make family planning safer and more reliable, giving women much greater control over their own lives. They can also expect population pressures to result in small families. According to present trends, children will be born to younger parents and they will be spaced more closely together, thus giving women several decades of post-parenthood freedom in which to follow their own pursuits.

More women will find themselves on their own, either by choice or through divorce or early widowhood. The *New York Times* of Sunday, January 31, 1971, states that latest census figures show a forty-three percent increase in single adult households in the last ten years. More than half of these are headed by women.[7] Thus more women will be driven into the job market by financial or personal needs. Already forty-eight percent of women between eighteen and sixty-four years of age are working. This percentage increases every year.[8]

The high failure rate of modern marriages, which is now one in four according to *Time*, December 28, 1970,[9] will probably continue or accelerate and will produce a correspondingly expanded search for alternative living patterns, both within the context of marriage and outside it. "The trouble comes from the fact that the institution we call marriage cannot hold two full human beings — it was designed for one and a half. . . " says Cornell Political Scientist Andrew Hacker.[10] Despite our conditioning, fewer and fewer women are accepting this 'half' status.

Whether or not we like these trends, we must prepare our daughters and sons to deal with them. We cannot do this by pretending changes are not happening or that they will go away if we adhere to the ideals of some past American Golden Age. That Age was never Golden, and it certainly cannot be recaptured.

The Mother of the Future will be forced to find fulfillment outside traditional motherhood for the greater part of her life.

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[6] Unpublished speech entitled "The Future of the Family."

[7] Sect. 2, p.56.

[8] *Women at Work*, United States Government Publication, 1969. Analyzed by Dr. Jennifer MacCleod, Princeton Adult School, November 19, 1970.

[9] p. 34.

[10] *Ibid*, p.35.

Dependence will no longer be an option for either sex, whether it is financial dependence in the case of Mother, or domestic dependence in the case of Father. Competence will be necessary for both. Men can expect to find women competing with them as equals, and as the laws of probability suggest, it will not be unusual for a man to be surpassed by a woman in fair competition.

As a nation we are developing a greater respect for the rights of minority groups and a recognition of the essentially pluralistic nature of our society. Our children must develop flexibility and tolerance towards other life styles. Publishers of current readers have responded somewhat to this imperative. Readers are now racially integrated in at least a token manner. Some previously pink faces have been literally blacked in, as we discovered in certain instances. More stories are set in urban rather than in rural surroundings. This is only a gesture, but it does represent tacit agreement by publishers with the basic principle that children are influenced psychologically and not just academically by their readers. Publishers, on their own admission, bear a heavy responsibility to refrain from damaging developing people.

However inadvertently damage has been done in the past, publishers can no longer evade responsibility for change. This report makes it clear that readers are potentially and actually very harmful to children and to the general well-being of our society.

The groundwork for a healthy adjustment to social change has to be laid in childhood. Readers are an important part of this groundwork. Changes in role models and the behavior patterns they depict can have a great impact on the changing images children have of themselves. Few but the strong can function under a constant barrage of self-doubt and social disapproval. If we wish our children to avoid the destructive conflicts in social relationships which can be traced to the effects of sex role conditioning with its dehumanizing consequences for men and women alike, then we must begin now to reform the images with which they will form themselves.

## Chapter Six

## *RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE*

The authors of this study are convinced that all readers now in use should be revised before going into new printings. In this revision top priority must be given to the eradication of harmful sex stereotypes and to the elimination of all forms of discrimination. We join those educators who have criticized publishers for attempting only token solutions to such problems. Whether readers are in fact necessary in order to teach reading, and whether they do as much harm scholastically as they do socially, are questions beyond the scope of this study. If elementary schools do continue to use readers, then steps must be taken immediately to eradicate the abuses discussed in this report.

One of the reasons often cited for the overwhelming amount of "boys' " to "girls' " material is boys' lack of reading readiness in the primary grades. Boys, we are told, will only read stories about boys, whereas girls will go along with anything. We seriously question this premise. We are convinced that if girls' stories were not so limp, so limited, so downright silly even, boys would cease to discriminate between boys' and girls' stories — there would only be "good" or "bad" stories, (it may be useful to remind ourselves that in adult literature only inferior products are labeled "a woman's book" or a "a man's book"). Harriet the Spy, and Pippi Longstocking have no trouble making friends among boys as well as girls. We cannot any longer willingly subscribe to the view that "it's the woman who pays." If boys are to be lured into better performances in the reading program at fixed ages and grades, then other means must be found, and we are sure *can* be found — means which do not demean and diminish the role of women in the world .

Future readers should reflect a sensitivity to the needs and rights of girls and boys without preference or bias. Stories in any given reader should feature girls as well as boys, women as well as men. Half the biographical content should feature women. Outstanding feminist leaders like Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Emmeline Pankhurst, Sojourner Truth and many other heroines of the fight for women's rights, should appear side by side with male champions of human dignity such as George Washington Carver, Mahatma Gandhi, Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, and Martin Luther King. These women form an equally important part of human history. Biographical sections should not be segregated according to sex, nor should adventure sections and similar groupings appear under 'boy' or 'girl' headings. Animal stories should not be used as subtle vehicles for sexist ideas that would be unacceptable in the human family. Future readers should respect the claim of each of us to *all* traits we regard as human, not assign them arbitrarily according to preconceived notions of sex roles. Let the reader man and boy show emotion. Let the reader women and girl demonstrate courage and ambition. Such a reapportionment, however, should not involve any loss of self-regard or blurring of identity for the boys pictured. Future readers should not arbitrarily bar women and girls from the rights, privileges, pursuits, and pleasures granted to men and boys, nor deny them abilities and occupations males have dominated until now. Specifically, there should be girls and mothers solving problems unassisted by boys and fathers; girls earning money and getting recognition in the form of rewards and awards; and mothers and other women functioning in positions of authority, other than the predictable ones of teachers and nurses. Some stories should feature mothers employed outside the home and independent working women. There should be girls operating machinery and constructing things; girls playing with boys on equal terms; girls in strenuous physical situations; girls travelling; girls depicted as taller, wiser, stronger or older than boys — randomly, as in the actual world. Nobody expects readers to conform to strict statistical probability, but blatant bias must be erased.

A temporary moratorium on certain abused stereotypes of females should be declared. We no longer depict Mexicans asleep under sombreros, blacks eating watermelon, or Indians scalping palefaces. The following might also disappear for a while without being missed: mother in her apron; mother baking or offering cookies; girls tirelessly engaged in playing house, dragging dolls or wheeling them in baby carriages, and having tea parties with them; girls wistfully and admiringly watching boys do anything at all. Girls must not be shown exclusively as spectators, but must appear as active participants. Males as perpetual "guests" in the home should also disappear: for example, father reading the newspaper in his armchair while mother serves him, and boys skipping out to play while the women of the house, young and old, clear tables, wash dishes, cook, sweep, wash, mend, iron, work, and work, and work. . . .

We'd like to see males participate in household chores and females in outdoor tasks, just as they often do. Boys might be shown taking music lessons and visiting art museums; girls could rough-house with dogs and boys stroke kittens. Genuine friendships between boys and girls should appear. Women should be seen working and playing together in groups. Girls might occasionally be shown as rough, unpleasing, intractable or rude, just as boys are allowed and even subtly encouraged to be. Finally, childless couples and single-parent families should be shown, unpatronizingly.

There are many possible courses of action for people who will take this study seriously enough to do something about the problem. Parents, teachers, school principals and friends can review books used in classrooms, complain to publishers about offensive stories and illustrations in detail, and try to reach other teachers, principals, school boards and parent teacher associations. They can also carry the campaign as far as official state-wide purchasing and the general public. Pressure groups can coordinate to make an impact on the situation. It is important, however, to understand that sensitivity to sex role sterotyping is a matter of consciousness-raising and can best be done by group discussion and open-ended debate. Opponents of change may need time and patience before they begin to understand.

The subject can be brought up at teachers' meetings and P.T.A. meetings. Programs to air the question can be arranged and suggestions invited on how to deal with it. Teachers can make sure that children using readers are provided with supplementary reading material that will help to counteract the message of the stereotypes. They can guide class discussions upon how the reader world compares with the real world and an ideal world.

Much can be done by small determined groups of like-minded people. Let's do it. We will know that we have succeeded when Dick can speak of his feelings of tenderness without embarrassment and Jane can reveal her career ambitions without shame or guilt.

TABLE ONE: Sample Worksheet

SRA — SIX DUCKS IN A POND — Level C TABLE ONE

Stories with Boys:

- — Boy helps to sell pots and pans 10, 17, 20
- — Boy looks for fox against his mother's orders and becomes frightened 10, 35, 8
- — Boy, with help of wind, saves dog from raft 18, 10, 17
- — Boy masquerades as a duck and puts on an act so father can guess his identity 39
- — Boy receives a sled for passing a test 10, 27b
- — Boy uses intelligence to get rid of bothersome crab 6
- — Boy is outwitted by a frog 11
- — Boys use their intelligence — overcome obstacles to make their own raft move without breeze
- — Boy and his dog come to the aid of mother and rescue trapped cat 8, 10, 17

Stories with Girls:

- — Girl is sick and gets a doll 2, 38, 27
- — Girl's doll is sick and gives it a pill to get well 38
- — Girl's pet angers father and she makes peace between them 29

Boys and Girls:

- — Girls apply creative thinking and outwit boy 6, 19
- — Boy and girl receive a trick clock 32
- — Boy and girl build a swimming hole with help of father 10
- — Boy and girl climb a hill — girl must stop and rest and they meet an elf 2, 18

| Adult Male (Main): | Adult Male (Minor): | Adult Female (Main): | Adult Female (Minor): |
|---|---|---|---|
| —Pot and pan man<br>—father | —egg farmer | —Mother | |

Family Stories:

— Dad solves problem and pleases his children by buying a toboggan

Animal Stories:

— Hen and duck argue over rock, then become friends
— Cat (Jill) gets stuck in a box and dog (Ruff) helps her out, after they argued with each other
— Hen is sad because she hasn't produced an egg, and when she finally lays an enormous egg, it is taken away from her
— Female duck is afraid of the water, but is finally convinced to swim in a pond

Comments:

In this reader boys' stories outnumber girls' stories 10 to 3, but what is particularly interesting is that 2 of the 3 girls' stories deals with sickness and in the third story the girl's pet angers the father. Boys on the other hand are doing interesting and creative actions. One out of the four stories dealing with boys and girls show girls outwitting a boy; however, boys have the dominance in this reader.

## TABLE TWO
## Sample Sexist Quotations

### AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY, READ SYSTEM

Days & Ways ,1968

" 'School work!' said Patty. 'School work,' said Penny, but not out loud. Sometimes girls just don't say things out loud," page 137

" 'Mother won't let her race, but she can bake a cake and does it all the time,' " page 105

### THE BANK STREET READERS, MACMILLAN COMPANY

Around the City,1965 Senior Editor — Irma Simonton Black

"Jerry always ran away. He said, 'I don't like girls!' ", page 82

My City,1966, Senior Editor — Irma Simonton Black

"Mary is a good girl. She likes to help.", page 26

" 'Do not be afraid, mother', said Jack, 'I will do what I can' ". Page 89

### CAMBRIDGE BOOK COMPANY, INC. Encounters: Reality in Reading and Language Series. Produced and Designed by Educreative Systems, Inc., Conceived by Bob Adelman

Exploring Edited by Susan Hall 1971

"My sister doesn't care about the rules.She cheats.", page 10

" 'Okay. Get down, baby. Don't come up. I'm not going to wait here for five thousand hours. The little baby can't climb.' ", page 20 (said of a fearful boy)

Experiencing Children's language edited by Susan Hall, Norman Borisoff, Bob Richards, 1971

"We're not going to choose sides. It's just boys against girls. It's better that way. Boys hate girls and girls hate boys. I like to fight with girls. They're slobs. Boys are better. That's why we always win." page 23-24

" 'Come on' Joanne. Get up there chicken. You'd better be tough. We're going to beat you.' ", page 25

### GINN BASIC READERS

Trails to Treasure, Book Five, 1966, Russel, Clymer, Gates & McCullough

"From the beginning Amelia was different from other girls". (Amelia Earhart) page 127

HARPER AND ROW PUBLISHING COMPANY

Around the Corner, 1966, Senior Editor Mabel O'Donnell

" 'Look at her, mother, just look at her. She is just like a girl. She gives up.' " page 45

" 'I can skate with Mark to help me.' " (says Janet), page 47

" 'Oh, Mother', said Janet, 'Why do we have to stay at home? I want to do something different.' 'What can we do?' said Mother. 'Mark wants some T shirts, I want some earrings. You and I can go to town. Do you want to do that?' ", page 67

" '[illegible] you be?' said mother, 'Come here little lamb. Let me tell [illegible] something. Some day you will be a sheep. A mother sheep just [illegible]e. That is what you can be. That will be something new. And that will be best of all for a little lamb.' ", page 101

Real and Make Believe, 1966, Senior Editors Mabel O'Donnell and Byron H. Van Roekel.

" 'Get lost,' said Ann. 'I am just a girl, but I know enough not to do that!' And she laughed at David. Boy, did that make David *mad*! A girl! And she laughed at him!", page 87

" 'Now see here, Janet,' said mother. 'I am not *smart* enough to think up a riddle just like that. You will have to give me time.' ", page 184

Seven Seas, 1966, Editors Eldonna Everts and Byron H. Van Roekel

" 'Let a girl do the starting? Not a chance.", page 50

" 'That's right, Fatty, let a girl do the work.' ", page 51

"It was dark, the water swirled angrily beneath them, but her faith in Pedro was unwavering.", page 406

" 'Oh, Alvin, you're wonderful,' said the Pest (younger sister nicknamed the Pest), page 176

Trade Winds, 1966, Editors Eldonna Everts and Byron H. Van Roekel

" 'Oh, Raymond, boys are much braver than girls.' ", page 422

From Faraway Places, 1966, Editor Mabel O'Donnell

" 'Bad luck follows me wherever I go. My girls are so stupid that they cannot learn to read or write.' ", page 133

HEATH AND COMPANY,READING CARAVAN SERIES

Treasure Gold, 1964, Editor Paul A. Witty

" 'Oh Solomon, wisest of living men, I am but a woman and ruler of a weak little kingdom, unworthy of the thought of one so great as thou.' ", page 245

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

Jack and Janet, 1966, Editor Paul McKee

" 'I do not want girls to help me.' ", page 133

" 'That is not for a girl', said Janet. 'A girl could not play with it' " (a knife), page 89

Looking Ahead, 1966, Editor Paul McKee

"Agnes was 10 years old, but she still thought that playing Jack-in-the-box would be fun. Since, however, she was the only girl in the family, she knew she should help her mother." page 70

"He didn't want anyone to talk about feeling sorry for him. . . He felt so sad he was afraid he might cry.", page 54

High Roads, 1966 Editor: Paul McKee et al

"My mother whistled softly, My father whistled bravely, My brother whistled merrily", page 80

". . . helplessness swept over her like a sickening wave", page 181

"Wilbur (Wright) laughed 'whoever heard of anyone's mother building a sled?' ", page 221

Bright Peaks, 1966, Editor Paul McKee

" 'I'm glad she isn't a golden-haired princess. She's almost as good as a real boy.' ", page 338

LIPPINCOTT BASIC READING PROGRAM, Editors Glenn McCracken. Charles Walcutt

Book E, 1970 McCracken & Walcott

"Sam led, and Helen went after him. Helen held his hand in a hard grip. She was timid in the darkness. . . Helen fell and Sam helped her get up.", page 15

"Boys — noise — Broken toys", page 119

Book F, 1970, Editors McCracken and Walcutt

"He felt a tear coming to his eye, but he brushed it away with his hand. Boys eight years old don't cry, he said to himself.", page 88

" 'Eek! A dog!', squealed a lady with a bag of apples. Go away doggie, go away' ", page 133

Book H, 1970 McCracken & Walcutt

"Mrs. Allen shuddered. To think that her boy had killed such a creature made her a bit proud, but also just a little bit faint.", page 42

"Women's advice is never worth two pennies. Yours isn't worth even a penny.", page 191 (explaining why Judy got a nosebleed on Rocky Mountain) " 'Perhaps,' said Mr. Applegate with a laugh, 'because you are a little girl, your skin is thinner than ours, and so it isn't quite so strong as ours.' ", page 273

LYONS AND CARNAHAN

Curriculum Motivation Series, 1966, Editor Leo C. Fay

Statement of Purpose in the Teacher's Edition — "Reluctant readers are primarily boys. As a consequence, the major part of the story content of the Curriculum Motivation Series is purposefully geared to boys' interest patterns, page 4

Curriculum Enrichment Series — Hilltop Trails, 1965, Editor Leo C. Fay

" . . . she never thought of anything but dusting and washing and rubbing and scrubbing." page 77

Young America Basic Reading Program
Level 9, Editors: Leo Fay, Ramon Royal Ross & Margaret LaPray, 1972

" 'Just like a girl!' said Eddie. 'Always thinking about clothes.' ", page 255

MACMILLAN COMPANY

Lands of Pleasure, 1970, Senior Editors Albert J. Harris & May Knight Clark

"Babs was not happy. The dog was so big he scared her. She knew that he was Teddy's dog. She did so want a little dog.' ", page 132

Enchanted Gates, 1965

"Kay said, 'I want a cat, but not a big one. I want a little kitten to love and pet.' ", page 22

" 'No', said Pam. 'The water is too deep. Grandma wouldn't like it. Some big boys are swimming out there. Let's ask them to get it!' ", page 218

SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, Editor Donald Rasmussen & Lynn Goldberg

Level F, 1965, Rasmussan & Goldberg

"My mom says, 'Don't, You'll mess your shirt, Take care! stay clean! Stay away from dirt!' ", page 95

"Roger's mother wept, afraid that her son would be eaten. But Roger was a brave boy. . . ", page 152

"Mama's face was sad, and her voice was soft. Poncho touched his mother's arm gently. 'Do not worry, Mama.' ", page 183

Level E 1966, Rasmussan & Goldberg

"When I'm a wife I'll bake a cake
And take a bit For safety's sake
If it tastes fine I'll pass the cake
If not, I'll state 'It's my mistake
I will not hide Or whine or shake
I'll smile and bake Another cake.", page 202

Level H

You're certainly not up to a man's work, so you'll start as a scrubwoman." (story of Oliver Perry as a boy), page 206

SCOTT, FORESMAN & COMPANY

Roads to Follow, 1965, Editor: Helen Robinson

" 'We don't want to play girls,' said Jeff. 'They'd be too easy to beat.' ", page 53

"The girls stayed ahead of the boys through the whole game. When it ended at dark they were ahead eight to seven. The boys could hardly believe it.", page 54

" 'Girls and little boys have snow suits. But not big boys like me.' ", page 71

"Cries of fright came from the women and children around her.", page 98

" 'I can't! I can't! Amy was crying. 'It won't push! Oh, Stuey, get me out. It's so *dark* in here.' ", page 196

Splendid Journey, 1968 Editor: Robinson

"And the young man could see that the old woman was not poor at all. She was just greedy and liked to grumble.", page 125

More Roads to Follow, 1965, Editor, Robinson et al

" 'It's easy. Even I can do it. And you know how stupid I am' " (said by a girl), page 24

Cavalcades, 1965, Editor: Robinson et al

" 'I didn't think a girl could be so clever.' " (Arab boy saves donkey and girl *helps* him), page 55

"When you mix the clay, (to make a woman) mix in guile and cunning, a shameless mind and a deceitful nature.", page 363

Ventures, 1965, Editor: Robinson et al

" 'Oh, no,' I said. "It is no secret. We are willing to share our great thoughts with mankind. However, you happen to be a girl.' Smart Annabelle flipped her eyelashes at me, 'Come on, Albert, ' she said. But Albert stood still 'Excuse me' he said. 'I think I will stay and learn to build an Electro-Thinker.", page 42

SULLIVAN ASSOCIATES

Storybook 10, 1966

"The hat-maker's wife is very happy to have helped Kate catch a husband.", page 23

Storybook 8, 1966

"Jill and Ann have just started to fix lunch in the kitchen. 'Where is Jack this morning?' Ann asks. 'He went on a hunting trip.' Jill tells her", page 1

"As Ann is adding salt and pepper to the fish, the zipper in the back of her dress runs to the bottom and gets stuck there.", page 50

Storybook 14, 1966

" 'My Sally has fallen into the vater,' the little girl tells Dick. 'Can't you save her? ' ", page 34

## TABLE THREE

### Statistics

| | Allyn & Bacon | American Book Co. | Bank Street | Ginn | Harper and Row | D.C. Heath | Houghton-Mifflin | Laidlaw |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| # Books Read | 3 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 9 | 5 |
| Total # Stories | 85 | 175 | 116 | 361 | 130 | 176 | 151 | 81 |
| Featuring Boys | 31 | 42 | 43 | 107 | 40 | 49 | 63 | 10 |
| Featuring Girls | 7 | 25 | 17 | 31 | 13 | 12 | 24 | 1 |
| Featuring Adult Males | 1 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 21 | 1 |
| Featuring Adult Females | 0 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 0 |
| Boy and Girl | 8 | 16 | 18 | 79 | 6 | 20 | 5 | 3 |
| Male Animal | 2 | 6 | 1 | 12 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 21 |
| Female Animal | 3 | 0 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| Male Folk Fantasy | 7 | 17 | 2 | 34 | 16 | 21 | 9 | 22 |
| Female Folk Fantasy | 1 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 |
| Male Biography | 16 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 18 | 12 | 6 | 7 |
| Female Biography | 3 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other: Science, Neuter Animal, Social, etc. | 6 | 39 | 22 | 52 | 16 | 26 | 7 | 5 |
| Occupations Shown for Men | 22 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 26 | 30 | 29 | 14 |
| Occupations Shown for Women | 7 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 3 |

| Lyons & Carnehan | MacMillan | Open Court | Science Research Associates | Scott Foreman | New S.F. Reading System | Singer/Random House | Sullivan | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | 9 | 2 | 10 | 13 | 12 | 5 | 21 | 134 |
| 100 | 165 | 81 | 221 | 321 | 110 | 94 | 393 | 2,760 |
| 34 | 48 | 4 | 62 | 116 | 28 | 30 | 116 | 823 |
| 6 | 13 | 3 | 17 | 42 | 11 | 0 | 99 | 319 |
| 3 | 12 | 7 | 24 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 119 |
| 0 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 37 |
| 10 | 15 | 4 | 13 | 76 | 9 | 3 | 105 | 390 |
| 4 | 8 | 24 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 14 | 1 | 126 |
| 1 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 55 |
| 6 | 16 | 14 | 15 | 6 | 7 | 12 | 6 | 210 |
| 3 | 0 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 57 |
| 13 | 17 | 0 | 15 | 22 | 16 | 6 | 0 | 169 |
| 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 27 |
| 20 | 25 | 1 | 57 | 50 | 27 | 13 | 60 | 426 |
| 13 | 33 | Not Listed | 21 | 33 | 35 | 13 | 25 | |
| 2 | 5 | Not Listed | 5 | 5 | 11 | 2 | 7 | |

## TABLE FOUR
## Biographies of Males

Carl Ethan Akeley
Alexander the Great
Leo Baekeland
Auguste Bartholdi
Alexander Graham Bell
Daniel Boone
Louis Braille
Abbe Breuil
James Bridger
Ralph Johnson Bunche
Scott Carpenter
Dick Button
Kit Carson
George Washington Carver
John Colter
Christopher Columbus
James Cook
Pierre Curie
Glenn Curtis
Father Damien
Thomas Edison
Albert Einstein
John Elder
Leif Ericsson
Cyrus W. Field
Dr. Fleming (Sir Alexander)
Henry Ford
Benjamin Franklin
Galileo
Lou Gehrig
John Glenn
Robert Hutchings Goddard
Charles Goodyear
Matthew Henson
Sir Edmund Percival Hillary
Ben Hogan
Houdini
Andrew Jackson
John Paul Jones
James Edward Jouett
Danny Kaye
Francis Scott Key
Pierre Charles l'Enfant
Juan Ponce de Leon
John C. Lilly
Abraham Lincoln
Toussaint Louverture
Magellan
Mickey Mantle
Matthew Fontaine Maury
Dr. Charles H. Mayo
Dr. William J. Mayo
Garrett Morgan
John Muir
Issac Newton
Noah
Jesse Owens
Robert Edwin Peary
Admiral Matthew Calbraith Perry
Oliver Perry
Marco Polo
Major John Wesley Powell
Joseph Pulitzer
Israel Putnam
Paul Revere
Jacob Riis
Jackie Robinson
John Roebling
Washington Roebling
Wilheim von Roentgen
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Babe Ruth
Carl Sandburg
Heinrich Schliemann
Dr. Albert Schweitzer
Captain Robert Falcon Scott
Sequoyah
Sir Ernest Henry Shackleton
Alan B. Shephard
John Philip Sousa
Levi Strauss
Nikola Tesla
Henry David Thoreau
Jim Thorpe
George Washington
Benjamin West
Dr. Daniel Hale Williams
John Wise
Frank Lloyd Wright
Orville Wright
Wilbur Wright

## TABLE FIVE
## Biographies of Females

Amelia Earhart
Joan of Arc
Marian Anderson
Jane Addams
Mary Anning
Mary McLeod Bethune
Carol Ryrie Brink
Emily Carr
Marie Curie
Babe Didrikson
Helen Keller
Emily Kimbrough
Emma Lazarus
Pocahontas
Maria Mitchell
Leontyne Price
Annie Oakley

## TABLE SIX
### Occupations of Adult Males

airplane builder
animal trainers
architect
artist
astronaut
astronomer
athlete
author

baby sitter
baker
baloonist
band conductor
banker
barber
baseball player
blacksmith
botanist
building contractor
businessman
bus driver

carpenter
circus keeper
clerk
clockmaker
clown
coach
computer operator
construction worker
cook
cowboy
craftsman

decorator
dectective
deliveryman
dentist
doctor
doorman

electrician
engineer
expert on art
explorer

fairgroundsman
farmer
figure skater
film maker
fireman
fisherman
foreman
forest ranger

gardener
gas station attendant
glassblower
guard

handyman
humorist
hunter

ice cream man
inn keeper
inventor

janitor
judge
juggler

king
knight

landlord
life guard
lighthouse keeper
lumberman

magician
mailman
mathematician
mayor
m.c. in nightclub
merchant
milkman
miller
miner
mineralogist
monk
mover
museum manager

naturalist
newspaper owner
news reporter

organ grinder
outlaw

painter
parent
peddlar
pet store owner
photographer
pilot
pirate
plumber
policeman

pony herder
pop corn vender
priest
principal
professor
prospector

radio reporter
railroad inspector
restaurant owner
roadmaster
rocket firer

sailor
salesman
scientist
scoutmaster
sea captain
sheepherder
sheriff
ship builder
shoemaker
silversmith
ski teacher
soldier
space station worker
stagecoach driver
statesman
steamshovel operator
stonecutter
storeowner
submarine operator

tailor
taxidermist
teacher
telephoneman
telephone lineman
t.v. actor
t.v. man
t.v. newsman
t.v. writer
ticket seller
train conductor
train engineer
trapper
trashman
trolley driver
truck driver

veternarian

watchman
whaler
woodcutter
W.W. II hero
zookeeper

## TABLE SEVEN
## Occupations of Adult Females

acrobatist
author
baby sitter
baker
cafeteria worker
cashier
cleaning woman
cook
doctor
dressmaker
fat lady (in circus)
governess
housekeeper
ice skater
librarian
painter
parent
queen
recreational director
school crossing guard
school nurse
secretary
shopkeeper
teacher
telephone operator
witch

## TABLE EIGHT

### Statistical Summary of Dominant Themes

The following table lists statistically significant instances of themes found in child-centered stories. We counted as "one" each story in which a boy or girl exhibited these specific traits or behavior patterns, regardless of the number of times he or she was brave, passive, etc. When several boys or several girls acted in concert, we still counted the story as "one" boy or "one" girl since our interest was in the incidence of the specific traits rather than in absolute numbers of children. When a story showed several different themes, it was counted as "one" under each of the appropriate categories.

When considering these figures, one should keep in mind the initial ratios (5:2) of boy-centered to girl-centered stories. This means that second-sex themes are more significant than the absolute numbers of instances would indicate.

| Active Mastery Themes | Boys | Girls |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ingenuity, cleverness | 131 | 33 |
| 2. Industry, problem solving ability | 169 | 47 |
| 3. Strength, bravery, heroism | 143 | 36 |
| 4. Routine helpfulness | 53 | 68 |
| Elective or creative helpfulness | 54 | 19 |
| 5. Apprenticeship, acquisition of skills, coming of age | 151 | 53 |
| 6. Earning, acquisition, unearned rewards | 87 | 18 |
| 7. Adventure, exploration and imaginative play | 216 | 68 |

| Second Sex Themes | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Passivity and pseudo-dependence | 19 | 119 |
| 2. Altruism | 55 | 22 |
| 3. Goal constriction and rehearsal for domesticity | 50 | 166 |
| 4. Incompetence, mishaps | 51 | 60 |
| 5. Victimization and humiliation of the opposite sex | 7 | 68 |

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    Launching and Landing
    Far and Away
    Each and All
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    Green Light, Go (1966)
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    Trails to Treasure (1961) — Book Five
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Statler Building
Back Bay P.O. 191
Boston, Mass. 02117

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    Real and Make Believe (1966) Teachers Edition
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## *ADDENDUM*

Since the first printing of *DICK AND JANE AS VICTIMS*, nationwide attention has been focused on the issue of rigid sex role stereotyping in our children's school life. Our findings have been reinforced by other surveys and studies. Parents and teachers have worked with their schools to make educators aware of the damage done by this type of "education."

Following the publication of *DICK AND JANE AS VICTIMS*, we have been in consultation with the publishers, in an effort to effect changes in school readers, as well as other instructional materials. Our efforts to make the publishers aware of the need for change have not, by and large, been heeded. Although some publishers seem to be sympathetic to our message, little action has been taken. We have reviewed and analyzed many of the newer series of readers, which have been issued since our book was published. Even the 1973 copyrighted textbooks continue to channel our children in the same traditional, unrealistic directions, with no allowance for differences in the emotional, physical, social, and intellectual development of each child.

The problem of sexism is one which demands a sweeping revision of the patterns exposed by our research. Token changes are not enough. The elimination of sexist stereotypes must be rapid and thorough. We cannot permit another generation of children to be exposed to the outdated fantasies shown to be so damaging.

Women on Words and Images
1 March 1973

*Printed at the Carolingian Press in Princeton, New Jersey*

Mr. Hawkins. Mrs. Mink, do you have any questions.

Mrs. Mink. I have no questions. Thank you very, very much for your presentation.

Mr. Hawkins. Then this concludes these presentations.

Mrs. Mink. I have a couple of letters and statements, Mr. Chairman, which I ask unanimous consent be inserted in the record at the conclusion of today's testimony.

They are a letter and statement from Mrs. Bessie Moyers of the Hawaii State Commission on the Status of Women, and a statement by Marion Saunders from the State Commission of the States of Women, and statement by Judith Gething for the Hawaii Women's Political Caucus, and a wire and a letter and statement from Simmons College, William J. Holmes, president, Boston, Mass.

Mr. Hawkins. Without objections, the documents referred to will be inserted in the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

### STATEMENT BY DR. JUDITH GETHING FOR THE HAWAII WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

We wish to make public our support for H.R. 208, the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973 which you have sponsored. In our own activities here and in co-operation with other groups in the rest of the country we will press for prompt passage of this most important legislation.

Women's Political Caucus is well aware of the fact that our lives are governed to a large degree by myths about women and their role. For instance, the notion that most women who work, work for pin money has, we hope, been laid to rest, but not without extensive research and documentation. We desperately need more careful study of all aspects of women's lives and this requires the same kind of funding as does any other large-scale research.

Women Studies Programs have been started at many universities, including the University of Hawaii. The faculties and students of these programs need funds for curriculum and text development and for research into areas which heretofore have not been considered worthy of study by many academicians even though the subject of study involves over half the population.

As you know, in Hawaii and elswhere groups of citizens have banded together to challenge the sexist orientation of many of the text books and courses used in elementary and secondary schools and these projects are also in real need of federal funding. Much of this excellent work is done by volunteers, some of whom have already made considerable personal and monetary sacrifices in attacking these problems for which there seems to be so little money and such great need.

We are also finding more and more evidence of the necessity of enlightened counseling of school-age girls so they may take advantage of the rights which federal and state laws passed in the last decade have afforded them. In the face of this legislation many counselors continue to mirror the myths about women's roles in our society; courses and readings which shed light on this crucial problem are not yet widely available.

A look at the athletics program of almost any co-educational school or university will show that far more money is spent offerings, number and remuneration of coaches, medical and other athletics personnel, physical facilities and general institutional support for the two programs. Clearly, if education is to be equal, the situation must be changed.

Thus, the discrimination which women face in terms of curriculum offerings, distorted texts, limited counseling, and access to research money is truly overwhelming. This discrimination reflects the view that women's education should be aimed primarily at making good wives and mothers. We find nothing to criticize in either of these occupations, but we do object in the strongest possible way to being limited to these roles and to being assigned them by a school system before we can make an intelligent choice ourselves. The magnitude of this problem is so great and so little understood that the legislation which you have sponsored is of primary importance if we are to be able to begin to rectify the results of generations of suppression.

[From the Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, Fall 1971]

(By Esther Manning Westervelt)

## FEMININITY IN AMERICAN WOMEN: THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION

Notwithstanding certain popular pundits, the psychological and social condition of average American women is not dictated by natural laws as immutable as the second law of thermodynamics. It is not a condition to which society must arbitrarily adjust; it is a condition that society can and must change. The formal educational system in America occupies a position that gives it great power to facilitate such change, if it will. At present many of our educational practices help perpetuate the systematic attrition of feminine potential.

Women differ from men biochemically, anatomically, and developmentally. It is also possible that women differ from men in certain inherent psychological predispositions, but the effects of interaction between psyches and societies on personality and intellect are so potent that it is difficult to demonstrate the existence of such inherent predispositions. What is regarded as "femininity" in our culture or any other appears to correlate far more closely with the characteristics of such cultures than with physical attributes of females. Stereotypes of feminity have social antecedents and social consequences and are therefore subject to change with changing social circumstances.

The constellation of characteristics that comprise the American stereotype of "femininity" is reflected in attitudes toward women, in images of women in the media, and according to research, in the behaviors, self-perceptions, and self-ideals of a great many American women. These characteristis include passivity, dependence, emotionality, timidity, concern with personal relationship, narcissism, attentiveness to detail, a tendency toward perceptual and intellectual functioning that is more hollistic or global in approach than analytical, a need to maintain order and stability, and a preference for nurturing rather than for manipulative or competitive activities. Obviously, not all of these are negative or undesirable qualities, although our culture does place higher values on some of their opposites; also obviously, very few people possess all of them and all of them are found in men as well as in women. Nevertheless, these are the most salient characteristics of the feminine stereotype to which advertisers appeal, which many employers and teachers expect females to fit, and which many parents are far more willing to accept as "normal" in their daughters than in their sons.

Dr. Westervelt was executive codirector of the National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development, Inc., State University of New York at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, Long Island.

Dr. Westervelt is now director of Institutional Studies and holder of the Alumnae Endowed Chair at Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts.

This model of "femininity" is vehemently rejected by some women, especially the more highly educated, the younger, and those who have made a serious career commitment. Some women reject the model for themselves, but accept it as fitting most other women. Despite the prevalence of sex-typing of traits, research indicates that there are actually far greater differences in cognitive abilities and cognitive styles within each sex than there are between the sexes, the latter differences being miniscule in comparison with the former (1); that women get better grades than men from elementary school through college (2); and that sex differences in certain other behavioral styles and tendencies (for example, dependency) may vary with age (3). Research also shows, however, that many women, both young and mature, regard themselves as less aggressive, less autonomous, less self-controlled, and more concerned with personal attractiveness, pleasant surroundings, and warm personal relationships than are men and also regard "feminine" traits as less desirable than "masculine" ones, and that men tend to agree with these perceptions (4).

It is sometimes difficult for those of us who are in almost constant contact with active, intellectually lively women to realize how pervasive and potent this stereotype is in our society. But when we become acquainted with the attitudes and self-perceptions of women whose lives and interests are markedly different from our own, we are forced to acknowledge that many younger women as well as a great many older women accept this model as the ideal. How can this be, when it serves them poorly and ill fits the circumstances of their lives?

In all human societies sex is one of two major categories used in ascribing social roles; age is the other. We know, however, that patterns of distribution of roles by sex vary greatly from society to society, among complex as well as simple societies. Gardening may be the work of men in one simple society and of women in another; in Russia, medicine is primarily a woman's field while in the United States it is primarily a man's field—and so on. Societies expect certain kinds of behaviors to be associated with certain kinds of roles, although the behaviors expected for given roles will vary considerably from society to society and within one society over the course of time, even when the roles themselves seem rather similar. Contrast, for example, our expectations today of the ways in which professors will behave (consulting, writing, conducting research, good at dialogue in the classroom but not necessarily easily accessible to students) with those of 1900 (lecturing, theorizing, writing, closely involved with students). Within a given society, role expectations may also vary by social class and subcultures—for example, the conceptions of the responsibilities and privileges of a daughter held by Italian Americans differ from those held by Jewish Americans. The fact that many individuals appear to behave and think of themselves in ways which fit the expectations in at least a general sense (individual variations are actually great) is a function of the fact that human beings are the most social of all animals and acquire important aspects of their identities through participation in the social roles made available to them. They therefore tend to act toward others and toward themselves in ways which fit at least the outside limits of role expectations. Thus, when the roles a society assigns to its women are more apt to require passive and dependent behaviors than aggressive and autonomous ones, women early in life begin to learn such behaviors and to incorporate them into their self-concepts through the interrelated processes of imitation of appropriate role models (i.e., women), identification with significant others (including usually, but not always, the mother), and social reinforcement from adults and age peers for the expected behaviors.

But the directions in which such learning and identity formation lead depend on more complex processes of personality development than these. Personality evolves through the constant interaction of internally experienced needs and drives, which originate in the genetic uniqueness of the individual, with the responses of others toward the self. Important among these responses are roles made available to the individual, through social structuring and through imitations of and identification with models, often models perceived as "like-self," and the differential in social reinforcement received for performance in some roles as against performance in others. Early in life, some roles become more salient than others, predisposing the individual toward related or similar later roles and also causing some roles to be more central to the emerging aspects of identity than others.

When the structures and processes of a society change there is also a change in at least some of the roles made available to individuals and in expectations associated with previously existing roles. Role *expectations*, however, may have cultural components that resist change, especially when those expectations are associated with basic cultural categories like sex and age. Because an important function of culture is to provide societies with continuity, the impact of discontinuities and changes in roles and role expectations created by changes in social and economic processes is somewhat blunted; there is a tendency to attempt to adapt old role concepts and expectations to new roles. This is inevitable, since children are socialized by parents and taught by other adults who were themselves socialized in an earlier social context. As a result, we have a set of notions about what constitutes "womanly" behavior, and these form part of our expectations of a woman in whatever role we find her.

Many new kinds of roles have become available to Americans of both sexes within the past 50 years, while old roles have disappeared or become associated with new sets of expectations. We no longer, for example, expect waiters to be obsequious. But many of our continuing concepts about women's roles *and* about the behaviors appropriate to roles performed by women, which are major dimensions of our stereotype of femininity, are the legacy of an America that has long ceased to exist—an America in which the home and the woman who presided over it provided many more goods and services for the total society than is now the case. As a result, current ideology greatly exaggerates the scope and social significance of the roles of wife and mother and concomitantly, the necessity for men to assume major responsibility and authority in all activities outside the home. As a corollary, that ideology puts nurturance and submissiveness at the head of the list of womanly virtues, and aggrieveness and autonomy at the head of those for men.

An important reason for the power of past conditions to obscure present realities is that role expectations that are associated with a fundamental culural category such as sex are partially shaped by the symbolic content of a culture, including its mythology and its language. Although the concept of women has undergone numerous and interesting modifications in the history of the Judaic and Christian religions, one fact is constant—there have been no goddesses. In the story of Creation (at least, in the *second* version given in Genesis), woman is an afterthought. (The facts of evolution and biology are, of course, quite the reverse.) The concept of woman as a second-class citizen is thus embedded in mythology and has been greatly elaborated in Hebrew and Christian theology. It is not surprising that, until very recently in the Western world, women had little legal, political, or social freedom and independence. Legislation has abolished most such restrictions, but cultural concepts that are integral to religious beliefs *cannot* be legislated out of existence. Language is also an important reflector and reinforcer of cultural concepts (a study of the image of women and of femininity reflected in the English language would be an interesting topic for a linguist). Not all linguistic symbols of woman's place are ancient; consider only the two contemporary colloquial meanings of the word *screw* and what they imply about male attitudes toward women.

Cultural concepts and cultural assumptions are not, however, "nature's" laws. They are created by human beings and they are abolished by human beings. We are at a critical time in the history of women partly because cultural stereotypes of femininity with which many of our girls—and boys—are still being indoctrinated are, for the most part, totally inappropriate to the roles actually available to women in our society, to the expectations associated with these roles, and to avenues for normal female development and self-expression. If we are to respond effectively to this critical situation by active intervention in the socialization process in ways that will make it possible for biological womanhood to find satisfying and productive social development and expression, we must examine the practices through which outmoded stereotypes of femininity shape personalities of females.

In a society where actual need for sex-typing of adult activities is minimal, it would seem important that vehicles of parent education actively discourage parents from sex-typing the activities of their young children. Parents should encourage all children to engage in the widest variety of play activities that attract them. Girls should not get all the dolls and boys all the trains. Nursery school teachers and assistants should also avoid sex-typing. Children should not be differentially rewarded for participation in sex-typed and non-sex-typed activities; for example, a little girl should not receive more praise and affection for playing nurse than for playing truck driver. Needless to say, within the home, sex-typing of parents' activities will influence the child's perceptions not only of how activities are sex-typed but also of the relative values of the activities; such values are conveyed, both overtly and covertly, through parental attitudes and through television and other media.

It is noteworthy that by middle childhood both sexes value male sex-typed activities above female sex-typed activities. This aspect of the structure of the child's world can undoubtedly affect attitudes toward the self. Sex-typing of interests and behaviors may also influence direction of development of cognitive abilities. Theories of cognitive development drawn from Piaget provide a logic for such a hypothesis: In the process of assimilation the child filters experience through an existing cognitive structure; modification of this structure to fit reality is called accommodation. It is not difficult to see how sex-typing of behaviors and differential reinforcement of these by parents and others can early modify the cognitive structure through which experience is assimilated. The two sexes must accommodate to somewhat different realities. It is, for example, interesting that girls appear to excel in verbal skills from an early age while sex differences that favor boys in mathematical and spatial reasoning do not seem to appear until later childhood (5).

By the time many little girls enter elementary school they have already acquired from parents, television, and so on the nucleus of a model for sex differences in roles and behaviors. This model gains new dimensions in the elementary school. We are beginning to change unrealistic sex-role distinctions which have long been purveyed by elementary school readers, but the beginnings are small. Furthermore, sex-role distinctions exist within the school itself. Elementary teachers are most apt to be women, and the elementary principal and other supervisory personnel to be men. There may also be sex distinctions in nonacademic activities and possibly also in the kinds of academic activities that are encouraged and rewarded. For example, research has suggested that creativity is more valued in boys than in girls (6). At this age the community has also begun to sex-type interests and activities through such community-sponsored activities as Brownies and Cub Scouts. One effect of all this differentiation is to discourage aggression and autonomy in girls and to encourage it in boys.

There is another factor about which we can at least speculate. Some evidence suggests that during the first years of elementary school girls are superior to boys in intellectual performance (7). This tendency may, of course, relate to girls' apparent superiority in verbal skills; it may also have biological roots—in all the higher primate species females mature earlier than males. If this difference is real, and not merely (as has been suggested) a function of the repressive effect of female teachers on elementary school boys, we make no allowance for it in the conventional elementary school. Girls and boys are taught together and the pace of the class is necessarily tied to the mean of whatever differences may exist between their rates and patterns of development. It would be interesting to examine whether girls do in fact progress faster than boys in the new "open classrooms." Even in such classrooms teachers may reinforce sex-role stereotypes and sex-typed behaviors by sex differentials in rewards for certain types of classroom activities. We need to do a great deal of "consciousness-raising" about the realities of women's lives in the training of elementary school teachers.

When girls reach puberty, an event that in our school system usually occurs early in the junior high school years, they experience a variety of marked changes in their bodies, as we all know. Because these changes are extensive, a certain amount of physical stress is associated with them. This is normal; it has been observed frequently in adolescent nonhuman primates as well as in adolescent humans. Unfortunately, rather than attempting to alleviate the tendency of such stress to increase psychological anxiety, we do a great deal to strengthen it. For example, most teaching about menstruation and the menstrual cycle is essentially negative rather than positive. We do try to minimize menstrual discomforts and disorders, but we do *not* try to maximize the positive aspects of the menstrual cycle—the ways in which a girl can learn to know her individual rhythms and to enrich her intellectual and emotional life with them; at least our approach is to teach her to accommodate to them. Yet many of us know that the rhythm of the menstrual cycle can be used very productively; it provides us with days of peak energy and with days in which we have a greater tendency than usual to introspection. It provides us with days in which our sensory perceptions are somewhat more acute than on other days; it also sometimes induces mild depression—not a bad thing in itself, as it can be regarded as an opportunity to evaluate experience from an alternate perspective.

At about this time we diminish girls' appreciation of their bodies' potential and prowess in yet another way; we sharply increase sex segregation in athletic activities. Rather than encouraging all girls to develop their physical strengths and skills to the highest possible potential and, incidentally, to acquire the self-confidence that goes with such acquisition, we imply, by the pattern of sex segregation in athletics, that a girl's capacity to develop such skills and strength is necessarily limited and that participation in the more active and competitive sports is "unfeminine." A school geared to contemporary sex-role realities would have no sex segregation whatsoever in physical education or athletics.

At this time we begin to make other marked distinctions between sexes. We are content to give boys more leadership in school affairs than in lower grades. We make no attempt to counteract this trend, which is an inevitable outgrowth of sex-role distinctions regarding leadership in our society. There could be for example, regulations in junior and senior high schools that would distribute equally between boys and girls top leadership in all units of student government and student activities by arranging that no offices be held by the same sex twice in succession. Such a ruling could be instigated by students if they were asked to consider it. All positions in all sports should be open to students of both sexes, and care should be taken that girls not be discriminated against once they make their choices. We should be making every effort to see that contacts between the sexes in all situations are as easy and informal as possible. Research shows that, during high school years, girls experience much more anxiety about heterosexual relationships than do boys, whose anxieties are more apt to cluster around educational and vocational concerns (8). We encourage such sexual anxiety through all school activities in which a girl's sexual attractiveness is an advantage to her.

Obviously, there are many ways in which the curriculum of the junior and senior high school reinforces sex-role stereotypes and stereotypes of feminine behavior. Although there is considerable agitation to pay more attention to the role of women in history, it is still true that the typical history textbook has little to say on this subject and that only rarely will it be supplemented by a special text that emphasizes woman's contributions to history. Much of the literature studied during these years is necessarily a legacy from other times and from social contexts in which the roles of women were very different from what they are today; literature can thus also reinforce outmoded sex-role stereotypes. Sensitive teachers have observed that some girls recognize that many, if not all, the traits and behaviors of female characters in these works are anachronistic today, although appropriate to the setting in which they were displayed, but little is done in classrooms to make this clear to everyone.

Many high schools still maintain sex-segregated classes in such subjects as home economics and industrial arts. It is true that some schools have dropped such segregation and a few may even require both of these subjects (including child care) for boys and girls, but there is still much work to be done in this direction. We should also remember that we still have a goodly number of sex-segregated vocational high schools.

Both teachers and guidance counselors in high schools are more apt than not to encourage different career aspirations for girls than for boys. They also encourage girls to keep their aspirations at lower levels and even to avoid the kinds of preparation that would lead them into the sciences, engineering, and such. We can note that daughters of affluent families enjoy travel and adventure in adolescence as much as boys, but school and community provide more of these for boys than for girls. Until we develop effective ways of reaching teachers, guidance counselors, and youth workers during the course of their training, they will continue to reinforce sex-role stereotypes. Even when we find ways of reaching them in the course of training (and this is not as easy as we might think, since it will be difficult to staff such training), many of them will persist in such reinforcement, for it reflects patterns imposed on them during the course of their own development.

By the time a girl enters college, if she does, she is more than apt to have had her career expectations lowered and her interest in marriage increased. Whatever sense she may once have had of herself as a unique, resourceful, and autonomous being has been generally overlaid with the sense of a self whose opportunities for development and satisfaction as a human being are closely tied to her capacity to be attractive and pleasing to others, especially to males. Innumerable social sources, including even our comic strips, have helped to impress her with the idea that aggressiveness and autonomy will make her less attractive, especially to males. Much less effort has been made to help her see that women whose attractiveness to males has become legendary were without exception extraordinarily independent and intellectually able. Unfortunately, as has so often been pointed out, the college girl does not find many female role models on most college campuses. Womanhood is a component of personality, cherished by the mentally healthy. It is not tied to mere *prescriptions* about roles and behaviors and *can* successfully counter them, but the contribution that gender identity makes to the self-concept tends to vitiate the impact of male role models on young college women.

Biological sex drives are meanwhile becoming stronger. Normal sexual needs can bolster pressures upon girls by male intimates to adapt their self-concepts and aspirations to male stereotypes of feminity. Therefore, as a girl progresses through college, she may experience increased anxiety, conflict, and ambiguity about her life's goals which she reflects in shifting or ambiguous career plans, or in a retreat to "feminine" career fields (9). Despite women's liberation, radical feminists, and women's studies, girls are, moreover, openly or subtly encouraged by many faculty and counselors to make marriage the central factor in their life planning and to adjust all other motivations and aspirations accordingly.

Still another factor influencing the attitudes of young women toward themselves, their interests, and their futures is the expectation of many faculty and other personnel that there will be sex differences in academic behaviors and in vocational aspiration. Expectations receive reinforcement from many other sources—from the behaviors of some (but only some) young women and young men, from theory and research that rest on unexamined assumptions about sex differences, from chauvinistic attitudes of male faculty and sometimes of older and single female faculty, from certain educational practices, and from acceptance of sex differences in campus leadership. On one campus the faculty received a memorandum the substance of which was drawn entirely from a single monograph on sex differences. This monograph, in its report of sex differences in intellectual abilities and academic behavior, was clearly biased in favor of the male. The memorandum was circulated to prepare faculty and administrators for the admission of male students to what had been a women's campus, to prepare them, the memorandum suggested, for more exciting and challenging students--males. The strong trend to coeducational housing, which is to be commended, is not, in many institutions, accompanied by changes in housing facilities that could contribute to new perspectives on sex roles. Self-sustaining housekeeping units shared by men and women could make a marked contribution in this respect, but they are relatively few. Energetic efforts to ensure, through legislation if necessary, equal representation of the sexes in campus leadership are almost nonexistent, yet without such representation we cannot hope that women will achieve political equality in the adult world. Independent study and work experience may be even more important for girls than for boys, but faculty advisers and curriculum planners are not necessarily aware of this. We can be much more active than we now are in giving women the assurance many of them need to apply to graduate school--especially the assurance that places can be found for qualified women and the assurance that sex discrimination in recruiting for graduate school or employment is being overcome.

We can therefore understand why a greatly heightened awareness of the dislocation and repression that women suffer in our society still does not prevent a great many young women graduates from opting to give marriage priority over all other spheres of activity. Later, after the age of 30 or even earlier, many may find themselves stagnating and full of conflict about the avenue or avenues available to escape from such stagnation into fuller personal development. But at the age of 21, many of our young women continue to embark on life patterns not markedly different from those which many older women today find most satisfying.

I have so far been focusing on the experience of the majority. It is extremely important, however, not to overlook experiences of a growing minority since it is in their experiences that we can see trends for the future. Although most advertisers seem as yet unaware of it, stereotyped feminity is no longer accepted as an essential element of the female personality by many bright young women. Such women are more concerned with their humanness than with their femaleness. Their freedom to escape the stereotype is greatly increased by a number of factors. One of these, perhaps the most important, is the fact that we now publicly acknowledge that young women have as much right to sexual freedom as young men. The sexual freedom of young women is facilitated by recent advances in contraception and is reinforced by changes in public attitudes. A related factor is experimentation with new styles of marriage and family living and a growing tendency to focus on the human aspects of these relationships and to ignore the legal aspects. It may be relevant to mention here that a recent study indicates that social adjustments of unwed mothers are not necessarily particularly difficult (10). Another development, which I hope will accelerate, is the retention by women of their maiden names after marriage. A name is a component of identity, one with us from earliest life; when a woman changes her name she sacrifices at least a little of her identity.

A sphere of activity that should greatly expedite the disappearance of outmoded stereotypes of femininity is the expansion of "women's studies." Although this field is experiencing the difficulties necessarily attendant on attempts to stake out a new area of scholarship (difficulties compounded by the vastness of the area), it will nevertheless sharpen the sensitivity of young women and young men to cultural restrictions upon women and will also stimulate a great deal of needed new research pertaining to all aspects of women's lives and patterns of development. Such research will start from assumptions about the nature of femininity which are positive rather than negative; it will not approach the study of females as if they were essentially males manqués. It will look more carefully than before at the dynamics of the interaction between biological and social forces in female development. It will rest content neither with mere descriptions of what is nor with explanations of why "what [illegible] is that rest on theories which have not been tested on subjects whose mental health is outstanding.

The battle against sex discrimination meanwhile will continue and will make advances, although the latter may be slower than we might wish. The result of each advance will be a wider variety of female role models for girls and young women to emulate. As girls and women learn more about themselves and see, from the example of other women, that marriage and motherhood do not limit a woman's capacity for other activities, more of them will pursue new life-styles. As they do so, the ideas of boys and men about femininity and feminine roles must also change, as they are changing already among our more thoughtful and sensitive young men.

* * *

All educators of girls and young women have a responsibility to take some leadership in instituting the changes in educational structures and processes that will facilitate fuller development of the capacities of women. There must be changes in curriculum, cocurricular activities, and institutional arrangements, some of which I have mentioned. Educators have, however, another responsibility which they sometimes find less congenial—that is the responsibility to be open to the merits of changes originated by the young. On occasion, educators can contribute at least as much in supporting roles as in leadership roles since in certain ways young people are better equipped than older adults to understand the possibilities and the limitations of the society in which we all live. Only the very youngest of us have shared many of the socializing experiences of the current generation of high school and college students. How fully even those who are younger may have shared these experiences depends on such factors as family background, school experiences, community of origin. . . . To nurture the development of today's young requires listening as well as leading, a capacity to share differences in experience rather than merely the formulation of schemes to impose patterns of thought and behavior that stem from experiences of a different time—experiences quite alien to those of today's young. This does not relieve us of the obligation to share our perspective, nor does it imply that we should abandon all of our responsibility to exercise mature judgment, nor all values which we have acquired in the course of living for values that, however cherished by the young, may be alien to us. But those who teach and counsel the young need to be quite sure that the values they consciously and unconsciously try to transmit to their students are valid for our world in our time.

We who are women and educators have a preeminent obligation to help young women move toward richer and more various conceptions and expressions of femininity. We must be more courageous than we have often been in asserting our right to full participation in our social institutions, including the institutions in which we are employed. Although we sometimes become almost incoherent in our private discussions of sex discrimination, publicly we have done far less to combat it than we might. Too frequently, as professional women, we tend to adopt the stereotyped feminine posture—to be passive, timid, reluctant to damage personal relationships in the pursuit of professional equality, and loath to risk the status quo for fear that we will lose all status. If we cannot ourselves be courageous, aggressive, and autonomous, we cannot expect younger women, whose experiences at home, in school, and in the larger community have already planted seeds of conflict about feminine potential, to resolve readily those conflicts in favor of a fuller life and a deeper humanity.

Women's horizons are widening. Many women are turning away from traditional ideals of femininity and traditional patterns of family life. These changes are occurring in part because we are ever more conscious of how constricted women's lives and personalities have been and in part because both the realities of our social and economic systems and the psychological needs and characteristics of men and women mandate change. Conceivably the most critical determinant of the pace of change is the pace of change in our educational practices. Much depends on our readiness to stop feminizing girls—that is, on our readiness to educate girls to cherish and nurture all aspects of their human individuality. I do not think we have to wait on extrauterine gestation or test-tube conception and a day nursery in every shopping center to free women to be people. The joys of sexual and parental love do not depend on exploiting women as cheap labor in the home and barring them from full participation the world outside the home. Young women who have learned to respect their individuality will choose and be chosen by mates who also respect it. Together they will work out patterns of family living and patterns of commitments to vocational and civic activities through which women, men, and children will gain more freedom to grow in spirit and mind than most now have.

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[Telegram]

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

Hon. PATSY MINK,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

We support H.R. 208.

HAWAII TASK FORCE ON SEX BIAS IN EDUCATION.

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[Mailgram]

JULY 25, 1973.

Hon. PATSY MINK,
*Rayburn House Office Building,*
*Washington, D.C.:*

My colleagues and I are most interested in the Women's Educational Equity Act (H.R. #208) and urge you to give favorable consideration to this legislation as the nation's largest private women's college, particularly concerned with career development, Simmons sees the effects of sexism in school textbooks, teaching, and counseling on young women's educational and career motivation. Federal initiative is needed to stimulate development of new teaching materials and training and retraining programs for teachers, counselors, community service personnel that will eliminate the sex-role stereotypes that undermine development of the full potential of boys and girls alike.

WILLIAM J. HOLMES,
*President Simmons College, Boston, Mass.*

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STATE OF HAWAII,
DEPARTMENT OF BUDGET AND FINANCE,
*Honolulu, Hawaii, September 4, 1973.*

Hon. PATSY T. MINK,
*United States Congress, House of Representatives, Federal Building, Honolulu, Hawaii.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MINK: Thank you for your letter of acknowledgment of our telegram re H.R. 208.

In our opinion, this bill is a *must* to provide the necessary vehicle through which local programs can be launched.

Presently, several organizations including the State and City Commissions on the Status of Women, the YWCA and Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) are jointly engaged in a study of sex bias in education locally. We are proceeding very slowly primarily because of lack of funds. Under H.R. 208, studies such as ours could proceed more speedily and effectively. Further, this Act would give impetus to sponsorship of workshops and seminars to educate parents, educators, counselors and the general public.

There is a need to eradicate some myths regarding women's role and to re-educate the public about the women's changing roles in society today.

We concur that this bill is indeed a very important legislative document and we strongly support its enactment.

With very best wishes for your success.

Very truly yours,

BESSIE MYERS,
*Chairperson, Education Committee,*
*State Commission on the Status of Women.*

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## STATEMENT BY BESSIE MYERS, CHAIRPERSON, EDUCATION COMMITTEE, HAWAII STATE COMMISSION ON STATUS OF WOMEN

I am Bessie Myers, Chairperson of the Education Committee of the State Commission on the Status of Women, and I speak for the State Commission in support of the Women's Educational Equity Act of 1973, H.R. 208.

The State Commission notes with appreciation the purpose of H.R. 208, "would provide funds for special educational programs and activities including development of curricular materials, training programs for counselors and other educational personnel and *community* education programs designed to achieve educational equity for men and women". I strongly believe this bill is a *must* to provide the necessary vehicle through which local programs can be launched.

The State Commission on the Status of Women is presently engaged in a study on sex bias in education with the Honolulu County Committee on the Status of

Women, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and several dozen community agencies. The study is proceeding slowly primarily because of lack of funds. Under H.R. 208, studies such as ours could proceed more speedily and effectively. Furthermore, this Act would give impetus to sponsorship of workshops and seminars to educate parents, educators, counselors and the general public to look at the sociological impact of the rigid sex roles imposed and enforced by our educational system.

In summary, the State Commission on the Status of Women supports the enactment of this legislation without reservation.

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STATE OF HAWAII,
DEPARTMENT OF BUDGET AND FINANCE,
*Honolulu, Hawaii, August 20, 1973.*

Hon. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: The State of Hawaii Commission on the Status of Women wishes to give its strong and enthusiastic support to the Women's Educational Equity Act, H.R. 208, introduced by Congresswoman Patsy T. Mink. Our Commission represents many segments of the Hawaiian population and a wide range of women's opinions. We are united in our support of the urgent need for an educational equity act such as Rep. Mink has introduced.

The State Commission, in collaboration with a group of community agencies, is now engaged in a comprehensive study of "Sex in Education," which is focused on the below-collegiate levels of education. Within six to eight months data available from this study will be immensely helpful in pinpointing areas of greatest need in Hawaii for developing equal and unbiased programs of education for women.

One of the greatest services H.R. 208 could render would be the development of *inservice training programs at many levels in education to sensitize teachers, faculty and administrators to the demoralizing effects of sexism within education.* The long history of division between the sexes has made much discrimination against women covert and subtle—and the first need is to bring about recognition of this. The school has a central responsibility in bringing about change of attitudes and acceptance of sex equality. This applies equally to higher education as to elementary and secondary education.

Allied with this is the need for *special programs to retrain all counselors, male and female, at all levels of education.* We have examples in Hawaii where male counselors in secondary schools admit they do not understand today's girls, and so they simply drop them. This is an example of how girls are left without models or resource persons with whom they can work out their problems and aspirations in adjusting to changing society and now expectations of women. *All* counselors need to be retrained to serve both boys and girls, men and women, with more awareness that the restrictions on role behavior of the past are no longer operative. These programs, for both teachers and counselors must begin in *kindergarten and preschool.*

This means, if we are intelligent, that *textbook changes must accompany changes of attitude and teaching.* Some good analyses have been made of texts and how they portray the two sexes. One of these was done by the State of Pennsylvania, and another by the public schools of Ann Arbor, Michigan. All studies attest to the urgent need for *new curriculum development* with books that *portray women in keeping with their abilities and increasingly diverse roles.*

The educational lag in curricular materials is dramatically illustrated by the U.S. Office of Education circulating film and other materials that bring recurring protests against their sexism and unrealistic, obsolete attitudes.

Access of women to administrative and executive positions in education would hasten the development of equal opportunities for all in education. Hawaii is no different from other states in its shutting out of women from positions of decision-making. While 78% of teachers in the Department of Education are women, only 24% of educational officers are women; and in 207 schools there are 38 women principals with only one in a high school. On the island of Maui there is not a single woman principal in 23 schools. (1970–71 data) In the University of Hawaii there is one woman dean out of 14, and only 80 women associate or full professors out of 564—although women constitute 48% of the undergraduate student body. (1971–72 data) To offset this long-standing discrimination, there need to be *special programs in management and executive training for women,* geared to counterbalancing the minimal use of their talents that has, in the past characterized even our educational institutions.

Several areas in the University of Hawaii illustrate situations typical in many other colleges and universities. The first is the wide need for *expanded programs of Continuing Education for Women*. Throughout the nation these programs began in the early 1960s to meet the needs of adult women returning to education. They still serve those needs, but have become inundated with demands for services to a much broader range of women. There is need for services and innovative activities involving women from high school dropouts to senior citizens in leadership training, vocational exploration, community action projects, weekend educational seminars, etc. The University of Hawaii, like many other programs, has not kept pace with this broad need.

Another area in the University is the need for *Women's Studies to be incorporated into all department curricula*. There are now some scattered courses, only a few of which have been accepted as regular departmental offerings. It must be admitted that most of the textbooks of today have been written by men, about men, for men. This is a situation that is no longer tolerable. One of the ways to begin restructuring the content of a discipline is to bring into the department special courses on women's contributions to the field: history, sociology, economics, etc.

Women need *increased access to fellowships and research* opportunities in order to prepare for such courses. The recent study done by Cynthia Atwood for the American Association of Colleges on "Women in Fellowship and Training Programs" gives statistical data on the bias operating to favor men above women, even when the latter are more qualified. In one program she cites, women were 15% of national finalists, yet only 6% of awardees. In the University of Hawaii, in one department, of 12 graduate assistantships only 4 went to women, despite a high proportion of women studying in this department.

One of the most blatant areas of discrimination against women is in sports. Beginning in the lower schools, girls have access to fewer sports, facilities and staff resources than do boys. This accelerates as they move up into secondary and collegiate education. A recent news announcement made a great splash about the *University of Chicago* having given its *first women athletic scholarship* in the history of the school. The University of Hawaii is right along with the University of Chicago. Last year they awarded *300* athletic scholarships, *not one to a woman*. Yet, as previously stated, women constitute 48% of the undergraduate student body.

The need for development of *modern, realistic, innovative career counseling programs*, in educational institutions and in the community, *is urgent*. Women have been, in the words of President Johnson, the most underutilized resource of the nation. Women are increasingly aware of this. Career counseling lags far behind the awakened consciousness and interests of women. New programs need to be developed which will bring women into contact with the totality of vocational choices, and fit these to the specifics of a woman's talents and interests. The recent change of the Strong Vocational Interest Test from a two-sex form to a *unisex* form is an example of the kind of change demanded by the times. Women have been programmed into restricted vocational choices by the Strong Test (female form!) for decades.

*Women's Resource Centers, community-based*, could be effective channels for educational opportunities. Because women have filled restricted roles in our society, they frequently have more complex problems to confront in moving out into education, employment or community participation than do most men. They need resource centers where the "whole ball of wax" can be analyzed—not each piece separately. Women's Resource Centers could perform this critical service—bringing together resources in education, in employment, in community activity, in agency services, and in personal counseling. There is need to maintain *skill banks* to assist in full utilization of women's talents. There is need for work orientation for low-income aides to maximize stability in job situations. There is a pressing need to educate employers to the usefulness of *part-time workers, shared jobs*, which two women or a husband-wife team could fill. These are but a few of the critical services Women's Resource Centers could do—oriented as they would be to the special conditions our society has created by discriminatory roles for women.

Many men and women are not aware of the studies of Dr. Matina Horner, President of Radcliffe College. Her results are known as "*the Matina Horner syndrome*," since this syndrome has been confirmed by other researchers. It asserts that women in American society are programmed for failure, because only in this way will they "retain their feminity, keep good rapport with men, have opportunities for marriage." If they behave as bright as they are, compete with men and often surpass them, show their enjoyment of their talents—then they risk forfeiting positive relationships with men.

Much of what we have been suggesting that H.R. 208 could do are activities that, hopefully, would encourage and assist girls and women to be full human beings, free to enjoy and develop their highest potentials *in partnership with men.*

Much needs to be done, we could mention the need for more apprenticeship programs for women, special media programs that would bring women's contributions dramatically into the consciousness of adults and children, programs to develop skills in community building for improved nutrition, child care, and etc., etc.

One of the features of H.R. 208 that seems especially useful is the provision for small innovative grants of $15,000 to women's education programs. These could be extremely productive in making possible the exploration of many facets of activity for women: husband-wife teaming in employment; evaluation of women as supervisors; what could women contribute to home architecture, to hospital planning and administration; how can new career support be given to girls from low-income families in ways that give them real choices . . . and so on.

We know much testimony will be given in support of this bill which has our unqualified support. We urge the Committee to report favorably on it, and hope that it will be enacted into law by this Congress.

Cordially yours,

MARION SAUNDERS,
*Vice-Chairperson for*
*State Commission on Status of Women,*
*State of Hawaii.*

Mr. HAWKINS. That ladies and gentlemen concludes the hearing for today. The committee is contemplating a few hearings to commence next month, the time and place of the hearings will be published, and we certainly invite any additional testimony from the witnesses in support of H.R. 208.

The hearing, therefore, is concluded.

(Whereupon, the hearing recessed at 11:20 a.m.)

[Additional material received after the hearings recessed.]

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN,
*Brooklyn, N.Y., September 13, 1973.*

Hon. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
*Chairperson, Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, House Office Building Annex, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE HAWKINS: Today, you heard testimony on sex stereotyping and bias in children's books and textbooks. This is to inform you that the testimony given by Women on Words and Images, of Princeton, New Jersey, was also intended to represent the National Organization for Women (NOW), which has a national membership of nearly 30,000 and approximately 600 chapters. Our specialist on educational texts is also a member of Women on Words and Images. Hence, I believe NOW was inadvertently omitted from your Subcommittee's press release.

Children, like women and minority groups, have tended to go unrepresented in our governing bodies, and so, their experiences have often been undervalued. NOW is particularly concerned at the way children's perceptions of themselves and others are early shaped by adult prejudice. While we may not be able to control the prejudice felt by an individual, we can—and must—control the prejudice that is disseminated by the media and publishing industries.

We believe that the Women's Educational Equity Act will help to correct the problem of sex bias in education in the healthiest way possible. It will control prejudice by offering creative and viable alternatives. It will make divisive tactics unnecessary to a great degree. It will free us from the picketing and the negotiating and allow us to get on with the real work of creating an educational program that is full of opportunities for all people.

Thank you so much for the time you are investing in this work.

Sincerely,

ANNE GRANT, *Coordinator.*

WOMEN ON WORDS AND IMAGES,
*Princeton, N.J., September 17, 1973.*

Hon. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
*Chairman, Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: It was a pleasure to meet you and your committee last Thursday and to show you our slide show on sex role stereotyping in children's readers.

After reflecting on the testimony I heard, I would like to add some observations. The publishers' attitudes seem to be to be very relevant to your considerations on HR 208. On that day we heard some testimony from Ms. Anne Ladky of Scott Foresman & Co. about their efforts to eliminate sexism in their books. I want to point out that their new reading series *for the earliest grades* was already completed long before their guidelines for eliminating sexism were formulated. As a matter of fact, a number of our slides come from these new readers. Not only that, but statistics on these books (for the first 12 levels) were included from our first edition (published in January of 1972) on page 49 of DICK & JANE AS VICTIMS as you can seen from the enclosed marked copy. Therefore, even with the best of intentions, the new readers could only be fair to children in the upper grades and still would continue to expose children in the earliest grades to insidious sexism in their most vulnerable school years.

Since many school districts are short of funds, they are not so fast to replace older, still usable readers with new ones and the old sexist books tend to remain in use for years in the schools. As a matter of fact, we found that many books with a copyright date of 1961 are in constant use in our own school system in Princeton and the older books are used as supplementary materials. We found books as old as 1947 still being used! Although Scott Foresman would appear to be very sincere in wanting to change their books, it will be years before they are in wide use in the schools.

The elimination of racism in readers can in some ways be compared to the elimination of sexism there. In the case of the blacks, it took five to seven years from the first efforts to integrate the books in 1965 by hastily applying brown ink to faces (so hastily that sometimes hands were forgotten: the face was colored in and the hands were not colored in).

Thus, these earliest efforts to eliminate racism in readers simply colored in illustrations that were in reality, pictures of white middle-class people. However, in the latest books, I have seen realistic efforts to ethnically represent blacks. I certainly hope the process will be speedier than five to seven years in the case of sexism, but feel that sexism has many subtleties and nuances just below the surface. We urgently need HR 208 to help us deal effectively with these subtleties and nuances in order eliminate the biases now rampant in instructional materials.

Sincerely,

PHYLLIS ALROY.

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BALTIMORE, MD., *September 6, 1973.*

Representative PATSY T. MINK,
*House Education and Labor Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities, Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN MINK: In connection with the scheduled hearings on the Women's Educational Equity Act, H.R. 208, I am enclosing a copy of the *Baltimore Feminist Project Report on Sexism and Racism in Elementary School Readers*. This report was compiled over a one year period in conjunction with the Baltimore City Department of Education. All work on the report, to this point including even duplication, has been done without pay or reimbursement by members of the Baltimore Feminist Project.

We think that this report supports the contention that there are grave injustices being perpetrated in our schools through textbooks. We hope the report will help support your efforts to point out the need for equity for women in education.

We will actively support your efforts in Congress, and would appreciate being kept up-to-date on future developments in this area.

Sincerely,

RITA J. BERNDT,
*Baltimore Feminist Project.*

# STATEMENT BY RITA BERNDT, BALTIMORE FEMINIST PROJECT REPORT ON SEXISM AND RACISM IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL READERS

## ABSTRACT

An examination of a sample of selections from 5 series of readers widely in use in Baltimore City elementary schools reveals that females and racial minorities are underrepresented in central roles and that where they do appear their characterization reinforces traditional sexual and racial stereotypes. The readers fail in general to provide positive self-images for females and racial minorities, and they reflect and reinforce social injustices. Recommendations are made for use of the readers and development of teacher, parent and publisher awareness of the problems of sexual and racial stereotyping.

## I. INTRODUCTION

A group of six feminists have undertaken to write this essay because we think it is important for people to learn about racial and sexual discrimination in textbooks in use in Baltimore City schools .

### A. *Socialization*

The term socialization will be used here to identify the process by which the naive infant slowly develops a set of attitudes and values, likes and dislikes, goals and purposes, patterns of response and a deep, abiding concept of self. More formally, socialization is that process whereby one internalizes the norms and values of the dominant culture, and perhaps of various subgroups, so that a distinct self emerges, unique to this individual. The image of the self is arrived at through a gradual, complicated process which continues throughout life. It is generally believed that the individual's perceptions of the judgment of others (society) and the reactions which s/he experiences to these judgments, form the basis of the development of self image.[1]

The process of socialization, and consequently the formation of self-concept, takes place largely through the learning of a role, which for the individual is the set of behaviors "appropriate" to one's rank or position within a group. Role learning has three aspects: duties, status and temperament. One learns the duties connected with a role and claims its privileges; one also acquires the temperament—attitudes, feelings and expectations—appropriate to that role.

Universally used bases for role ascription are sex and age. There are no known societies which do not in some way predicate "appropriate" behavior upon the sex and age of the individual. Very widely used determinants of "appropriate" behavior include race, nationality, social class and religion. In this study we will be centrally concerned with the implications for females, Blacks and other racial minorities of role learning through textbooks used in the Baltimore City School System.

### B. *Blacks and other racial/ethnic minorities*

A large body of material is available which points to racial stereotyping in textbooks as one factor which perpetuates negative self-image for Blacks and other racial/ethnic minorities.

A basic finding of the Coleman report (1966) is that for Black children negative self-image contributes to failure in school performance. This negative self-image is taught rather than innate. According to Dr. Ruth Landes, Blacks and other minority groups are "taught to despise their physical or other differences from the dominant group."[2] In an essay in *Harvard Educational Review*, Charles Valentine insists that "mainstream Euro-American culture includes concepts, values and judgments which categorize Blacks as worthy only of fear, hatred, or contempt because of their supposedly innate characteristics."[3]

The mainstream imposes its system of values on Blacks, Indians, Polish-Americans, Spanish-Americans and other minority groups through a variety of methods—television, advertising, jokes, movies, books. Another obvious source of transmitting cultural values to children is in the school, where the curriculum is largely composed of reading primers, social studies readers, history books and other textbook materials. Both the dominance of White American values and the neglect of contributions of minority cultures have been observed in elementary school textbooks. The existence of racism in textbooks and trade books produced for children has been documented by Green, Larrick, Banks and others (see Bibliography). Several researchers have shown that school textbooks affect the racial concepts of children: see in particular Trager and Yarrow (1952); *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials* (1949); Marcus (1961); Landes (1965); Deutsch (1969).

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[1] See, for example, Charles H. Cooley, *The Nature of Human Nature*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 102–103; and George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 140–141.

[2] *Culture in American Education: Anthropological Approaches to Minority and Dominant Groups in the Schools*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 44.

[3] "Deficit, Difference, and Bicultural Models of Afro-American Behavior," *Harvard Educational Review*, 41: 2 (May, 1971), 143.

The conscious and unconscious racial attitudes present in textbooks and in other areas of the public school program have caused considerable damage to *all* children. Samuel Yette, Charles Silberman, Kenneth Clark, Jim Haskins and others emphasize the ways in which Black children are injured by racial bias. In 1970 Dr. David Sanchez addressed the United States Senate on behalf of Spanish-American students: "The injuries of the Latin-American child have been inflicted by those who have claimed to teach and motivate him, who have, in reality, alienated him and destroyed his identity through the subtle rejection of his language, which nobody speaks, his culture, which nobody understands, and ultimately him, whom nobody values."[4] Dr. Landes discusses the Latin-American child's alienation from the standard elementary school textbooks, where the names, skin colors, foods, clothing, and family structures fail to reflect the cultural values of Mexican, Negro, American Indian and other California minority groups included in her study.[5] James Banks stresses that racial attitudes also damage White children: "The exclusive presentation of White achievements in textbooks perpetuates an ethnocentric chauvinism among White youngsters and develops in them a false and tenuous sense of racial superiority."[6]

Former United States Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel claims that in 1963 there was a "revolution in the textbook industry" to meet the needs of minority groups. He applauds the new textbooks in general for giving an "accurate interpretation" of the problems of minority groups in our society.[7] Keppel seems overly optimistic. True, the racially diverse textbooks created in the Detroit experiment (1963) helped to improve the reading level of many Black students.[8] Nevertheless, the Detroit series still leaves much to be desired, as do most of the new "integrated" primers. According to Charles Silberman, the Detroit primers simply show "a well-scrubbed Negro family in the same sort of antiseptic suburban environment that Dick, Jane and Sally play in . . ."[9] James Banks, in his important essay on "The Need for Positive Racial Attitudes in Textbooks," states clearly the direction which textbooks must take if they are to deal adequately with the racial complexities of our society: "Coloring White characters brown, or perpetuating a sterile middle class image of the Negro, will not meet the criteria of objective treatment of the Negro because such images are inconsistent with reality. The American child should be exposed to *all* types and classes of Negroes in American life, with the illustrations depicting the diversity of Negroid racial traits. Overemphasis on one type or the creation of an ideal type will not suffice.[10]

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[4] Quoted by Annie Stein, "Strategies for Failure," *Harvard Educational Review*, 41: 2 (May, 1971), 181–82.

[5] Landes, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–124.

[6] "The Need for Positive Racial Attitudes in Textbooks," *Racial Crisis in American Education*, Robert Green, ed. (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, 1969), p. 171.

[7] *The Necessary Revolution in American Education*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 130–38.

[8] Steven Deutsch, "Disadvantages of Culturally Deprived Children," *Integration and Education*, David W. Beggs and S. Kern Alexander, eds. (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969), pp. 31–32.

[9] Charles Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White*, (N.Y.: Vintage, 1964), 283.

[10] Banks, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

### C. *Females*

Sex-role socialization[11] has been widely studied because it begins very early and because its effects are readily observable. Differential treatment of females and males usually starts at birth. Even before speech is established, female and male children are handled and touched, tickled and spoken to in terms of their sexual identity.[12] Even as early as six months, girl babies are protected more than boy babies.[13] By the time a native language is established (about 18 months) the child's idea of self is intricately involved with sexual identity.[14] By kindergarten age, children can define the primary female and male roles[15] and express sex-role preferences.[16] Textbooks become an important part of the socialization process when a child reaches school age. They reinforce role expectations and cultural values. Margaret Mead has commented that "a culture has to get its values across to its children in such simple terms that even a behavioral scientist can understand them."[17]

Children learn that the father works outside of the home, that he is the provider and that the mother works inside the home and takes care of them. Children also learn what temperamental attitudes are appropriate for their particular sex. Johan Cullberg, among others, has pointed out that: "The stereotyped sex roles in our Western culture mean . . . that masculinity implies activity, strength, emotional restraint and dominance. Feminity is defined as passivity, weakness . . . and submission . . ."[18]

It is self evident that the development of such temperamental traits as passivity, weakness, and submission is crippling to a woman's ability to survive psychologically or economically as an independent person. They could be valued only by someone who is himself not possessed of them and who wishes to have power over someone who is.

Increasingly, scientific studies are documenting ways in which both women and men have been harmed by sex role conditioning.

#### *Sex roles and impairment of intellectual achievement in females*

1. Matina Horner offers an explanation of a well-known pattern of intellectual development in females: "The girl child matures early, levels off fast, and then slowly retrogresses. Thousands of females who are . . . brilliant in grade school become merely bright in high school, simply very good in college, and finally, almost mediocre in graduate school." According to Horner the bright female gets a contradictory message from society: if she is too smart, too independent, and above all, too serious about her work, she is unfeminine and will therefore never get married. The result of the contradictory message is strong anxiety and, consequently, diminished ability to achieve.[19]

2. Lenore Weitzman observes that "training for a dependent passive role may inhibit a girl's chances for intellectual or creative success. It is likely that the

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[11] It is a basic assumption throughout this study that sex roles and temperamental attitudes are not innate, but are the products of conditioning. Margaret Mead's cross-cultural study, *Male and Female,* provides evidence that traditionally defined "masculine" and "feminine" traits are conditioned. In one of the tribes she studied, both males and females were gentle and nurturant; in another, the women are as aggressive as the men and neither sex is psychologically nurturant and supportive of their children; in yet another, the women work at fishing, marketing and managing daily life; the men do little all day but carve, paint and learn dance steps. Mead concludes from all this: "If these temperamental attitudes which we have traditionally regarded as feminine—such as passivity, responsiveness and a willingness to cherish children—can so easily be set up as the masculine pattern in one tribe, and in another to be outlawed for the majority of men, we no longer have any basis for regarding such aspects of culture as sex linked." (This discussion of Mead's findings is a condensed version of Dee Ann Pappas' discussion in "On Being Natural", *Women: A Journal of Liberation,* 1 (1969), 3–4.)

[12] Jerome Kagin, "The Acquisition and Significance of Sex-Typing," in *Review of Child Development Research,* ed. M. Hoffman (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964).

[13] Goldberg and Lewis, *Child Development,* 40, (1969) 21–31.

[14] John Money, "Psychosexual Differentiation," in *Sex Research, New Developments* (New York: Holt, 1965), p. 13.

[15] Ruth Hartley, "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly,* (1960) 6, 83–91.

[16] Daniel G. Brown, "Sex Role Preference in Young Children," *Psychological Monographs,* (1956) 70, No. 14.

[17] As quoted in David C. McClelland's *The Achieving Society* (New York: 1961).

[18] As quoted by Birgitta Linner in "What Does Equality Between the Sexes Imply?", *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 41: 5 (1971), 748.

[19] See Vivian Gornick's article, "Why Women Fear Success," *Ms.,* Preview Issue (1972): 50.

excessive dependency encouraged in girls contributes to the decline in their achievement which becomes apparent as they grow older." She cites Maccoby's finding that "for both exes, there is a tendency for dependent children to perform poorly on a variety of intellectual tasks, and for independent children to excel." [20]

3. Phyllis Chesler finds social expectations regarding sex roles to be at the root of much of what we call "neurotic" and "psychotic" behavior.[21]

*Sex roles and harm to mothers and children*

1. Weitzman cites Alice Rossi's observation that:

"If a woman's adult efforts are concentrated exclusively on her children, she is likely more to stifle than broaden her children's perspective and preparation for adult life . . . In myriad ways the mother binds the child to her, dampening his initiative, resenting his growing independence in adolescence, creating a subtle dependence which makes it difficult for the child to achieve full adult stature."

Weitzman continues:

"In addition to having a negative effect on children, this preoccupation with motherhood may also be harmful to the mother herself. Pauline Bart has reported extreme depression among middle-aged women who have been overinvolved with and have overidentified with their children." [22]

*Sex roles and harm to males and to society as a whole*

Hero behavior constitutes the core of male role conditioning. A boy must always be a hero. If he is unable to be one, he must pretend. Even if he feels on the defensive, he must act aggressively.

A boy who cries or expresses fear after the first few years of life is unacceptable. He is not behaving like a "little man." Open expression of other emotions is also discouraged. A little boy must learn to be "in control" of himself. These constraints are damaging to the development of a male child's full capacity to express emotions or even to experience them consciously. He becomes unable to recognize them in himself or others. His conditioning discourages the development of a capacity for responding sympathetically to another person's feelings.

On the other hand, little boys are encouraged to develop their capacity for objective observation of the world around them, a capacity all human beings have. In this way they learn to have control over that world. Because of this emphasis in their conditioning and because they have been free to express this capacity on a large scale, their achievements have been very great in areas like science. However, achievements in any area involving human relationships have been greatly curtailed by this control-oriented way of relating to the world.

Control-oriented behavior is very damaging in human relationships. If we are interested in controlling other persons we will look at them objectively to see if they are weaker or stronger than we are. We will not look at them from the "inside-out." We will not be concerned with understanding one another's fears or comforting on another's pain. We will not even be able to recognize our own fears and pain. We will only be concerned with winning or appearing to win.

We human beings have been driven to try to control one another in every kind of human relationship from interpersonal ones to international ones. We must learn to recognize and empathize with another person's pain. We must learn to let our own feelings show. We must not be afraid of "losing face" or not appearing to be heroes. We must rather be afraid of not understanding one another, of not empathizing with one another.

### *D. Sexual stereotyping in textbooks*

Numerous studies have been done in the past few years which evaluate the role of textbooks in training boys and girls to accept predetermined patterns of behavior (see Bibliography). Among the most important are the Weitzman study (1971), Marjorie U'Ren's essay on "The Image of Women in Textbooks" (1971), *Dick and Jane as Victims* (1972) and the Scott, Foresman *Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks*. Generally, these studies conclude that girls and women are underrepresented in textbooks, that they are portrayed in stereotyped, passive situations and that they present severely limited role models for young readers.

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[20] Lenore Weitzman, "Sex-Role Socialization in Picture Books for Pre-school Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (1972), 1134.

[21] Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness*, (New York: 1972).

[22] Weitzman, *op. cit.* 1143.

Our own particular study was undertaken because of our immediate concern about the damaging effects of stereotyping on Baltimore children. We hope that the following pages will provide an honest analysis, will encourage further investigation of sexism and racism in textbooks and will help to change a widespread problem that affects all of us.

## II. METHODOLOGY

We have chosen five series of textbooks (from 4 publishers) which are widely used in Baltimore City. These series are used in most, if not all, ESEA Title 1 schools, schools in which a majority of students are Black. These series were chosen initially as a random sample of books used in three Baltimore City Schools which were indicated to be representative by the Baltimore City Department of Education. Because of lack of funding and limited volunteer time, the scope of the study proposed to the Department of Education was narrowed and the analytical methodology was simplified.

On the whole we used a predetermined selection process to choose a block of ten stories from each book in the study sample. There is some variation in methodolgy used in story selection which will be explained in the individual series analyses.

The following are lists of all stories analyzed in this study.

### *A. Ginn & Company*

1. 1964 revised editions

*My Little Red Story Book*

"Tom"
"Betty"
"Susan"
"Flip"
"Mother"
"The Airplane"
"Pony"
"The Apple"
"Susan and the Toys"
"Tom and the Toys"
"The Toys"

*My Little Blue Story Book*

"Airplanes"
"Come and See"
"Susan and Father"
"Come and Play"
"Here is Patsy"
"Pony Wants Something"
"Here We Go"
"Come and Look"
"Cakes and Cakes"
"The Play Dinner"
"Susan Wants to Play"
"The Play House"
"We Can Play Here"
"The Funny House"

*On Cherry Street*

"We Go to School"
"Here We Go"
"The Birthday Chair"
"The New School Bag"
"Betty and Nan"
"The Big Button"
"The New Book"
"The Wonderful School Bus"
"Fun at Home"
"The Old Sled"
"Down Cherry Street"
"A Book For Father"
"Mr. Snowman"
"Scat! Scat! Little Cat!"

"Mr. Mac's Store"
"The Bread Wagon"
"The Lost Pocket"
"Apples and Eggs"
"Where is Bunny?"
"Ben and the Truck"
"Happy Days at the Farm"
"Tom and the Pony at the Farm"
"Fish for Dinner"
"Flip at the Brook"
"The Big Noise"
"A Funny Party"
"The New Fence"

"Story Time"
"Little Rooster and Little Hen"
"The Story of Little Lamb"
"One Little Feather"
"The Pancake Man"
"The Monkeys' House"
"Funny Bunny Rabbit"

"On Cherry Street"
"A Funny Surprise"
"The Little Monkey"
"Susan and the Telephone"
"The Street Sprinkler"
"At the Toy Store"
"Better Than a Letter"

*Around the Corner*

"We Live in a City"
"Here Comes the Parade!"
"Boxes and Boxes"
"At the Big Store"
"Chris"
"A Birthday Surprise"
"Circus Stories"
"Casey Joins the Circus"
"Mary Ann's Ticket"
"Here Comes the Clowns!"
"The Little Old Woman and the Baby Elephant"
"All Around the City"
"Ben and the Ball Game"
"Two Horses"
"Red Roofs, Green Roofs"
"Oscar and the Bus Driver"
"The Little Farm in the Big City"
"Up and Away"
"Airplane Andy"
"The Flying Firemen"
"Peter and the Pilot"
"Big Fellow and the Airfield"
"Hoppy, the Helicopter"

2. Read 360 Series (1969)

*A Duck is a Duck* (level 3)

"The Park"
"What is It?"
"We Read Books"

*With Skies and Wings* (level 9)

"Our Great Bright Land"
"Shoeshine Boy"
"Mississippi Possum"
"From the Twenty-Eighth Floor"
"Benny's Flag"
"A Feast of Fun"
"Grandpa's Farm"
"The Magic Pencil"
"An Ostrich Named Charlie"
"What's for Lunch, Charley?"
"In Your Own Backyard"
"The Tall Grass Zoo"
"A Safe Place"
"The Restless Kangaroo"
"A Joey Grows Up"
"Genjy's Bird"
"Amigo"

"Just for Fun"
"Mr. Rabbit and the Two Ducks"
"Gardens by the Brook"
"The Picnic Basket"
"Jingle Learns to Dance"
"Up the Hill"
"Ear Muffs for All"
"Little Yellow Chick"
"Baby Bear"

"Once Upon a Time"
"The Boy and the Door"
"Jack and the Beanstalk"
"Mr. Rabbit, Rain-Maker"
"Tom Thumb"
"Out of Doors"
"Bushy Tail"
"Across the River"
"Mother Blacktail and her Twins"
"Little Pond in the Big Woods"
"Johnny and Teeny"
"Stories for Fun"
"The Seven Litle Piffies"
"The Wonderful Washing Machine"
"Timothy, the Little Bear"
"Mrs. Goose and the Strange People"
"In City and Country"
"The Best Surprise"
"The Hollyberrys at the Shore"
"The Little Women Wanted Noise"
"David's Silver Dollar"

"Across the Seas"
"Ram's Prize"
"Danger at High Tide"
"Mr. Moonlight and Omar"
"Spaceships and Explorers"
"Space Monkey"
"America's First Astronauts"
"Spacecraft at Work"
"The Earth is Your Spaceship"
"Wise or Foolish?"
"The Bee Tree"
"The Miller, the Boy, and the Donkey"
"The Old Man and His Grandson"
"Play—The Three Figs"
"The Mouse and the Magician"
"Cap o' Rushes"
"The Travelers and the Bear"
"The Gold Dust"

### B. *Macmillan*—The Bank Street Series, 1972 revised editions

I. *In the City* (pre-primer)

II. *Around the City* (primer)

1. "All Around the City"
2. "A Hot Day"
3. "Who Likes Ice Cream?"
4. "Come and Jump"
5. "Will Ben Get a Ride?"
6. "After School"
7. "Fire Drill"
8. "The Day it Rained"
9. "The Big Box"
10. "Scat, Cat"
11. "1, 2, 3 Go"
12. "The New Lunch Boxes"
13. "And He Did!"
14. "Lunch on a Boat"
15. "Jerry and the Girls"
16. "City Houses"
17. "The New Girl"
18. "The Big Snow"
19. "Pete Makes a Friend"
20. "City Policemen"
21. "1 Potato, 2 Potatoes"
22. "The Tugboat"

III. *Uptown, Downtown* (first 10 stories)

1. "Too Little"
2. "The Running Dog"
3. "No One is Here But Me"
4. "The Donkey and the Dog"
5. "New Boy in the Class"
6. "What Do You Think?"
7. "City Water"
8. "Mr. Charles"
9. "Someone Silly"
10. "Red, the Police Horse"

IV. *My City* (second 10 stories)

11. "There was a New Boy"
12. "Some Mother!"
13. "Always Arthur"
14. "Room for a Pet"
15. "Jack and the Beanstalk"
16. "Smarty Arty Finds Out"
17. "City Drivers"
18. "A Horse Came Down My Street Today"
19. "The Smallest Boy"
20. "First Snow in Ten Years"

V. *City Sidewalks* (last 10 stories)

21. "The Monster"
22. "First Painting"
23. "Peaches for the Princess"
24. "Thank You, Thank You, Carlos"
25. "The Sleeping Beauty"
26. "Word Magic"
27. " 'The Pipes are Leaking' "
28. "The First Bread"
29. "The Chestnuts"
30. "The Old Oak Tree"

VI. *Round the Corner* (first 10 stories)

1. "Can Your Brother Talk Yet?"
2. "It Looked Like a Pouch"
3. "King of the Cats"
4. "The Stars and Stripes"
5. "My First Whale"
6. "The Long Wait"
7. "The Haunted House"
8. "Touch War"
9. "The Sooner Hound"
10. "Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers"

### C. *Science Research Associates*—Comprehensive or basal reading program, 1971 revised editions

Level G *Tony's Adventure* (first 10 stories)

1. "Uncle Walter's Present"
2. "Helga's Good Bad Deed"
3. "Yours Alone"
4. "Tony's Adventure"
5. "Someone to Listen"
6. "An Understanding Ear"
7. "The Peacock, the Sparrow, and the Pigeon"
8. "Teeny Tiny Swishy Witch"
9. "Pixie and the Wise Owl"
10. "Bob and the Blue Crayon"

Level H. *The Careless Astronaut* (second 10 stories)

1. "The Middle Prince of Spotsylvania"
2. "Friendly Monsters"
3. "Daredevils of Niagra"
4. "Jimmy's New Hobby"
5. "Gardy Loo"
6. "The Order of the Crow"
7. "The Careless Astronaut"
8. "Lady of Liberty"
9. "Living Light"
10. "One Last Setting Hen for Miss Uppabove's Class'

Level I. *Captain Bunker's Ghost* (last 10 stories)

1. "The Wind Birds"
2. "Toma"
3. "The Toy That Went to Work"
4. "It's Greek to Me"
5. "Simon the Silent"
6. "Grownup Fairy Tales"
7. "Lowdown"
8. "The Young Fisherman"
9. "Mr. Nick's Ant Farms"
10. "The Tale of a Tumbleweed"

Level J. *The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer* (first 10 stories)

1. "The Hermit of Moonstone Mountain"
2. "The Gypsy Life"
3. "The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer"
4. "A Visit with an Artist"
5. "Unwelcome Passenger"
6. "More Important than Gold Medals"
7. "Herodotus and the United States Post Office"
8. "They Sang as They Worked"
9. "The Magic Typewriter"
10. "Good Luck"

Level K. *The Big Abzul-Raider Game* (second 10 stories)

1. "Pike Boy"
2. "The Field"
3. "Codes and Ciphers"
4. "The Phoenix"
5. "The Moonstruck Professor"
6. "Rover and the Rouge"
7. "The City : Designed for Living?"
8. "The Prince, Two Mice, and Some Kitchen-Maids"
9. "The Origins of Scotland Yard"
10. "The Big Abzul-Raider Game"

Level L. *Station Four* (last 10 stories)

1. "There Ought to Be a Law!"
2. "Settling Arguments: Then and Now"
3. "Dog Bites Boy"
4. "The Dog that Bit People"
5. "Beyond Gold"
6. "Bibliomania"
7. "Swords into Plowshares?"
8. "The Case of the Tilted Question Mark"
9. "The Salisbury Clock"
10. "Melisande, or Long and Short Division"

D. *Scott, Foresman and Company*—The Open Highways Series

Book I, Part 1 *Ready to Roll* (1967)—first 10 stories

1. "Bookish"
2. "A Joke"
3. "The Little Old Woman and How She Kept Her Geese Warm"
4. "How to Make a Sock Puppet"
5. "The Old Women and the Pig"
6. "I Had a Little Pig"
7. "Coats for Katie and Carmen"
8. "Storm"
9. "Rain"
10. "An Umbrella Joke"

Book II, Part I *More Power* (1968)—second 10 stories

11. "Jimmy's Pocket-Aunt"
12. "Candy for Dinner"
13. "Peanut Butter Creams"
14. "Sylvester"
15. "Oh, Susanna!"
16. "The Seven Little Pifflesniffs"
17. "Sneezing"
18. "Billy's Find"
19. "My Puppy"
20. "Eating Peanuts with Your Foot"

Book III, Part 1 *Splendid Journey* (1968)—stories 21 to end of book

21. "Hennessey"
22. "The Surprise"
23. "On Top of Spaghetti"
24. "Early Men"
25. "The First Dishes"
26. "Stone Sculpture"
27. "Stone Soup"

Book IV (1965)——first 10 stories

1. "Shoeshine Boy"
2. "Games to Play Outside in the City"
3. "A Game to Play Inside in the City or Anywhere Else"
4. "The Story of Mullberry Bend"
5. "Ideal American"
6. "Wang's Fourth"
7. "Really?"
8. "A Dish You Can Eat"
9. "Swimming Hole"
10. "A True Tale"

**Book V. (1965)—second 10 stories**

11. "Weather or Not!"
12. "Pirates of Yesterday"
13. "The Pirate Don Durk of Dowdee"
14. "Pirates Take Over Tampa"
15. "Ernestine and Substance X"
16. "What's New?"
17. "Garnett Morgan, Man of Ideas"
18. "Noodles, Nitwits, and Numbskulls"
19. "Ookie, the Walrus"
20. "Pete at the Zoo"

**Book VI (1966)—third 10 stories**

21. "The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock"
22. "How Good a Witness Would You Be?"
23. "The Mad Dog"
24. "Louis Pasteur"
25. "Cars of Yesterday"
26. "Heroic Years of the Automobile"
27. "America's First 'Fill 'Er Up!' Stations"
28. "Bluey"
29. "Locating Information"
30. "Animals of Australia"

## III. SERIES ANALYSES

### A. *Ginn and Company*—1964 Revised Edition Readers and The Reading 360 Series

For this study the sample of textbooks published by Ginn and Company included the following readers:

*My Little Red Story Book* (Rev. ed. 1964)
*My Little Blue Story Book* (Rev. ed. 1964)
*Around the Corner* (Rev. ed. 1964)
*On Cherry Street* (Rev. ed. 1964)
*A Duck is a Duck* (Reading 360 Series, 1969)
*With Skies and Wings* (Reading 360 Series, 1969)

These six books can be divided into two categories with two sub-groups in each category. *My Little Red Story Book*, *My Little Blue Story Book* and *A Duck is a Duck* constitute the first category, preprimers, and contain books published in 1964, now considered outdated, and more recently published readers which contend to be more accurate reflections of current reader theory and social reality. The second category is made up of readers of a higher reading skill level and includes the older titles *Around the Corner*, *On Cherry Street*, and the more recently published *With Skies and Wings*. The two categories and sub-groups differ in number of stories, type and diversity of characters, number of illustrations and general format. Each group must be analyzed separately.

All of the stories in the 6 readers of the sample were read and analyzed for this study. Three of the books are short preprimers with short, unified chapters. Because distinctions and comparisons of the various books within the Ginn sample were necessary for any analysis of elements of sexism and racism, all chapters in each book were read.

The pre-primers are introductory readers with few words and many illustrations. The action of the stories is portrayed almost exclusively with pictures. Each pre-primer is essentially one story with several interrelated sub-plots which comprise each chapter. The main characters of the stories remain constant throughout and are usually individually introduced in the opening chapters. The principal character(s) of the three Ginn pre-primers in this study are members of the same family, neighborhood friends or teachers. The families are composed of Mother, Father, Sister(s), Brothers(s), dog and cat. The characters are loosely defined children and adults who display little or no individual personalities. Although the action of the stories is very limited in scope and set in the narrow confines of house, school or park, a great many ideas and messages are transmitted to young readers through the pages of these readers. The pre-primers very definitely begin to teach children about behavior, role-identification and self-image at the same time they begin to teach words and reading skills. What these pre-primers introduce to the children through subtle suggestion and illustration is the foundation for a value system, a sense of morality and goal orientation which is more blatantly portrayed and more openly taught in the higher level readers.

The higher level readers are longer, more complex and diverse in character and action. The increased range of vocabulary and setting in these readers allows for a more direct transmittal of the socialization and value development process which they reflect. Through character development and action, these readers portray a concept of right and wrong and encourage certain behavior patterns. From them a child forms an image of her/himself through identification with roles, experiences and physical characteristics including gender and race.

Both the pre-primers and the higher level readers may be further classified according to date of publication. The 4 books published in 1964 vary in content and style from the two Reading 360 Series books published in 1969. The major difference seems to be the attempt which the 360 Series books make to portray a greater social realism and diversity of character. The earlier published Ginn books contain only White, Anglo/Saxon characters, whereas the more recently published readers include characters of various races and ethnic groups. This is an attempt to reflect the current social reality of this country and to allow children of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds to identify with the characters ofthe readers. The older readers present an unreal world of absolute social and cultural homogeneity. The characters are all White members of identical social units: the two parent rural or suburban, upper-middle class, nuclear family. This stereotype in no way fits the actual socio-economic status of the majority of the children who read these books. The more recent Ginn pre-primers include Black families in urban settings and higher level books in the 360 Series have characters of many racial and ethnic groups. For example, of the 28 stories contained in *With Skies and Wings* (Reading 360 Series), 4 have Black main and minor characters, 1 is about an Eskimo Indian boy, 1 features an Indian family from New Delhi, and 1 a Spanish-American family.

The newer readers attempt to correct some of the shortcomings of the older books. The bright colors and greater diversity of illustrations are an attempt to alleviate the drabness and dullness of older readers. For example, *With Skies and Wings* (1969) contains many more adventure stories of diverse action and setting than *Around the Corner* (1964). These changes have undoubtedly been due in part to a realization by educators of the relationship between insipid, boring readers and lack of motivation and poor reading skills in school children. The attempt to improve the lifeless, one-dimensional format and content of readers such as *On Cherry Street* and *Around the Corner* has included the following measures: the inclusion, albeit on a superficial, token level of Black and other racial/ethnic minorities; a greater emphasis on urban settings; more stories set in foreign lands; the presentation of fantasy and folk tales of varying cultures; and the portrayal of some diversity of economic situations.

Unfortunately, this attempt at racial realism and balance is undercut by the prasence of racial stereotypes and subtle racist attitudes. For example, n the story "Amigo" (*With Skies and Wings*), the father is depicted as a stereotyped guitar-playing Chicano, down on his luck. In "Benny's Flag" (*With Skies and Wings*), any positive image of Benny's identity as an Alaskan Indian is negated by the subtly racist description of his physical appearance: "He had straight black hair and bright black eyes, but best of all, he had the whitest, white teeth . . ." (p. 40) Although the portrayal of Blacks and other minorities in lower socio-economic situations would seem to be reflective of reality, this positive image is undercut by the failure to include a poor White family in the reader. This absence of socio-economically diverse White characters serves to reinforce the racist societal opinion that Blacks and other minorities are confined to the lower socio-economic situations because of inherent inferiority.

Underlying the superficial socio-economic diversity which distinguishes the newer Ginn readers from the older and is common to the pre-primers as well as the more advanced readers, is a uniformity of value system, morality and behavior models. This uniformity characterizes most of the readers of this study and perhaps even the entire body of reading skills material. Through these readers, a unified cultural ethic is taught which directs children toward specifically prescribed behavior and a common cultural interpretation of reality. But what are some of these characteristic elements which run through these readers like a leitmotiv?

One element is the failure to present characters, whether children or adults, as full human beings with real emotions as well as intellects, experiencing real, identifiable conflict situations. In the pre-primers, the characters are doll figures facing trite situations, displaying no feelings and behaving as model children. The mood is blissful and the characters serve as didactic behavior teachers in a slightly up-dated morality play. The illustrations show clean, smiling children living together with stereotyped, similing, helpful parents in a Polyanna world. In the more advanced readers, either happiness abounds or if difficulties or conflicts occur, a predictable outcome is achieved through specific prescribed behavior such as hard work, perseverance of *machismo*. A state of righteous self-satisfaction is the reward bestowed on the characters who have solved the conflicts in this way. "What a proud and happy boy Benny was." (*With Skies and Wings*, p. 46). "Selim felt very happy too, for he knew that now his father would never have to work so hard again." (*With Skies and Wings*, p. 88).

There is a more striking element common to all these Ginn readers: the pre-primers, the more advanced readers, the oldest, most out-dated and the newest most "socially relevant." This characteristic is presently blatantly and subtly in a myriad of forms. Consciously or unconsciously transmitted to the child, it is a powerful message which serves to condition a child's behavior, mold her/his self-image, teach a value system with more consistency and certainty than any other element present in the readers. This factor does mirror an exterior societal reality; it does reflect existing social values and conditions. This element is the pernicious sexism which pervades reading materials in general and the Ginn and Company readers of this study in particular. Sexism may be defined as the classification of people according to sex and the corresponding assignment of inferior status and fixed roles, the negation of selfhood and the denial of human rights to those people classified female. "The practice of separating all people into two arbitrarily defined molds on the basis of sex alone is the Procrustean bed of modern life. Those who do not fit are either stretched out or chopped up. We stretch our sons to fill the ideal dominant male role and fragment our daughters' personalities to make them fit the servile female role. Both processes do violence to the individual. Each damaged person depletes the human resources of the whole society." [28]

Sexism has various forms and aspects, many of which are present in children's readers. The sexism in the Ginn readers includes: reinforcement of inferior self-image in girls through negative characterization of women as a group; sex-role stereotyping of adult occupations and behavior; behavior conditioning on the basis of sex; ascription of sex-stereotyped attributes and attitudes; under-representation of women as a group; ego-reinforcement through positive definition of character (boy) built on ego-destruction through negative self-sacrifice and self-definition (girl); behavior stereotyping (girls, passive—boys, active); and definition of self solely on the basis of physical attributes.

In the Ginn pre-primers the first pages set the stage for what will be a continuous development of the themes of sexism as mentioned above. It is true, however, that on the lower reading levels, as is true in the earlier stages of a young girl's life, the elements of sexism are less blatantly pervasive. But the suggestions and indications of what's to come are already present at the earliest stages, both in the readers and in real life. Specifically, in the pre-primers, although girl main characters are introduced with similar frequency and the language of the limited vocabulary is relatively harmless, the illustrations and story lines begin to designate behavior on the basis of sex. In *My Little Red Story Book*, the boy character is introduced first, shown in a simple but active position, riding a wagon. The first story action centers around Tom going to a filling station and helping an attendant repair his wagon. The female main character, Betty, accompanies Tom and watches passively. On the very first pages, the archetypal behavior pattern for the entire reading series is established: boys engage in active pursuits and adventures, girls watch passively.

This pattern, established in the pre-primers, is continuous throughout the Ginn readers analyzed for this study. The action and adventure belong to the boys. In most cases, the adventure stories have exclusively male characters. In *Around the Corner*, the five stories contained in the unit "Up and Away" have all male characters who learn to fly airplanes, have adventures on airplanes and even personify airplanes. A child reading these stories might well believe that girls never fly nor ride in airplanes. In the reader *On Cherry Street* (pp. 36–45), an action which comprises several chapters is exclusively male. Tom and his father work together repairing an old sled, take it to a hill where Tom competes in a race with children having newer sleds and, naturally, he wins. Nowhere is a girl sledding or even showing an interest in sledding. Are we to assume that little girls are not interested in outside winter activities or that they never join in sled races.

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[28] Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane as Victims*, (New Jersey, 1971), p. 34.

And so it is in every reader studied: the boys own the action. *With Skies and Wings* (pp. 138–183) contains a unit entitled "Spaceships and Explorers" which tells of astronauts and spaceprobes. As one might expect: all male. It is, of course, true that in this country, there are no women astronauts but these stories might have mentioned Russian female astronauts.

No reader in this sample includes a unit devoted entirely to girls' or women's adventures. There are a few scattered action stories which have girls as main characters. However, these girl action stories differ from boy stories in several significant ways. To illustrate, the following specific stories will be analyzed: "From the Twenty-eighth Floor" in *With Skies and Wings* (p. 32); "Danger at High Tide" also in *With Skies and Wings* (p. 63); "The Wonderful Washing Machine" (p. 196) and "Mary Ann's Ticket" (p. 44) in *Around the Corner.*

The story "From the Twenty-eighth Floor", *With Skies and Wings* (p. 32), concerns the "adventure" of a girl, Linda, who, while home with a cold, looks out the window and sees a driverless car with a baby inside begin to roll down a hill. Her "action" consists of picking up the telephone, calling the police who dispatch a helicopter to pinpoint the location of the car, while squad cars race to stop the car before the baby is harmed. Linda's limited action is offset by the adults who engage in the real adventure. Throughout she is directed by adults and she is never really required to use initiative or bravery to solve the dilemma. The entire story takes places indoors, a characteristic which is stereotypical of girl action stories.[24]

"Danger at High Tide" another story from *With Skies and Wings* contains action which is slightly more adventurous and does take place outdoors. It is interesting to note, however, that the action situation, that of a French girl who becomes stranded by high tide on a small land spit and is rescued by her grandfather and men of the fishing village, is not the heroic situation of most boy action stories. The girl is depicted as foolish and showing poor judgment. She must be rescued from her predicament by males. She shows neither bravery, nor skill, nor initiative. This situation stands in clear contrast to boy adventures such as the story, "Mr. Moonlight and Omar" also in *With Skies and Wings,* where a boy uses imagination and perserverance to alleviate the work burdens of his father. The girl story ends with Centaurée, cold, tired and frightened. The boy story ends with Selim, happy, proud and satisfied.

"Centaurée is very sleepy. She feels that everything round her is turning too. Faintly she hears Yan's grandfather saying, 'I told you it was not safe.' But grandfathers always say that." (p. 72)

"Selim felt very happy too, for he knew that now his father would never have to work again. He laughted out loud for joy." (p. 88)

"Mary Ann's Ticket," a story from *Around the Corner* (p. 44) has a female main character who goes to the circus with her father and brother and through scatterbrained inattention loses her ticket. A clown finds her ticket sticking to Mary Ann's cotton candy and a good laugh is had by all. At Mary Ann's expense, of course. This story is insidious on two counts: first because the girl is the brunt of the humor, a situation echoed in other stories as in life (mother-in-law and female driver jokes) and because the foolishness and emotional weakness of the girl are stressed. "Mary Ann turned to her father. 'Oh, Father,' she said. 'What shall I do?' 'Stop crying,' said Father. 'We will help you find your ticket. It must be right here somewhere.' " (p. 46)

Now it is true that this situation is a real one. Children do lose tickets and cry and get upset over it. But the catch is that nowhere in the stories do boys make similar mistakes, lose things, become upset or cry. This is negative reinforcement, stressing that somehow girls are silly crybabies who are scatterbrained.

A theme of negative self-image becomes evident as one analyzes these girl-action stories. Some element seems to be always present which undercuts the adventure theme. Never is the girl main character unreservedly brave, strong imaginative, creative or adventurous. She is either frightened, foolish, naughty, scatterbrained or timid. What a gross injustice to characterize young girls in this manner? In the readers the girls and boys behave in this fashion, but in real life it is just not the case.

The story "The Wonderful Washing Machine" in *Around the Corner* (p. 197) not only echoes these currents, but also contains a characteristic typical of many stories which have girl main characters: the cult of domesticity. Over and over, girl main characters are engaged in domestic activity, play or real, such as cooking, cleaning, serving, etc. "The Wonderful Washing Machine" is the absurd extension of this domesticity. It is a fantasy story about Ann who sits, watching, of course, as the laundry goes round and round. She embarks on a daydream in which a magic washing machine appears which flies in the air while it is washing clothes. Ann flies over the countryside on the machine, landing in yards and helping other children with their laundry. In these readers boys pilot airplanes and girls pilot washing machines?

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[24] See Women on Words and Images, *op. cit.*

This cult of domesticity is more extensively present in the portrayal of adults. Almost without exception, women are shown as mothers engaged in some domestic activity, cooking, cleaning, doing laundry, grocery shopping. Always these activities are indoors with the exception of marketing. The message here: little girls should and do devote their time and energy to playing house, watching and helping mother perform household chores and generally preparing themselves for their life roles of Wife and Mother. This role stereotyping in domestic situations will be further explored in the following analysis of adult characters in the readers.

Another point to be noted and which is further evidence of the pervasiveness of the sexism in the readers is the importance that clothing has on the definition and activities of the girl characters. The stories never define boy's clothing nor does any boy character's action center around clothing. The readers tell us that clothing is a main concern of little girls and no concern of little boys. The action in the story "Betty and Nan" (*On Cherry Street*, p. 19) consists of Betty and Nan walking to school together discussing their new dresses. When they arrive and take off their overcoats and leggings they discover their new dresses to be identical. Great merriment and amazement results. This story is telling us that girls are to be defined by their dresses. A fantasy story contained in *With Skies and Wings* concerns a girl main character who discovers a wonderful magic pencil with which she makes drawings of things that come to life. After discovering the magical qualities of the pencil, Annabel draws a picture of herself in a beautiful party dress. She does not draw herself bicycles, airplanes or toy trains. Her strongest wishes seem to be to look beautiful and have wonderful clothes.

"Then she drew a picture of herself with very thick eyelashes and long hair which came right down below her waist, and a beautiful party dress which was a long, grown-up one with a sash which tied in a bow. When she looked at herself in the glass, she looked so pretty that she was very pleased with herself."

This story stresses the theme that girls are to be defined by their physical appearance and even when young, desire to reach the ideal of "feminine beauty." Self-definition and satisfaction are to be derived not from personality, character or deeds done, but from physical attributes and dress. Compare the above female situation with 2 male experiences of self-identification and self-satisfaction, also in *With Skies and Wings:*

"What a proud and happy boy Benny was! He was especially proud and happy on the Fourth of July, for on that day there was a big parade, to hear the band and see the marchers and the banners. But the very first thing they saw was Benny . . . Benny marching at the head of the parade, carrying the flag he had made for the fishing boat he would have, carrying the flag he had made for Alaska!" (p. 46)

"'That *was* a good airplane picture,' thought Ram. He was pleased to have earned honorable mention. He had a tonga ride. He had made a good drawing. And Deepti still thought he was the best artist in all India. That was prize enough for any boy." (p. 61)

One final note on character definition by clothing. A striking factor in the factor in the illustration of adult female characters is the number of times women appear dressed in aprons. In the pre-primers each adult female main character is shown at least once in an apron. Even the female adults in the fantasy stories are depicted in aprons. This illustration stereotype serves as symbol and image of girl/woman as domestic creature, engaged in serving others. It is as limiting and as insidious as the Black stereotype of the watermelon-eating, tap-dancing shoeshine man.

The elements of sexism characterized by the action, behavior and personalities of the boys and girls in the stories are further developed and reinforced by the portrayal of adult characters in all the categories of the Ginn readers. Definite patterns of adult characterization and behavior established in the pre-primers are expanded and reinforced through the series.

In *My Little Red Story Book* the first adults shown are a woman as Mother and a man, not as Father, but as a filling station attendant. This is the beginning of a recurrent pattern. Adult women are repeatedly and almost exclusively portrayed as mothers, whereas adult men are depicted in a variety of roles and occupations. In the 6 Ginn readers studied, a total of 46 different stereotypically male occupations are shown, whereas women are shown in only 5 occupations other than wife and mother. The 5 occupations were also stereotypically female: store clerk, elementary school teacher, librarian, waitress and cook. Nowhere in the readers was there a woman physician, college professor, factory worker, lawyer or any other of the numerous roles women now fill in their work outside the home. This belies the reality as reflected in the statistics of the Bureau of Labor that 43% of the current work force are women. Moreover, this failure to provide a variety of role models for girls can only serve as to discourage them from aspiring to any career other than wife and mother. These readers are telling girls that their choice is limited to one role when they grow up: Mother. That their life's fulfillment is to be found in one occupation: Mother. And that their sphere of action and influence is limited to one arena: kitchen, house and shopping center.

In these readers, over and over, the adult woman appears as Mother in some manifestation of her domesticity, always serving others, always passive. What a contrast to the 46 different occupations of the adult male portrayed in our sample. Adult males are never depicted primarily as Father; they are depicted in a range of occupations as diverse as Indian tonga driver, camel driver, gold prospector, astronaut (All in *With Skies and Wings*) and organ grinder (*Around the Corner*), airplane pilot, bus driver, zoo keeper (*On Cherry Street*). The world of the adult male is so much broader, more diverse and more exciting than that of the adult woman that Mother in her domesticity does indeed seem a prisoner. Is this what society wishes its young girls to aspire to?

All of the above elements discussed join together in the Ginn readers to present a specter of sexism, with all its inherent negativism, limitation and defeatism, so pervasive and strong that it is no wonder that little girls must undergo terrific emotional and intellectual struggle to break away from the patterns imposed on them. For the portrayal of females, young and adult, in these Ginn readers studied is nothing more than an illustrated reiteration of society's dictum to its sons and daughters. The prophecy has been eloquently stated by Simone de Beauvoir:

"The young boy, be he ambitious, thoughtless, or timid, looks toward an open future; he will be a seaman or an engineer, he will stay on the farm or go away to the city, he will see the world, he will get rich; he feels free, confronting a future in which the unexpected awaits him. The young girl will be a wife, grandmother; she will keep house just as her mother did, she will give her children the same care she herself received when young—she is twelve years old and already her story is written in the heavens. She will discover it day after day without ever making it." [28]

However, it is heartening to note that increasingly today, young girls dare to aspire to a fuller life and to work toward realizing that dream. They are no longer willing to accept society's dictum and fulfill this prophecy. That many girls do succeed in this struggle and, in their adult lives, do go on to varied careers and creative lives beyond the passive stereotype is a testament to the strength and will of the female sex in refusing to accept the inferior status which society in general and these readers in particular attempt to enforce.

B. *Macmillan & Company:* The Bank Street Reading Series, 1971 editions

The Bank Street Reading Series was written for use in the urban classroom by children of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In an attempt to capture and maintain the interest of all city children, its stories depict Black, Spanish-American and White characters doing the things that city children do: playing ball in the street, walking to the corner store, riding the bus, going up and down in elevators and solving the little problems that arise every day. In addition to these pictures of life in the city, there are occasional pieces of fantasy, including the traditional fairytales, and various informational items and word games.

The basic assumption underlying the Bank Street Series is that children's interest is better maintained, and hence they learn more, when they can relate the characters and events of the readers to their own experiences. This investigation seeks to determine whether and how well the Bank Street Series meets the needs of the many various kinds of children in the urban school.

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[28] Simone deBeauvoir, *The Second Sex*. (New York, 1952), p. 33.

1. *The sample*

The 6 levels of readers in the series were included. The first pre-primer "In the City" and primer "Around the City" were read in their entirety. Thereafter, 10 stories from each were selected by a pre-determined rotation of selection.[26] Altogether, 63 stories were read and evaluated.

2. *Statistical analysis*

Of those 63 stories, 16 are primarily informational and have no "characters", and are not included in the statistical analysis below.

The remaining 47 stories are grouped into 3 categories: stories about girls or women; stories about boys or men; stories about girls, boys, men and women together. These determinations were based on judgments of which characters are central to the plot of the story. The 3 categories were further divided according to the race of the central characters: stories about Blacks, stories about Whites, stories about people of other races or ethnic groups and stories about racially mixed groups. Although the "Other" classification was initially intended to include Spanish-American, Oriental-American and American Indian characters, of these 3 only Spanish-American characters were found in this sample. (See Section 3 for reference to Oriental-American children shown in one story.)

The breakdown of the stories by the sex and race of their central characters is as follows:[27]

| | |
|---|---|
| Female stories (10): | |
| Black | 3 |
| White | 4 |
| Spanish-American | 2 |
| Mixed | 1 |
| Male stories (29; including 2 animal stories): | |
| Black | 2 |
| White | 16 |
| Spanish-American | 2 |
| Mixed | 7 |
| Female and male stories (8): | |
| Black | 1 |
| White | 4 |
| Spanish-American | |
| Mixed | 3 |

These figures produce the following ratios:

Male stories outnumber Female stories by almost 3:1

Stories with White central characters outnumber stories with Black central characters by 4:1

Stories with White central characters outnumber stories with Spanish-American central characters by 5:1

Stories with White central characters outnumber stories with Black and Spanish-American central characters combined by over 2:1

Stories with White central characters outnumber stories about Black, Spanish-American central characters and integrated groups combined by 24:20

Expressed as percentages of the total number of stories:

Stories about: Females (21%); Males (62%); Females and Males (17%)

Stories about: Blacks (13%); Whites (51%); Spanish-American (9%); Racially mixed groups (24%) (with 2 animal stories)

Sex and Race:

Percentage of stories about Black females—6%

Percentage of stories about Black females—4%

Percentage of stories about Other females—4%

Percentage of stories about Other males—4%

Percentage of stories about White females—9%

Percentage of stories about White males—34%

3. *Race*

As the statistics clearly show, slightly over ½ of the stories in the sample concern the exploits of central characters who are White, while only 22% are about Black or Spanish-America characters.

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[26] See Methodology, p. 13 of this Report for an explanation of this rotation and a list of the books and stories analyzed.

[27] See the Conclusion of this Report for a statistical analysis based on sex and race of all central characters in the series, rather than racial and sexual orientation of each story.

The remaining stories (24%) deal with racially integrated groups. Four of these integrated stories concern 1 Black and 1 White; in 2 stories Black and Spanish-American characters outnumber White; and in 5 stories Whites are in the majority.

These figures indicate that, although Bank Street has made progress from the days when readers were *exclusively* concerned with White children, the representation of minorities does not yet reflect the racial composition of the school population for which it is intended.

The content of the stories somewhat reinforces this evaluation. On the positive side, the 4 stories which depict 2 friends, 1 Black and 1 White, portray amicable, equalitarian relationships. (II, 11; II, 14; IV, 13; VI, 1).)[28] On the negative side, neither of the 2 stories about Black males concerns life in the city. One is a quasi-fantasy about a man whose donkey wants to be treated like a dog ("The Donkey and the Dog", III, 4). The other is a historical story, set in 1860, about a young boy who goes on a successful whaling expedition. ("My First Whale", VI, 5). Although this story would seem to appeal to the imaginations of most children, it is not a situation they could readily relate to their own experiences.

The two stories about Spanish-American males, on the other hand, present boys in an urban situation, solving problems common in the urban experience. In "Room for a Pet", (IV, 4) Pedro wants to have a pet, but is limited in his choice because he lives in an apartment building. He finally gets a goldfish. In the only story in the sample which deals directly with ethnic differences, Carlos saves the day by translating an elderly Spanish-speaking woman's directions to the grocery store operator ("Thank You, Thank You, Carlos", V, 24). These 2 stories are similar to the numerous stories in the sample about the problems of White boys and how they solve them.

It is interesting to note that in this sample stories about Black and Spanish-American females outnumber those about White females. Two stories about Black girls (II,16; III,6) and 2 stories about Spanish-American girls (II, 8; II,17) show the inactive life of the city girl. In the only story in the sample showing a determined, energetic and effective woman, a Black grandmother fights City Hall to have a park garden restored ("Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers," VI, 10). This is a positive story for both Blacks and women. In addition to these, there is 1 story in the "Female and Male" category about a Black brother and sister ("The Monster", V, 21). This story presents the Black girl as gullible; the Black boy as devious and persevering.

There was 1 story in the group which seemed to be set in a "Chinatown" urban area, which showed 2 Oriental-looking children and 1 Oriental man who were engaged with some other children in trying to stop a run-away dog ("The Running Dog", III,2). It is interesting to note that, although all the children participated about equally in the chase, only the 2 White children are referred to by name.

### 4. *Sex of central characters*

Before beginning an analysis of the content of the stories with regard to sex of the central characters, it is important to reiterate that the ratio of boy stories to girl stories (3:1) already indicates a strong male bias.

*About boys and men.* Most of the stories in this sample are about boys, and in most of those stories the boys are shown solving a problem, learning something, making a friend or just having a good time. In "Room for a Pet" (IV,14) mentioned above, Pedro is confronted by a real problem, one not uncommon to the city child. Yet in the context of the story, Pedro's difficulty in finding a suitable pet seems to be caused not so much by the fact that he lives in a small apartment, as by the fact that his mother consistently vetoes his successive choices. The theme of this story is ingenuity and perseverence—Pedro keeps trying until he solves his problem.

"The Smallest Boy" (IV,19) is also confronted with a problem: he is teased by the bigger boys because he is small. His mother, an understanding person, begins to record his height, and over a period of time he learns that he is growing. This knowledge increases his self-esteem to the point where he helps a smaller boy who is now the object of teasing. One can't help wondering what would have happened if the smallest boy had continued to be the smallest. There is not a word of encouragement in this story for the boy who is short and who will grow up into a short man—a boy who, in our culture, has a real problem.

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[28] References throughout this essay to the stories in the Bank Street Reading Series will be to both volume and story number. See Methodology, p. 13 of this Report for a lost of stories analyzed.

In "Peaches for the Princess" (V,23), Arnie, the waiter's helper in a restaurant, is confronted with the problem of finding the biggest, juiciest and most delicious peaches for a visiting princess. After a series of adventures, Arnie succeeds in producing the world's most perfect peaches. The princess in this story is a personage parallel to the princess in "The Fool of the World and the Flying Ship", a recent Caldecott Medal winner.[29] She is a nonperson, unnamed and not pictured, worshipped from afar for her beauty and family background. Other than the princess, no women are mentioned, pictured or alluded to—cooks, waiters, fruit vendors, fruit buyers, truck drivers and hotel personnel, all are male.

Arnie's successful pursuit of the perfect peach is only one of several instances in which a boy's actions and quick thinking save the day. In "Thank You, Thank You, Carlos" (V,24), mentioned above, Carlos' ability to speak Spanish clears up a problem which several adults find insurmountable. Inept adults (mostly women) also abound in "The Pipes are Leaking" (V,27), one of the most sexist stories in the series. The tone is set early in the story: " 'Eddie, come quick, the pipes are leaking' his mother called." While Eddie tries to find the building superintendent, mom mops up. The apartment fills up with people, none of whom is able to deal with the situation. Unable to find the "super", Eddie returns and successfully stops the leak by holding his hands around the pipes, a position he maintains until Dad comes home and turns off the main water valve. This story supports the observation made in a recent textbook study that, in readers, masculine resourcefulness, often on the part of a young child, is what it takes to solve problems which are far too much for adult women.[30]

A problem of another sort is handled very differently in "The Long Wait" (VI, 6), one of the rare instances in which a male character is allowed to show emotion. Peter is waiting at the hospital for news of the progress of his young brother, whom he has accidentally hit with a baseball bat. When his mother tells him that Jerry will be all right, he lets out the tears that have been building. The sex-stereotyped occupations of the hospital personnel in this story are overshadowed by the positive value of portraying a male character who exhibits a natural emotional reaction to an anxiety-producing situation.

In addition to the "problem" stories, there are several instances in which a boy is shown learning some fact or acquiring a skill. "Smarty Arty Finds Out" (IV,16) lots of things he didn't know when he visits a farm. David learns to read in "Always Arthur" (IV,13), a fact which leads to a friendship with younger Arthur. The young boy in "My First Whale" (VI,5), mentioned above, is well on his way to becoming an experienced whaler by the end of the story. Henry in "And He Did!" (II,13) successfully builds a cart out of an empty box, even though his friends refuse to help him.

Henry's problems with his friends are unusual. Many of the stories about boys in this series are about male friendships—usually very smooth friendships. "Lunch on a Boat" (II,14) concerns 2 friends on a class outing. When Roy drops his hot dog over the side of the boat, Max gives him money for another. "1, 2, 3 Go" (II, 11) and "Touch War" (VI. 8) involve two kinds of friendly competition between boys. "Pete Makes a Friend" (II,19), "New Boy in the Class" (III,5) and "There Was a New Boy" (IV,11) all concern making friends and "fitting in." In the last of these, a rumor is spread around the neighborhood that the new boy isn't friendly. The rumor spreads among no less than 7 children—all boys.

Two stories concern the activities of boys in all-male groups. In "The Chestnuts" (V,29), a boys' club is confronted with the problem of rasing money for a clubhouse roof. They buy some chestnuts, cook them and attempt to sell them, and in their travels they do not meet up with or mention one woman or girl. Another male group story, "Jerry and the Girls" (II,15) does not treat women with such benign neglect. Jerry's dislike of girls is famous in the neighborhood, and so his friends are surprised to see him in the presence of 4 of them. Could it be that adolescence has overcome him? No, he's keeping their company only because they are going to buy ice cream. The implications of this story are clear. Boys are being told that it is acceptable to dislike girls, and to say so, even though they may be valuable for something. Girls are being told that male friendship and respect is not something that is theirs by right of common humanity but is something that may have to be coddled, or in this case, bought.

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[29] Lenore J. Weitzman, et al., "Sex Role Socialization in Picture Books for Preschool Children", *American Journal of Sociology*, 77 : 6, p. 1132.

[30] Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane As Victims*, (N.J. : 1972), p. 26.

Two other stories are fantasies. "Jack and the Beanstalk" (IV,15) is the classic fairytale of male resourcefulness and courage. "The Sooner Hound" concerns an adult drifter, Sam the Boomer, and his hound who would sooner run than anything else. Sam arranges a series of races for his dog, who ultimately outruns even the railroad. This is another story in which no females are shown or mentioned.

*About Girls and Women.* In contrast to the stories about boys, those about girls, for the most part, do not show them solving problems, having adventures, or interacting with other girls. Another significant difference is that, although 12 of the 29 boy stories contain no female characters (41%), only 1 of the 10 girl stories contains no male characters. The clear implication of this fact is that, whereas men get along quite easily without women, women cannot get along without men.

Of the 10 girl stories, 5 concern girls in the city, 2 concern women in the city, 1 is a historical story and 2 are fairytales. The 5 stories about the life of girls in the city are most illuminating in contrast to the boy stories. One striking fact is that the camaraderie of male urban life is just about nonexistent among females. Girls are depicted alone or in the company of males. This absence of friendships among girls is probably a reflection of the assumption that females are in competition with each other for the favor of men, and therefore do not develop friendships among themselves. This is an obvious contradiction of the situation in the real world, where women spend a large part of their time with other women.

The second striking fact about the girl stories is that *nothing* interesting or exciting is happening. In "The Day It Rained" (II, 8), Carmen stays inside and visits a friend (a very short visit), goes to the mailbox, does the wash with her mother, visits her grandmother and buys a carton of milk. In "City Houses" (II, 16), Molly and her father watch as the construction workers build houses. In "The New Girl" (II, 17), Rosa meets another girl, a storekeeper, a teacher and some children. The lack of action in this story is a striking contrast to "'Pete Makes a Friend" (see above) who never stops playing ball while the meeting takes place, and "There Was a New Boy" whose arrival is enshrouded in rumor and intrigue.

In "What Do You Think?" (III, 6), perhaps the greatest example of a non-story ever conceived, an unnamed girl walks around 4 corners and finds her mother coming home from shopping. In the only story of the lot showing girlfriends, "Can Your Brother Talk Yet?" (VI, 1), the emphasis, as in the title, is on the baby brother. In this story Nina and Betsy spend several successive afternoons caring for younger siblings and talking of nothing but the babies.

These stories do not present a very attractive, nor accurate, picture of the lives of city girls.

The two stories about adults are a study in contrasts. A stereotyped "little old lady" ineptly drops her grocery bag in "One Potato, Two Potatoes" (II, 21). The spilled potatoes are retrieved by a girl, a boy and a man. This negative image of an older woman is somewhat countered by the strong and capable figure of the grandmother in "Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers" (VI, 10) mentioned in Section 3. It should be noted that the 2 stories in the sample about adult women concern grandmother-age women. There are no stories dealing with younger adult women.

The 3 remaining girl stories are set outside the twentieth century American city. In "First Painting" (V, 22), a young girl in Spain explores caves with her father and finds some ancient cave paintings. Her discovery receives some degree of publicity and she becomes relatively famous. This is the only story in the sample in which a girl *does* something successful and exciting and thereby merits approval. Unfortunately, its context and subject matter must be remote to the contemporary American child.

The 2 fairytales have 2 especially damaging themes. "King of the Cats" (VI, 3) is the story of 3 poverty-stricken girls and their mother who take in a stray cat. Though they are near starvation, they provide the cat with food and warmth. When they reach the point of absolute destitution, the cat makes known to them that he is the "king" of cats and leaves them with a pot of gold. The theme of magic or mysticism as a cure for poverty seems particularly inappropriate in this series.

The other fairytale is that old standard, "The Sleeping Beauty" (V, 25). Again, the prerequisite of a woman's being highly valued are royalty and beauty: "The princess was beautiful and happy and everyone loved her. She could cook fine food and make fine dresses and she danced lightly." Although cooking ability has been added to the princess' accomplishments (lest anyone fear that her husband has been cheated in his choice of wife), the only quality which the prince seems to consider at all is her beauty. And it is not a beauty born of vivacious personality, or strength of character, it is an absolutely passive beauty, a sleeping beauty. While the princess is the archetypal passive, dependent female, the prince personifies the all-powerful male whose simple actions can overcome even the mystical effects of witchcraft.

*About Girls and Boys Together.* Of the 8 stories about mixed groups of girls and boys, 3 present the characters in equitable relationships (II,12; III,2; III,9) and 1 shows all the children doing the same things, though there are 5 boys to 2 girls in the group, (III,1). The classification of "The Haunted House" (VI,7) in this section gives the Bank Street Series an unmerited benefit of the doubt. 5 boys and 1 girl (who joins the adventure after it is in progress) explore an old house on a dark and windy night. All the children exhibit fear and there is no deference to the girl's sex. She is the only one who thinks to bring a flashlight. However, the equitable relations between the sexes in this story are overshadowed by the fact that the girl is so outnumbered. It is difficult to imagine a story in kwhich 1 boy *accompanies* (not leads) 5 girls on an adventure. A girl in a group of boys has "made it"; often a boy in a group of girls is labeled a "sissy."

In "The Monster" (V,21), a sister/brother story, Bill frightens Sandra out of watching TV monster shows by convincing her that he is really a monster disguised as a human. Bill is ingenious and persevering; Sandra is gullible and easy to frighten. Another sister and brother story casts the female in the position of placing excessive and unreasonable constraints on the freedom and happiness of the male ("Some Mother!" IV;12). Left in charge of brother Ben for the day, Helen makes him wash and change his shirt, and will not let him go outside. In addition, she tries to give the cat a bath, an attempt which fails miserably. The story supports the notion that women, particularly mothers, enjoy curbing "natural" male love of freedom and fun. These 2 sister/brother stories are important because they are the only instances in the sample of a female attempting to assert herself against a male. In "The Monster" the girl is overcome by her brother's stronger will and yields completely to his wishes. In "Some Mother" the strong-willed girl is portrayed as selfish and ridiculous, as well as a complete failure when placed in a position of responsibility.

The final story in this girl/boy group eloquently expresses the assumptions about female and male activities and interests which underly this entire series. Three boys find "The Big Box" (II,9) and begin a series of imaginative and adventuresome games. The box becomes a train, an airplane and a boat. The boys tire of this game and abandon it. The box is found by 3 girls, who promptly sit down in it and "play house all day." They are pictured sitting quietly and sipping pretend-tea. Little imagination, no activity, no adventure—and yet they don't get bored. They stay there all day.

The message conveyed so clearly in this and the other stories in this sample in that female and male behavior is, and should be, different:

Boys like to make things happen, rather than have things happen to them. They would rather do something than watch someone else do it. They are often confronted with problems and generally solve them quite easily. Many of the things boys do need to be done with other people, so they have lots of friends—other boys.

Girls can be satisfied with much less. They are quite content to watch, and are happy doing simple domestic chores or babysitting. They don't play games or engage in fantasy. They are not often confronted with a problem to solve, but when they are they are lucky to have a male around to solve it for them. Their "activities" are not very active—running, climbing, ball playing, are completely off limits. Girls are often alone, perhaps because the things they do don't need other people . . . perhaps, the readers would have us believe, because girls can be quite unpleasant. When girls are with friends, the friends are seldom other girls.

*Images of Adults: Possibilities for the future.* The image of the child created in this series is the logical forerunner of the image of the adult. Studies of sex-stereotyping in children's books and readers have consistently noted the overwhelming emphasis on the role of mother/homemaker for women.[21] In this sample of the Bank Street series there were 17 instances in which women were described as or pictured as mother, and there were 8 instances of men shown in the role of father. Besides the role of mother, adult women in this sample were depicted as nurse (VI,6) and teacher (II,14; II,17). Men are shown in a variety of occupations: construction worker (II,16), storekeeper (II,17; V,24), carousel operator (II.5), milkman (III.3), archeologist (.22), policeman, (III.10), farmer (IV,17), fruit vendor (IV,18; V,23), cook, doorman (V,23), whaler (VI,5), doctor (VI,6), and railroad engineer (VI,9).

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[21] See Women on Words and Images, *op. cit.*; Weitzman, *op. cit.*; and Marjorie U'Ren, "Image of Women in Textbooks," *Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, pp. 218–225, Basic Books, 1971.

The adult role models presented for boys, even in this relatively small sample, are numerous and varied. Adult role models for girls are stereotyped and limited.

*5. Conclusions*

This examination of a sample of the Bank Street Series reaffirms the findings of other studies that there is a consistent devaluation of females in reading textbooks. Stories about girls and women and infrequent and often portray their activities as limited to child care or domestic functions. Girls are infrequently portrayed as inventive, imaginative or industrious, but are shown as boring, helpless and sometimes nasty. Adult women are shown almost exclusively as homemakers and mothers.

This limited and unrealistic picture of female life must cause girls to limit their expectations of what they are capable of, and may cause them to de-emphasize their own value in relation to males. Equality of opportunity will mean very little if half the children in the schools have a drastically limited idea of their own potential.

In addition, in this sample racial and ethnic minorities remain underrepresented. The Black and Spanish-American urban child needs more, and more varied, characters and situations with which to relate. Many more of the stories should deal directly with the experience of minorities in the city, including the problems. Historical stories about Blacks and other ethnic groups should clearly relate the cultural experience or heritage of that group, rather than simply include a minority character in a historical setting which is ambiguous (as in "My First Whale"). Other ethnic groups which are not treated here at all should be included.

If the goal of providing all children with characters, situations and adult role models consistent with her or his own experiences is to be approached, the emphasis on the lives and adventures of the White male must be drastically curtailed to allow for more equitable treatment of females and minority groups.

C. *Science Research Associates:* Comprehensive (Basal) Reading Series, Volumes G, H, I, J, K, L

The sample analyzed is as follows: Volume G, the first 10 stories; Volume H, the second 10 strories; Volume I, the last 10 stories; Volume J, the first 10 stories; Volume K, the second 10 stories; and Volume L, the last 10 stories.

1. *Statistics.* Main characters (adults, children and animals): Females, 34; and males, 93.

Female: Black, 0; white, 23; other, 1; and animal, 4.

Male: Black, 4; white, 50; other, 5; and animal, 13.

2. *Introduction.* I spent many disappointing hours—there were a very few bright moments—reading 10 full-length prose selections (and a number of poems as well) from each S.R.A. reader, levels G through L. Sixty selections gave me enough time and provided a wide enough range of experiences to loosen the residue of years-old childhood, self-deception and disappointment. When I used to read as a kid, I would think, "I'm different from *those* girls." I tried to think myself out of being a girl.[32] Despite my willful denials, every single day I was being made to *feel* like a girl.

What does it mean to be made to feel like a girl? A poem from the sample of readers I analyzed gives ample evidence of the mockery from others which is part of the female experience.

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[32] I am not alone in this experience of sex-role alienation. Studies documenting female sex-role alienation by Hartup and by Brown are discussed in "Sex Role Socialization in Picture Books for Preschool Children" by Lenore J. Weitzman, et al., *The American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (1971): 1138.

### PLEASE DO NOT DISTURB

**Pedaling on,
believing they are going
somewhere,
sit the player pianos,
holey predictable,
programmed
for self-glee.
Pianos—prim ladies at tea
clinking two lumps
precisely,
drinking small sips
so nicely,
chatting in neat rows
of yeses and noes,
nodding in unison
because tea
is all they ever stir. (L)[33] p. 394.**

Although women have been limited in certain ways by their conditioning, they have developed strengths invisible to the biased observer. The author of this poem believes that women's conversation is predictable, mechanical, and empty. The poem asserts that women are, like player pianos, "holey predictable,/programmed for self-glee." Women are also self-deluding, "believing they are going somewhere" with their talk, when in actuality they never stir—anything but tea. How different women's talk looks to a person who does not devalue it. Psychologist Phyllis Chesler's commentary on the kind of conversation which might take place between two women gives us an idea of where the women who inspired "Please Do Not Disturb" might have been going in their conversation.

Many dialogues between women seem 'senseless' or 'mindless' to men. Two women talking often seem to be reciting monologues at each other, neither really listening to (or 'judging') what the other is saying. Two personal confessions, two sets of feelings, seem to be paralleling one another, rather 'mindlessly', and without 'going anywhere'. In fact, what the women are doing—or where they are 'going'—is toward some kind of emotional resolution and comfort. Each woman comments upon the other's feelings by reflecting them in a very sensitive matching process. The two women share their feelings by alternating the retelling of the entire experience in which their feelings are embedded and from which they cannot be 'abstracted' or 'summarized.' Their theme, method, and goal are non-verbal and/or non-verbalized. Facial expressions, pauses, sighs, and seemingly unrelated (or 'non-abstract') responses to statements are crucial to such dialogue. A very special prescience is at work here. On its most ordinary level, it affords women a measure of emotional reality and a kind of comfort that they cannot find with men. On its highest level, it constitutes the basic tools of art and psychic awareness.[34]

The main purpose of this paper is to evaluate the S.R.A. series for sexual bias and to identify the ways a girl's self-image might be damaged by the images of girls and women in the readers. Hopefully this study will be small disturbance. Hopefully it will help to bring about changes in the socialization of girls so that they will someday be able to do more than stir tea . . . or witch's brew.

Approximately 37% of the *main* characters in my sample were female. Underrepresentation of girls and women is only a small part of the picture of the world the readers give to girls. The statistic does not reflect the virtual absence of women from many factual articles which had neither female nor male *main* characters. Nor does it say anything about the limited activities or the negative images of girls and women in the articles or stories.

3. *Factual articles*. Of the 60 selections I analyzed, I classified 22 as factual articles. Twelve of these had no main character(s) ; some of these 12 were about such things as cryptography, city planning, and clipper ship shanties. Even these apparently neutral topics reflected sex bias. The impression a child would form from reading these articles is that there are no women scientists, scholars, city planners, sailors, cryptographers and so on. The sexism built into the English

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[33] References throughout this essay to the volumes in the S.R.A. Comprehensive Series will be indicated with the volume letter only.

[34] Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness*, (N.Y. : 1972), p. 268.

language by devices such as the bisexual "he" for he-and-she is partly responsible for this impression. But, as a recent study of reading textbooks concludes, "the readers . . . extend this . . . practice (for example), by defining archeologists as 'men' who dig. Archeologists are also women. Why not, simply, 'people' who dig?"[35] "Living Light" (H) in my sample makes a very clear distinction between "people" and "men." (The underlinings are my own.) The article tells us that "*people* have always been *interested* in lightning bugs . . . but now *men* are *taking a new look* at them." A bit further on "the *men* who *study* these things" are mentioned again. "Men" means just that, only men. Men "take new looks," men "study." "People" includes women and children as well as men, all of whom can be "interested."

In articles in which there are no main characters but which mention specific people by name a disproportionately large number of those people are male. "Bibliomania" (L), for example, has a 7:1 ratio of men to women, and of the 2 women mentioned, 1 is George Eliot. Would an elementary school student know that *George* Eliot was a woman? And the student would be even less likely to know why Mary Ann Evans had to assume a man's name. Historical prejudice has effectively halved the number of women in this particular article.

Because of past and present cultural prejudice against women, the selection of the topic in the factual articles often excludes women. "The Origins of Scotland Yard" (K) is an example. In my sample there were no articles in which either a boy, a man, or a male animal were not included. There were also no articles exclusively about women, for example, on topics such as our political, religious, medical or work activities.

In only 1 of the 22 articles, "The Gypsy Life" (J) did I find a positive image of women. In Gypsy culture women are "valuable" because through their fortunetelling they are often the economic mainstay of the family. The article says that "fortunetelling is the one Gypsy occupation reserved for women." However, it fails to mention whether it is the *only* occupation in the culture open to women.

In 2 of the articles in my sample women were dealt with in a way which was sexually biased. In "It's Greek to Me" (I), which is about the origins of words in myths, no value judgments are made of Zeus' desire to punish a Titan; but Hera, who wants to punish Echo, is condemned with the epithet "a jealous women." Demeter, whose story is also mentioned, is not shown to have as much good reason for her wrath as she did when her daughter, Proserpine, is abducted by Hades. She appears to be overly emotional and possessive. Hades was, according to the article, "so much in love with Proserpine that he carried her away to the underworld". "In love" is a grotesque euphemism for the attitude of someone who is guilty of rape and abduction; however, its use is revealing. It points to the overall cultural pattern of male dominance and female submissiveness which is also called love. The second negative image article was "Grownup Fairy Tales" (I), which was about stage props and their use in operas. The women mentioned in the article are: mermaids (a picture shows them suspended on wires controlled like puppets by men); Elsa, in *Lohengrin*, blamed for killing her brother (who has actually been killed by a witch), rescued by a knight; a lady, lovely, rescued by Siegfried; Salome, "the wicked princess", who cut off the head of John the Baptist. Men mentioned are Ali Baba, hero; Samson, strong man; Hoffman, poet; Siegfried, hero and rescuer; John the Baptist, head; Herod, not described as wicked; Elsa's dead brother; the good knight Lohengrin. The mermaids, Elsa and the lovely lady are all acted upon by men. Salome, and the witch in *Lohengrin*, the 2 women who are active, are both murderesses. An explicit judgment is made of Salome's character in the description of her as "the wicked princess." Perhaps the reason she is judged so strongly (whereas Herod is not) is that she appealed to the king through her sexuality.

Three of the articles alluded to witches. "There Ought to Be a Law" (L) mentions laws concerning witches as reflecting the superstitions of the time. None of the punishments exacted by these laws prompted by a mere superstition are mentioned.[36] In "Grownup Fairy Tales" (I) a witch is mentioned who is a murderess. "Living Light" (H) offers the following about a kind of bioluminescence. "Before people knew what this light was, they were afraid of it. They called the light 'witch fire'." One associative constellation that these articles might produce around the idea "witches" would include fear and evil. Is it possible to displace such a constellation with an intellectual proscription like "it's all superstition"? I don't think so. Only anger at the injustice done to women and at people who do the injustice, and smypathy for women proportionately greater than the fear, hate, and revulsion can undo the kind of damage that history and its continuation in these articles (and in the stories we are about to examine) have done. There is no evidence of this kind of anger or this kind of sympathy in these articles—or in any of the stories in my sample.

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[35] Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane As Victims*, (N.J.: 1972), p. 19.

[36] Sister Albertus Magnus McGrath in *What a Modern Catholic Believes About Women* (Chicago: 1972) observes that "On the basis of . . . sick and primitive fear of the female, women were viciously abused for more than three centuries. 'Torture was regularly invoked in continental Europe and the rack was employed in England. Condemned witches were strangled, beheaded, and their bodies cast into the fire; often they were burned alive.' How many innocent women suffered and died it is impossible to say." (p. 73)

4. *Stories.* I divided the stories I read as follows: stories about girls, women or female animals (8); stories about boys, men or male animals (26); stories about both (4).

*About females.*—Of the 8 stories about females, 3 had witches among the main characters. Two of these, "The Prince, Two Mice and Some Kitchen Maids" (K) and "Melisande" (L) are parodies and exaggerate stock fairy tale characters and devices. On the whole, however, the stories work against women. The witch in "The Prince . . ." is in direct competition with the good kitchen maid for the Prince's hand in marriage. The kitchen maid is fairly enterprising compared to women in most fairy tales (other than the witches who are, by definition, powerful and enterprising). However, she has to choose to undergo transformation into a mouse (i.e. a tiny, physically powerless creature) to begin to act against the witch who is in the form of a cat. Direct, aggressive action is forbidden to women. The destruction of the witch is ultimately brought about by chance. The tale extolls self-sacrifice (for both women and men) as the basis for true love, a "virtue" which is particularly dangerous to the development of women in today's culture. The story makes no mention of independence, growth and self-respect as the basis for love, all of which are essential to the development and maintenance of personhood for both women and men. One unexpected plus in the story is the Prince's open expression of grief (he weeps) when his parents die. Expression of emotions (other than anger) by male characters is a rarity in any reader.

In both "The Prince . . ." and "Melisande" the Queens are portrayed as weak and foolish; the Kings, as brave and resourceful.[37] And, of course, a witch, Malevola, curses Melisande with baldness. In the course of the story Melisande undergoes grotesque and frightening physical transformations. Her hair grows so long, so fast, that it becomes her country's major export. Then she grows so large that she can carry her island kingdom in her hand. She is practical and uses her outlandish hair and her outlandish size to rescue her country from famine and war. However, she weeps in loneliness, an enormous giantess, waiting to be restored to normal human dimensions—and marriageability—by her beloved Prince. Is it too far-fetched to see the physical transformations that both the kitchen maid and Melisande undergo as symbols of the psychological distortions undergone by women who are set against one another, not only in fairy tales but also in life itself, given powerless mothers as role models, and forbidden self-determination?

The third witch story, "Tenny Tiny Swishy Witch" (G) is about a harmless, domesticated witch (her size is reduced to a manageable "teeny tiny") who sighs a lot, expressing impotent discontent, because she wishes she had a bigger house to haunt. She has to take the raw end of the bargain from a dog (male and larger than she) who has spitefully hidden her broom, doing him a favor in return for the broom. In this story the whole world of witches has been reduced to miniature, harmless size, and their impotence is made light of.

One other story in the "about females" category is of unambiguously negative value in building female self-image. It is about a female monkey ("Uncle Walter's Present" (G)) who is so disruptive that she is sent back to the gift-giver, Walter, who reports he has taught her to sweep, cook breakfast, and sew buttons on his shirts. The mother in the story stays home with one son who has a cold, while the father takes the other son out for a walk. This indoors/outdoors pattern is common in books.[38] The mother misidentifies the sex of the monkey but the father is able to identify it correctly. Mothers make mistakes often in books for children, most often in fairy tales, but how could a mother make a mistake about sex—female sex?

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[37] The one—and only—right thing the Quenn in "Melisande" does (i.e. she projects the outcome of the King's plan not to invite any fairies) is not mentioned in the teacher's guide to this story. However, the mistakes she makes are. Her husband makes a mistake which is not mentioned in the guide (i.e., he invites the fairies). A point is made, however, of the things he does that are good. (Teaching Guide, Level L, "Extending the lesson", Sections 1, 2, 3, pp. 118, 119.)

[38] See Weitzman, *op. cit.*, pp. 1132 and 1144.

Two of the stories featuring girls were positive only in that girls were the main characters. In "The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer" (J) a little, old magic man is the key to Lizzy Linnehan's helping her family financially. Lizzy's mother, 1 of 2 mothers in my sample for whom occupations other than mother-housewife are mentioned,[39] works in a department store (the story does not indicate in what capacity) and is both mother and father to 8 children. The father is forced to desert his large family (until the end of the story) in order to "seek his fortune". He returns with enough money to finance a house and assumes his proper position as head of the household, selling magic-made ice-cream. The story deals a flatulant, magic blow to the problems of unemployment and poverty: the American Dream is only realizable for many Americans with fantasy and fairydust. The second story, "Helga's Good Bad Deed" (G) is about an active, skilled little girl who is half chastised, half rewarded for her deed of rescue.

Two of the 8 were positive image stories of adult women. Their occupations were, however, stereotyped. "A Visit with an Artist" (J) is a good story about a confident, knowledgeable and talented artist. She has also taught collage-making to children. The story makes it clear that the artist, Mrs. Rubin, has a family. It does not make it clear whether she earns money for her art work or her teaching. Miss Uppabove in "One Last Setting Hen for Miss Uppabove's Class" (H) teaches an interesting class about embryo gestation in chickens. Miss Uppabove was the only non-fantasy central character[40] who was an unmarried woman in my sample. Her name was troubling to me from the start. Why Miss Uppabove? I thought, "perhaps it was chosen by someone with a perverted sense of human worth to indicate status in the farming community where the story takes place," or I mused, "was it chosen to show that she was the sort of person who considered herself to be above getting married?" I finally hit upon an answer. The name cannot be a put-down because that would be inconsistent with the general tone of the story. It is meant to convey approval. The story's theme is nostalgia for the chick-rearing functions of hens. There are 2 kinds of hens in the story: setting hens who incubate eggs and laying hens whose setting functions have been taken over by incubators. Miss Uppabove's class acquires a setting hen and a clutch of eggs (not the hen's own eggs) for her to sit on. Happiness is attributed to the setting hen twice in the story: as she gets just the right number of eggs for her body to cover and when the chicks, once hatched, go to sleep beneath her. Message: maternal function brings happiness. The laying hens who are mentioned twice as walking around on farms are not described as happy. Miss Uppabove's job as teacher of young children takes on greater significance in light of this message of maternal happiness and explains the paradox of the name "uppabove". The sitting hen sits on top of eggs which are not her own; Miss Uppabove is teaching children who are not her own. In a metamorphic sense Miss Uppabove is a setting hen and her name is a reminder of her function.

*About both females and males.*—I classified 4 stories as about both (or not particularly either) girls and boys. "Pixie and the Wise Owl" (G) is about a silly, if endearing, female cat and a male owl, who is, of course, very wise. "Tale of a Tumbleweed" (I) includes one clumsy girl, one enterprising girl, and one dexterous boy. "Unwelcome Passenger" (J) is an interesting story, good for girls, not good for Indians. The female central character is intelligent and empathetic. She recognizes a male Indian's personhood (and he, hers) despite her family's prejudice and fear. The Indian, however, has to be *super*human to be accepted as human by the girl's whole family. "The Dog That Bit People" (L) is a Thurber story in which the narrator's seemingly harmless mother and her vicious, but beloved (male) dog are complementary characters. The dog bites multitudes of people. The mother sends boxes of candy at Christmas to each person bitten by her dog. She believes in horoscopes and consults a mental healer to see if her dog can be cured. She believes her dog is to be pitied because "he isn't well". Through references to the supernatural Thurber has established a symbolic medium for the psychological trafficking between the woman and her dog. The woman's sympathy for her dog is so great one can be certain that the dog is expressing anger which the woman would express herself—and perhaps in a more useful way—if she were not constrained by social definitions of sick and well.[41] The sweet, little "mother" with her ambiance of the supernatural, is in fact a kind of witch. Women's indirect expression of anger perhaps explains the fear many have posited to lie at the bottom of the persecution of women in the Middle Ages and of the subjugation of women throughout history.

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[39] See "A Visit with an Artist" (J) for the other. See "Unwelcome Passenger" (J) which takes place 100 years ago and "Good Luck" (J) which takes place in a "primitive" agricultural community for surprises. In the former the historical situation, in the latter, the stage of economic development, would have been consonant with a wider range of roles and activities than mother-housewife. But the stereotypes prevail.

[40] Only two other unmarried women, both elementary school teachers, who were not fantasy characters, were mentioned in the stories—Miss Rudy in "Lowdown" (I) and Miss Marshall in "Bob and the Blue Crayon" (G). Unmarried fantasy characters abound, for the large part, witches who act as blocking agents to marriage and princesses, desiring desperately to marry.

*About males.*—There were 26 stories about males in my sample of 60. These stories are concerned with such themes as rite of passage from boyhood to manhood, hobbies, strength of personal conviction, brotherhood through racial transcendence, mutual love and endurance of team and coach, ingenuity, bravery, endurance, competitiveness, freedom and logical thinkign. Most of these stories had positive male images, although the value of competitiveness in people deserves to be challenged at length and the possible negative effects of hero image saturation on boys merits discussion.[42] In this section 3 kinds of images will be examined: negative male images; positive female images; negative female images. The only negative male images were of unmarried men, one of whom appeared in each of the following: "Tony's Adventure" (G), "Dog Bites Boy" (L), and "The Hermit of Moonstone Mountain" (J). The latter 2 stories have male characters who do not like children. In 1 of the stories the hermit manages to redeem himself. "Tonys Adventure" is the worst of the 3. It makes the implicit point that an unmarried man is deficient. In the story Tony's father does not play with him because as a hard-working man he is "too busy to pay attention to (him)."[43] Tony's uncle, on the other hand, does not like to work and is irresponsible with the money he earns. He likes to take Tony to the movies and on other outings. Tony's mother feels her brother needs "taking care of." Deviation from one's socially prescribed role is an illness, and for a man, reduces him to the status of child (or woman). Domination of a wife and children is essential character building activity in our culture: master of the house makes for masterful behavior outside of it. Questions one might ask if this story is used in the classroom could include the following: why is no mention made of the affection Tony's uncle might feel for him? why can't men be affectionate in children's stories? why can't they refuse to work so hard that they have no time for human relationships?

The positive female image story I found in the male-oriented set of stories sports 4 males (father, son and 2 dogs) and 1 female. "Rover and the Rogue" (K) is a rite of passage story about the 2 dogs, one young, brave and approaching maturity and one old, faithful and approaching death. The wife is intelligent, sensitive and wise in the ways of dogs and men. She has been forced to accommodate to her husband's needs to be boss.

> . . . Mary Kelly . . . smiled sweetly and said, 'Of course, dear, you do know what's best. If you think that Simon should be shot, you had better go and do it.'
>
> So, of course, Simon wasn't shot. (p. 143.)

In the story Mary Kelly is at least able to manipulate, if not to confront, her stubborn, unperceptive husband. In addition, a kind of equalization of wife and husband is achieved in the story because no occupation outside the home is mentioned for either the husband or the wife, and the husband is with Mary during the day the story takes place.

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[41] Robert Plutchik connects anger with frustration (p. 134) and cites Iverson's observation that "anger is most likely to occur in . . . situations which contain insurmountable barriers to the reaching of goals (p. 79)." The relationship between anger and aggression and the nature of aggression are described by one psychoanalyst as follows: "[aggression's] source appears to be the emotion of anger, and its aim the destruction of the object which arouses the emotion . . . Aggression is, primarily, an expression of vitality [and] is a *sine qua non* of individual survival" (pp. 78–79), ***The Emotions***, (N.Y.: 1962).

Anger and aggressiveness are male sex traits (Chesler, *op. cit.*, p. 164). Women are forbidden to express anger openly, and according to Samuel Warner, women are "reared to *feel* no hostility" (***Self-Realization and Self-Defeat,*** (N.Y.: 1966), p. 35). Women, therefore, express and defuse their anger by experiencing it as a form of emotional illness, by translating it into hysterical symptoms: frigidity, chronic depression, phobias, and the like." (Chesler, *op. cit.*, 108–109).

[42] See Ruth E. Hartley, "Sex-Role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child," *Psychological Reports*, 5, (1969), pp. 457–468.

[43] In the "Careless Astronaut" (H) the theme of a conflict between work and male parenting also finds expression. Daedalus, an obsessive inventor, laments that he has been "too busy to train (Icarus) properly"; hence Icarus is careless. Yet the blame for the boy's death is laid at the door of ***his disobedience***. The father escapes with impunity. In "The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer" Lizzy Linnehan's mother handles both work and parenting and receives no special acclaim.

In 7 of the 26 stories about males there were negative images of women. They include an eccentric, silly and unappealing "wise" woman who lives outside of society in an eagle's nest ("The Middle Prince of Spotsylvania" (H)); a very beautiful witch whose power is overcome by a man who stabs her in her very beautiful breast ("The Young Fisherman" (I)); the emotional wife of a scientist, the hero of the story, who has "little patience with pure emotion" ("The Salisbury Clock" (L)); the frivolous, weak and powerless Ariadne and her maidens in "The Careless Astronaut" (H); and a very nasty sister of the boy hero in "The Magic Typewriter" (J).

The most negative images were in "An Understanding Ear" (G) and "Lowdown" (I). In the former, a Black woman has the following telephone conversation with a friend:

> Ruth . . . you should have seen the dress Mary was wearing. It was green and red and brown and orange and some other funny color. And it wasn't straight. It was longer in front than in back. We all felt so sorry for her and . . .

And here direct recording of the conversation ceases in the story. The expressed sorrow for the woman being discussed seems all the more perfunctory because it ends where it does. It is a thin disguise for competitiveness concerning appearance. Thus, not only is the only Black woman who spoke any lines in my sample[44] competitive and petty, she is also less than a perfect mother. Her son, seeking an understanding ear, can't get a hearing because his mother is involved in an apparently frivolous conversation. His father is also too involved to listen to him, but at least he is reading a newspaper and besides, he has another excuse. He wants to relax, the story tells us, after his day of work. The child finally tells his troubles to a toad. Sexism and racism clearly intersect in this story: sexism in the negative image of the mother and in the implicit contrast between mothering and working; racism in the stereotype of Black parents not paying attention to their children.[45] "Lowdown" is a story about a boy named Joe who admires himself, but who is willing to tolerate the company of two servile male friends, one of whom is Black.[46] Mabel, the girl in the story, seeks companionship and admiration from the boys but is cruelly maltreated by them. According to Joe, "Mabel brags and Mabel is awful. When we can't ditch her, Mabel hangs around us. The rest of us are boys and we could do without Mabel" (p. 195). Joe also feels that he is "kinder than the others, but even (he) doesn't see why you should have to be kind to Mabel" (P. 195).[47]

### *5. Afterword*

Anger informs this essay. Anger both motivated me to write it and to give it the shape it has. Throughout I have allowed my feelings and attitudes to be openly integrated with objective observations about the contents of the stories in my study sample. Feelings have been denigrated as emotionalism by those in power because when the feelings of oppressed people are released they inevitably include rage—outrage.

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[44] On other Black woman was briefly mentioned in "Toma" (I), Toma's mother, who cooked the ostrich eggs her son found.

[45] A total of 4 stories, in my entire sample of 60, included Black people. In two of these stories, Black males are the central characters. "Toma" (I) is a story of a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood which takes place in Africa—a good story for boys, perhaps good because it takes place outside of American culture. (The sex roles are, of course, stereotyped in the tribal culture to which Toma belongs.) "More Important than Gold Medals" (J) is a story which takes place in 1936 about Jesse Owens, a Black athlete, who is helped by a White German athlete through a psychological crisis he experiences as a result of Hitler's racism. Because of this help, Owens is able to succeed at the Olympics. In the story it is implicit that America is a non-racist nation. Certainly this is true only in a comparison with Nazi Germany, but it is a gross misrepresentation of America's own racial politics. A tiny reflection of America's racist politics can be seen in the stories in my sample: only outside of our culture and in the past are Black people allowed a positive image, and then only Black males. In the contemporary realistic family story, "An Understanding Ear" and in the modern times fantasy story "Lowdown" the images are negative ,and racism and sexism appear together. And, of course, Black males, and especially Black females, are underrepresented.

[46] There were three stories about races of people other than Blacks or Whites. "Good Luck" (I), a story about a Phillipine boy, follows the same basic pattern as "Toma," but sexism is more marked in "Good Luck." "Women's work" is clearly distinguished from the work of a boy-about-to-become-a-man. The Indian in "Unwelcome Passenger" (J) must, like Jesse Owens, be a superstar to prove that people who are different from White people are "acceptable." It is interesting that this story, like the Owens story, takes place in the past. "Someone to Listen" (G) is a realistic contemporary story about a talented Mexican American guitar player and the efforts his two children make to find him a job singing in a cafe. The girl child has the idea to try job hunting. She doesn't ever explicitly do any of the talking to cafe owners, as does her brother, and the idea is a failure.

[47] The Teaching Guide to Volume I also criticizes Mabel while Joe, whose behavior is more reprehensible, is not criticized. See Section A.2 and B.3 (p. 49).

There is no such thing as objective writing on the subject of people. Attitudes towards oneself and others are always operating in choosing an approach to this subject, in determining the results of experiments, in drawing conclusions. In the past men and women have pretended objectivity in their studies of women, women's activities and products. Far more often than not, there has been contempt for women on the part of men and self-hate on the part of women underlying these studies. I have learned to love myself and other women and to challenge and fight, with my feelings and thoughts, barriers to our treatment as respect-worthy human beings. The most effective form of political control is the repression of feelings, especially the feeling of desire—for food, for clothing, for shelter, for respect from others, for the fullest exercise of one's abilities. Desire withers when one feels that one is not worthy of these necessary things—and so does life itself.

D. *Scott, Foresman and Company:* **The Open Highways Series**.

The evaluation is based on a sample of the Open Highways Series, as follows:
Grade 1, Reader 1, stories 1–10.
Grade 2, Reader 1, stories 11–20.
Grade 3, Reader 1, stories 21–28 (28 is the final story in the reader).
Grade 4, Book 4, stories 1–10.
Grade 5, Book 5, stories 11–20.
Grade 6, Book 6, stories 21–30.

Statistical Data:

Total number of female central characters—19.

Race: 14 White, 1 Black, 2 Other (Spanish-Americans). (2 animal stories: female dogs, female walrus.)

Total number of male central characters—45.

Race: 37 White, 4 Black, 2 Other (Chinese-American, Spanish pirate). (2 animal stories: male mouse, male bug.)

Analysis of statistical data:

1. Of the 64 central characters in our sample, 70% are male, 30% female. It would seem that female characters are underrepresented.

2. Of the 64 central characters, fewer than 8% are Black. Thus, the Open Highways Series does not meet the needs of an urban constituency.

3. Of the 64 central characters, only *one* is a Black female. Black females are even more glaringly underrepresented than Black males in the Open Highways Series.

Evaluative Essay. 1. Race: a. Blacks; and b. other minority groups.
2. Sex: a. Images of males; (1) adults; and (2) children.
b. Images of females; (1) adults; and (2) children.
3. Conclusions: a. The Scott Foresman Guidelines for *Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks*.
b. Application of guidelines.

*1. Race*

a. *Black.*—In the Scott Foresman Open Highways Series, we have found there to be an underrepresentation of Blacks, both as central characters (fewer than 8%) and as minor characters or in illustrations accompanying the stories.

In several stories Blacks are illustrated or mentioned, but they do not contribute to the plot development: ("On Top of Spaghetti" III, 23; "Games to Play Outside in the City" IV.2; "A Game to Play in the City or Anywhere" IV.3.) [48] In "Shoe Shine Boy" (IV,1) the central character is a poor White. Two other boys are pictured shining shoes, one Black, one White. The White boy's name is Roy; the Black child has no name.

In several of the stories in Open Highways there are positive images of Blacks. In "Ernestine and Substance X" (V, 15) two girls one Black and one White, play together. Ernestine is presented as being smarter than her White friend Rosalie. *This is the only story in our sample in which a Black girl is the central character.* There is also some racial confusion, since Ernestine is shown with brown skin, but she has the last name of Rosario, which may indicate Spanish-American rather than Black-American identity. Although Ernestine and Rosalie are interested in science (a positive image for female children), their experiment is a failure.

In the stories featuring Black male children, the image tends to be more positive than in "Ernestine and Substance X." "Pete at the Zoo" (V, 20), a poem by the well-known Black poet Gwendolyn Brooks, shows a Black male thinking about how lonesome the elephant must be. In "Billy's Find" (II, 18) *all* of the characters are Black, this story being the *only* one in the sample which focuses entirely on life in a Black urban community. Billy sells donuts for his mother; he is successful. In "Jimmy's Pocket Aunt" (II, 11) a White child identifies with the Black policeman who befriends him.

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[48] Throughout this essay, the volume is indicated in Roman numerals, the story number in Arabic numerals.

The most powerfully presented story involving race in our sample is "The Swimming Hole" (IV, 9), a story about how White and Black males resolve racial conflict. Steve, a new White (racist) child in the neighborhood, can't swim. In anger he ties together the clothes of Larry, the central character of the story, saying that he will not swim with Larry or the other Black males because of their color. Steve gets a sunburn, at which point the Black and White comrades who swim together reject Steve because of his color—red as a lobster. In the end Steve apologizes and Larry offers to teach Steve how to swim. "The Swimming Hole" is a positive, interesting, realistic story. It is unfortunate that there are not more stories of this type in Open Highways, particularly in the earlier readers. It is also unfortunate that the story is exclusively about male children.

One significant discovery we have made in our survey is that in the most readable stories the central character is a male. Black girls or women are minimally represented, except in the peripheral role of mother of the main character (V. 15; IV, 9; II. 18).

b. Other Minority Groups.

Of other racial or ethnic minorities depicted in the series, the most insensitive story is "Wang's Fourth" (IV, 6). A number of children, all male, talk about their heritage. The Italians, for example, praise their hero, Christopher Columbus. A Chinese boy, Wang, laments the fact that no one from his race has contributed to the growth of America. He is overjoyed at the end of the story when he realizes that the Chinese have made Fourth of July fireworks possible. (There is no mention whatsoever of the Chinese laborers who, under brutal working conditions, made the Transcontinental Railway possible. The story is superficial and insulting, as well as being insensitive to the economic and ethnic plight of Chinese Americans.)

Another story, "Coats for Katie and Carmen," (I, 7) will be discussed later as an example of the sexual stereotyping of young girls. It does have as one of the 2 central characters a Spanish-American girl. Generally, however, Blacks and other ethnic minorities are absent in the Open Highways stories in our sample: of the 64 central characters, 51 are Whites, 37 of them White males.

*2. Sex*

a. (1) Image of males—Adults.

As a rule, the adult males in our survey are shown as adventurous, achieving, inventive and successful. In "Stone Soup" (III, 27) a young man tricks a selfish old lady out of her food. In Volume IV, there are number of sketches about actual famous men: "The Ideal American" (IV, 5) tells the story of the Danish immigrant, Jacob Riss, who became a successful journalist and, in Theodore Roosevelt's opinion, an "Ideal *American*"; Ernest Hamwi, a pastry maker who invented waffled ice-cream cones and sold them at the St. Louis Fair, 1904 (IV, 8); Larry Bidlake, who describes his adventures while studying water birds in Alaska (IV, 10).

In Volume V there are a series of articles about famous (evil, aggressive) pirates, among them Lafitte and Blackbeard (V, 12) and of today's Tampa businessmen who annually celebrate Tampa's historic invasion by pirates. Another successful male is "Garrett Morgan: Man of Ideas," who invented traffic signals and gas masks (V, 17).

In Open Highways VI, 24, appears the story of Louis Pasteur, who cured a nine year old boy of rabies and discovered the process of vaccination. Story VI, 26, entitled "Heroic Years of the Automobile," describes the achievements of great drivers, all of them men, one the Italian prince Scipione Borghese, who drove from Paris to China. One illustration shows his car being pulled over a mountain pass by 4 Chinese laborers. (Their names are not given, nor their achievements recognized. cf. "Wang's Fourth," in section 1B.)

There are exceptions to this rule. The bird specialist of "A True Tale" clumsily falls out of a tree and his boot gets bitten by a bear. Hennesey, (III, 21) the anti-hero of the story by that title, is a bearded hermit and an outsider. However, when he shaves his beard, cuts his hair, and puts on a suit, the children no longer laugh at him. (Hennesey is on the way to becoming "acceptable.")

Some of the adult males in the stories are shown in parental roles. Fathers are generally depicted as working outside the home, often scolding when they come home, sometimes being helpful at home, but generally being out of their element. Examples are the father in "Ernestine and Substance X" (V, 15), who scolds Ernestine for ruining the chair, but who later gives Ernestine and Rosalie a lesson in chemistry. The father in "The Seven Little Pifflesniffs" (II, 16) boasts that he can do mother's housework while she does his job of tending store. *He* makes a mess of the housework, but *she* is successful tending store. The story ends with mother staying home (where she does a better job than father) and Mr. Pifflesniff going back to *his* place, which is the store. This is a biased, dangerous story in that it reinforces the sexual stereotype of woman's place, man's work.

The male parental role is more humanely and efficiently performed, in fact, by the grandfather figure, who is shown in 2 of the later stories as being kind, sympathetic to children, able to function in the home. The grandfather in "The Mad Dog" (VI, 23) saves a stray dog from drowning and teaches his grandson to love the animal; the grandfather in "Bluey" (VI, 28) teaches two boys how to control a forest fire.

Particularly in "The Mad Dog" the grandfather provides a positive male image. However, it is important for Scout Foresman to give this role to the father as well, rather than to limit the competent, nurturant parental role to the mother or grandparent.

a. (2) Images of males—Children.

The male children in our sample are usually shown as being inventive, successful, active, adventurous. In "The First Dishes" (III, 25) the mother cooks while Torad, the young male child, plays with clay. Accidentally, he discovers the process of baking clay. The other members of the primitive community come to see Torad's bowls. The final illustration of the story shows Torad teaching the men of the society how to make bowls, while the women, one with a baby in her arms, passively look on. In "Billy's Find" (II, 18) Billy is successful selling his donuts and finding a dog. In "Eating Peanuts with Your Foot" (II, 19) one boy figures out how to eat peanuts with his foot by balancing the peanut on a seesaw. In "I Had a Little Pig" (I, 6) a boy makes a pig a new tail with hammer and nails. In "Bluey" (VI, 28) two adventurous male children heal a hurt bird and help put out a bush fire. In "The Mad Dog" Dan and his grandfather save a dog from drowning. (See also our comments on "Shoe Shine Boy," "Wang's Fourth," "Pete at the Zoo," and "The Swimming Hole" in Section 1 of this paper.)

In most of the stories in our sample, the male child has little contact with girls. He relates primarily to boys or men. An exception is "Jimmy's Pocket Aunt," in which Jimmy is a baby-sitter for his three-year-old aunt. He temporarily loses his Aunt Alice, but a Black policeman comes to his aid. Jimmy gets a positive self-image when he learns that the policeman, like Jimmy, has a young aunt. At the end of the story, Jimmy finds his aunt again. This story, we believe, is a good one because it encourages a nurturant, caring attitude for boys.[49]

One story which depicts the separation of boys and girls and also presents their separate activities in a stereotyped fashion is "Game to Play Outside in the City." (IV, 2) The illustrations show a racially mixed group of children, 5 girls and 7 boys. Although the Black and White children play together, the boys and girls do *NOT*. The boys' games are active and muscular—skully and boxball. The girls, however, play *living statutes*. Does that game suggest what they are expected to be when they grow up.

b. (1) Images of females—Adults.

Unlike the image presented of the adult male as an adventurous, achieving, inventive worker, the image of the adult female is generally that of a subordinate, nurturant, uninventive *homemaker*. In only one of the stories does a woman work outside the home, in "The Seven Little Pifflesniffs" II, 16), tending store. She gives up this tentative job, however, and come back to where she really belongs—the kitchen. This total lack of representation of working women in the Open Highways Series is a gross distortion, since in actuality over 43% of the women in our society have full-time jobs outside the home.[50] It is also significant that in *none* of the role-model stories of famous Americans do we find either a woman or, for that matter, a Black.[51]

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[49] Babysitting is one of the major sex-segregated occupations in our society, comprising 98% women. See Howard Ehrlich, "Selected Differences in the Life Chances of Men and Women in the United States," Research Group One Report No. 13, p. 5.

[50] See Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

*Of the adult women in our survey, the vast majority are mothers*, and are important to the story in peripheral, non-developing ways: (See VI, 21; V, 17; II, 16; V, 15; VI, 24; IV, 4; I, 7; IV, 6; IV, 1; VI, 28; II, 18; II, 12; III, 25). Grandmothers are depicted in II, 11; III, 22 and VI, 28, and grandmothers do not have the same kind of importance in the stories that grandfathers do (see section 2.a.(1) of this essay). In almost all of the stories the mother is treated in a limited, stereotyped role. She is shown putting away groceries and unable to deal with the situation ("Ernestine and Substance X"); often she is shown cooking ("Billy's Find," "Candy for Dinner," "The First Dishes"); giving warnings ("The Swimming Hole"); baking a cake ("The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock").

Of the non-mothers in our selection, we find Mrs. King from "Billy's Find," whose role is to consume: she buys Billy's donuts. In "Stone Soup" we meet a selfish old lady who is outwitted by a clever young man. In "Wang's Fourth" Mrs. Lee takes Wang to see the fireworks because she has no children; in other words, she *wanted* to be a mother but somehow failed. In the song "Oh, Susanna" (II, 15) Susanna is the *object* of a young man's affections. In "The Little Old Woman and How She Kept the Geese Warm" (I, 3) the old woman is so worried about her cold geese that she brings them into her house and she moves into her barn. Here the old woman is silly, nurturing, self-sacrificing—traditional stereotypes of women in our society.

The most blatantly sexist treatment of a woman among the 58 stories in our survey appears in "America's First 'Fill 'Er Up' Stations." A brief history of the emergence of gas stations, the essay ends with a cartoon. A male driving instructor and a woman driver are sitting in a lake. The caption reads: "If I had wanted the car washed, I would have said so."

This joke is an inexcusable attack on women drivers, who are constantly ridiculed in our sexist society.

The Guidelines set up by Scott Foresman (see section 3 of this essay) urge publishers to avoid this particular stereotype of women drivers, p. 2. Scott Foresman should surely follow that advice in this particular instance.

b. (2) Images of females—Children.

Female central characters are generally underrepresented in the stories we have read (only 19 of the 64 central characters are women). Of the girl children depicted, they are generally helpless, unsuccessful and unimaginative. They are also generally shown doing girls' activities.

In "Jimmy's Pocket Aunt" (II,11) the little girl gets lost. In "Candy for Dinner" (II,12) Candy is a token character and is part of the joke of the story. In "The Surprise" (III,22) Maria, the central character, is supposed to find a present, which she obviously could not do without her brothers' help. In the story "Ernestine and Substance X" two girls try to invent a vanishing formula and fail. (Actually, it is Ernestine's father who makes the damaged chair vanish by carrying it to the cellar.) In "Coats for Katie and Carmen" (I,7) the girls are shown in a steretoyped activity, going to the store for Carmen's mother. When it starts to rain, the grocer makes them raincoats out of boxes. Katie is another female stereotype, concerned with how funny she looks. But at least she's glad she's not wet.

Only a few stories in the entire sample present girls positively. In "Storm" (I,8) a girl *thinks* while walking in the rain. (The poem is similar to "Pete at the Zoo," in which a Black boy thinks about an elephant.) In "An Umbrella Joke" (I,10) a *small* boy asks questions which a *larger* girl answers. (This is a reversal of the usual situation.) The best story with a girl central character is "The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock" (VI,21), in which Bobby, the brother, is accused of hitting his neighbor's car. Twelve-year-old Suzy gathers the taillight glass, goes to the police, and proves that her brother is not guilty.

Although Suzy is the active, clever, problem-solving central character of this story, it is important to point out that her actions are done in order to win her brother's affection. Consequently, this story reinforces the sexist notion that if a woman does anything clever or constructive, she does it for the purpose of pleasing or helping a male. Nor does Suzy have a name of her own, Sherlock being the name of a famous *male* detective.

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[51] I wish to emphasize that this essay analyzes only a random sample of the Scott Foresman texts. One does find an occasional story of a famous woman, for example, Dolly Madison (IV, p. 272). Unfortunately, Dolly Madison is famous not for her own achievements so much as for the fact that she was the wife of a president.

If this section of our report seems unusually brief, it is brief because there is so little to say about the female characters of the Open Highways series. For women the open highway is closed. Women are underrepresented, undifferentiated, uninteresting. There are few positive role models for the thousands of Baltimore female elementary students using this textbook series to identify with.

### *3. Conclusions*

The Sexism in Textbooks Committee of Scott, Foresman has published a pamphlet (September, 1970) that establishes a set of *Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks.* In their opening statement the committee defines textbooks as sexist "if they omit the actions and achievements of women, if they demean women by using patronizing language, or if they show women only in stereotyped roles with less than the full range of human interests, traits, and capabilities" (p. 1).[32] It seems to us clear, after studying the stories in the Open Highways survey, that the Scott, Foresman series is "sexist" in nature.

To cite a few instances in which the Open Highways series is in violation of the guidelines proposed by the Sexism in Textbooks Committee:

*Recommendations for avoiding sexist language*

A. "Terms and titles which use 'man' to represent humanity have the effect of excluding women from participation in various human activities." (Guidelines, p. 5.) Comment: The story "Early Men" (III,24) uses the generic term *men* consistently in a way that excludes the existence of and contributions of women.

B. "Occupational terms often ignore the existence of women workers. Use terms that reflect the actual composition of the group." (Guidelines, p. 5.) Comment: In the story "Pirates Take Over Tampa (V,1)) the sexist term *businessmen* is used in such a way as to ignore the existence of women workers

C. "Males are often chosen to represent 'typical' examples, thereby excluding women from the reader's thoughts . . . Examples of sexist language . . . the typical American . . . he; the motorist . . . he." (Guidelines, p. 5.) Comment: In a vast majority of the stories in our sample, men are chosen to represent the "typical" or "ideal American" model. See in particular the stories discussed in Section 2.a. of this evaluation—the Image of Males—Adults—for comments on Jacob Riss, Ernest Hamwi, Larry Bidlake, etc.

D. "Writers should take care that a joke about a woman who is a bad driver, a shrewish mother-in-law, financially inept, etc., does not present these qualities as typical of women as a group." (Guidelines, pp. 2–3.) Comment: In the essay "The First 'Fill 'er Up' Stations" (V,27) a joke about a woman driver presents poor driving as a quality typical of all women.

E. "Both men and women should be shown cooking, cleaning, making household repairs, doing laundry, washing the car and taking care of children. Both men and women should be shown making decisions; participating in sports; writing poetry; working in factories, stores and offices; playing musical instruments; practicing medicine and law; serving on boards of directors; and making scientific discoveries." (Guidelines, pp. 3–4) Comment: In *only one* of the stories in our survey is a woman portrayed working outside of the home; in the same story we have the only instance where a man cooks and cleans—"The Seven Little Pifflesniffs" (II,16) The implications of the story are that men should do *men's* work (in the store) and women should do women's work (in the home). The Open Highways stories in our sample make absolutely *no* effort to show men and women in non-stereotyped work situations.

The above excerpts from the *Guidelines* are only a few of the valuable insights into the nature of sexism in children's books. It is hoped that the Scott, Foresman *Guidelines* will have wide distribution, both among other publishers and among the teachers who use the Open Highways (*or any other basically sexist*) series in their classrooms.

## IV. CONCLUSION

### *A. Statistical analysis*

The following statistical analysis is based on judgments made of which character or characters in each story are "central". In many instances, there are several characters, often of different sex and race, judged to be central to a story.

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[32] A copy of *Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks* accompanies this report.

TABLE 1.—SEX OF CENTRAL CHARACTERS: RAW FIGURES [53]

| | Ginn | Macmillan | S.R.A. | Scott, Foresman | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 56 | 27 | 34 | 19 | 136 |
| Male | 113 | 65 | 93 | 45 | 316 |

[53] The discrepancy which appears between the number of central characters in the race category and the number in the sex category is due to the fact that we could not always determine the race of the central characters. In addition, many of the stories have animals as central characters; their sex can be determined, but they cannot, of course, be classified by race.

TABLE 2.—PERCENTAGES OF FEMALE AND MALE CENTRAL CHARACTERS

[In percent]

| | Ginn | Macmillan | S.R.A. | Scott, Foresman | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 33 | 29 | 27 | 30 | 30 |
| Male | 67 | 71 | 73 | 70 | 70 |

TABLE 3.—RATIOS OF MALE CENTRAL CHARACTERS TO FEMALE CENTRAL CHARACTERS

| | |
|---|---|
| Ginn | 2:1 |
| Macmillan | 2.3:1 |
| S.R.A. | 2.7:1 |
| Scott, Foresman | 2.4:1 |
| Total | 2.3:1 |

TABLE 4.—RACE OF CENTRAL CHARACTERS: RAW FIGURES [53]

| | Ginn | Macmillan | S.R.A. | Scott, Foresman | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Blacks | 7 | 24 | 4 | 5 | 40 |
| Whites | 159 | 57 | 73 | 51 | 340 |
| Others | 3 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 25 |

[53] The discrepancy which appears between the number of central characters in the race category and the number in the sex category is due to the fact that we could not always determine the race of the central characters. In addition, many of the stories have animals as central characters; their sex can be determined, but they cannot, of course, be classified by race.

TABLE 5.—PERCENTAGES OF BLACK, WHITE AND "OTHER" CENTRAL CHARACTERS

[In percent]

| | Ginn | Macmillan | S.R.A. | Scott, Foresman | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Blacks | 4 | 26 | 5 | 8 | 10 |
| Whites | 94 | 62 | 88 | 84 | 84 |
| Others | 2 | 12 | 7 | 8 | 6 |

TABLE 6.—RATIOS

| | Ginn | Macmillan | S.R.A. | Scott, Foresman | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White/black | 23:1 | 2.4:1 | 18:1 | 10:1 | 8.5:1 |
| White/others | 53:1 | 5:1 | 12:1 | 10:1 | 13.6:1 |
| White/black and others | 16:1 | 11:7 | 7:1 | 5:1 | 5.2:1 |

TABLE 7.—SEX AND RACE

| | Ginn | | Macmillan | | S.R.A. | | Scott, Foresman | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Raw figures | Percent | Raw figures | Percent | Raw figures | Percent | Raw figures | Percent | Raw figures | Percent |
| Black female | 3 | 1.8 | 7 | 7.6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1.6 | 11 | 2.7 |
| White female | 53 | 31.3 | 17 | 18.5 | 23 | 27.7 | 14 | 23.0 | 107 | 26.4 |
| Other female | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3.3 | 1 | 1.2 | 1 | 1.6 | 5 | 1.2 |
| Black male | 4 | 2.4 | 17 | 18.5 | 4 | 4.8 | 4 | 6.5 | 29 | 7.2 |
| White male | 106 | 62.7 | 40 | 43.4 | 50 | 60.3 | 37 | 60.6 | 233 | 57.5 |
| Other male | 3 | 1.8 | 8 | 8.7 | 5 | 6.0 | 4 | 6.5 | 20 | 5.0 |

The most striking fact about the statistical breakdown for sex of central characters for these four publishers is that the figures show such close similarity. In each series, about 70% of the stories have male central characters, while 30% have female. It is not difficult to postulate some unspoken principle of textbook publishing which assumes that about 70% of the stories should be male-centered. There is absolutely no argument which can support this obvious bias.

With regard to race of central characters, the obvious gains Macmillan has made with its Bank Street Series remain inadequate. The elementary school populations of most American cities—certainly of Baltimore—are over 50% Black. And yet the "best" textbook series out of those included in this study still features White central characters in 62% of a sample of stories.

Taking a look at the combined variables of sex and race of central characters (Table 7), the clear and unmistakable underlying bias of our culture is revealed. Of a total of 137 stories in 6 readers, in every series but 1, over 60% of the central characters are *White males*. A relatively small proportion of the urban school population is being handed an enormous piece of the educational pie.

### *B. The damaging effects of sexual stereotyping in textbooks*

In the first section of this report we demonstrated that sex-role stereotyping causes considerable psychological and economic damage by:

1. Limiting the role of adult women to the home or to low-paying, low-status jobs outside of the home.
2. Ignoring and devaluing the contributions of women to our society.
3. Encouraging girl children towards dependency, passivity and incompetency.
4. Encouraging boy children towards competition, aggressiveness and lack of feeling for others.

We have also demonstrated that racial stereotyping causes psychological and economic damage by:

1. Failing to provide Blacks and other ethnic groups with positive career models.
2. Failing to reflect the particular cultural achievements and differences of Blacks and other minority groups.
3. Fostering the concept of "fitting into" the dominant White culture instead of encouraging pride in one's own racial or ethnic heritage.

Because they promote the values of the dominant White male culture and because they generally fail to provide positive self-images for women, Blacks or other minority groups, The Reading 360 Series and 1964 edition Readers (Ginn); the Bank Street Series (Macmillan); the Comprehensive (Basal) Reading Program (S.R.A.) and the Open Highways Series (Scott, Foresman), damage children, reflect and reinforce social injustice.

### *C. General trends toward role steretoyping in the textbook series in this study*

Although each series subjected to analysis has its own particular patterns of racial or sexual stereotyping, and although some of the textbooks are more blatantly stereotyped than others, we have nevertheless observed the following general trends:

1. Racial Stereotyping—All of the textbooks series under consideration tend to:

a. Underrepresent Blacks and other minority groups.

b. Show Blacks participating in predominantly White groups rather than either functioning in an ethnic setting or having Whites participating in a predominantly Black group.

c. Fail to deal honestly with the socio-economic oppression of Blacks and other ethnic minorities.

d. Show Blacks and other ethnic groups more frequently in history or in fantasy than in a realistic contemporary setting.

e. Show far fewer Black females than Black males.

### *2. Sexual stereotyping*

a. Males—All of the textbook series under consideration tend to:

1. Focus on the achievements of White males.

2. Show males as resourceful, adventurous, successful individuals.

3. Present men as models for such classifications as "the ideal American," or feature male achievements in most factual articles.

4. Show men in positions of power or authority—doctors, scientists, astronauts, writers, breadwinners—usually carrying briefcases.

5. Show boys solving problems, acquiring information, achieving manhood, excelling in sports, working out conflicts, exhibiting courage and resourcefulness.

6. Show boys relating to other boys in teams, games, athletic events or clubhouses, and excluding girls from their activities.

b. Females—All of the texbook series under consideration tend to:

1. Show adult women primarily as mothers, indoors.

2. Ignore women as workers outside the home.

3. Show women as deriving their sense of worth from being self-sacrificing and family-identified rather than from being full individuals in their own right.

4. Show adult women in stereotyped roles—mother, witch, little old lady.

5. Show women in typical domestic roles—washinging dishes, buying groceries, doing the laundry, baking a cake—usually wearing an apron.

6. Show girls in passive or failure situations, generally indoors.

7. Show girls as lacking bravery, skill, and initiative.

8. Show girls preparing for their future domestic roles—babysitting, shopping for Mommy, learning to cook, worrying about clothing.

9. Show girls alone or with one other girl rather than in groups.

10. Underrepresent girls as central characters.

### *D. Positive self-image stories*

A few of the stories in each series contain positive images, either for women or for racial minorities, but usually not for both. The following is a list of stories which seem relatively free from stereotyping and which offer positive images.

1. Positive images for Blacks and other ethnic groups:

a. Ginn: "Benjy's Bird".

b. Macmillan: "Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers" "Thank You, Thank You, Carlos".

c. S.R.A. "Toma"; "More Important than Gold Medals"; "Good Luck".

d. Scott, Foresman: "Pete at the Zoo"; "Billy's Find"; "Swimming Hole".

2. Positive images for girls and women:

a. Ginn: None.

b. Macmillan: "First Painting"; "Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers".

c. S.R.A. "The Gypsy Life"; "A Visit with an Artist"; "One Last Setting Hen for Miss Uppabove's Class"; "Rover and the Rogue".

d. Scott, Foresman: "Storm"; "The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock".

However, even in the stories which present positive images of Blacks or women, there still remain subtle elements of stereotyping or of ethnic or sexist bias.

For example, "One Last Setting Hen for Miss Uppabove's Class" (S.R.A.) is a story about an unmarried elementary school teacher, a woman in a stereotypically female profession. She teaches a lesson in embryo gestation in which the message is implicit that maternal function, as opposed to indepedence from it, brings happiness. In "Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers" (Macmillan) Mrs. Waters succeeds in overturning the rule against gardens in parks. ("flower power"—a substitute for Black power?) Her success, however, is brought about in large measure by accident. A newspaper reporter just happens to be in the Mayor's office during one of her abortive attempts to see him. All characters depicted in power positions in the story are male. "Benjy's Bird", which appears in *With Skies and Wings* (Ginn) is about a young Black boy who, discovering a baby robin with a broken wing, brings him into his home and with help from his parents nurses the bird to health. The robin stays with Benjy all spring and summer but flies away in the Fall. Benjy is saddened at the loss of his pet, but his mother and father console him and he learns to appreciate his experience. The positive factors in this story include the fact that Benjy, a boy, is shown as a sensitive, feeling child, engaged in a nurturative experience. The story is full of love and gentleness which stands in contrast to stereotypical boy action stories elsewhere in the Ginn readers which stress physical valor, suppression of feeling and real emotion. The Black family in this story openly shows love, affection and concern for one another. Unfortunately, there are no girls in the story. The mother is shown in the domestic stereotyped role and pictured with an apron, serving the food. In "Swimming Hole" (Scott, Foresman) a Black and a White boy are able to work out their racial conflict. Yet the story is full of sexual stereotypes; the only woman is the Black boy's mother, who is a housewife; there are no girls in the story. In "The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock" (Scott, Foresman) Suzy solves the mystery of who hit the neighbor's car, primarily in order to win the approval of her older brother. The mother in the story provides the happy ending by baking a cake. The above are only a few examples of how, even in the consciously non-sexist on non-racist stories, there nevertheless remains a considerable degree of bias.

We would hope that publishers begin to examine their readers with regard to racial and sexual stereotyping, and that they realize that *both* forms of bias must be eliminated if the texts are to serve the needs of the students. A group of women at Scott, Foresman have recently issued a set of *Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks* in which they state that: "Because of past discrimination, the same care must be taken in portraying women as in portraying Blacks, Perto Ricans, Chicanos, American Indians, and other minorities." (p. 3) Our study clearly indicates that, indeed, adequate steps have *not* been taken by *any* of the four publishers in our survey towards eliminating racial or sexual stereotyping in textbooks.

## V. RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of our analysis of five textbook series used extensively in the Baltimore City Schools, we must conclude that none are free from racial or sexual bias. Further study might perhaps unearth an ideal reader used somewhere in the city school system; this possibility, however, is not very likely. Nor is it likely that Baltimore City would have the available funds to purchase this hypothetically non-biased series for the entire school population. It seems, then, that the best use to be made of the available texts is to help each student become aware of the racial and sexual stereotyping present in the stories they are reading. This consciousness can only come about if the teachers are attuned to the subtle sexist implications of the vast majority of the stories being read in the elementary schools.

Teacher-awareness of the problems of racial and sexual stereotyping could be strengthened through the following means:

A. The study which we have prepared should be reproduced and distributed so that each teacher in the school system who uses these readers can study our findings.

B. Teachers should be encouraged to read some of the key studies of textbooks which are included in our Bibliography; the most crucial items in the list are starred (*).

C. Teachers and administrators should receive further exposure through seeing some of the pertinent slide shows which are available and by having active dialogues following the slide show presentations. Recommended slide shows are listed under "Related Sources" in the Bibliography.

D. We would propose, if funding is available, that the Baltimore Feminist Project conduct a series of In-Service Workshops so that some of the above recommendations might be facilitated.

We would additionally recommend that interested parents and other members of the community have the opportunity to study this report. Parents might also be inerested in participating in a series of community workshops which would focus on sexual and racial stereotyping, not only in elementary school textbooks, but also in television advertising, comic books, television programs aimed at children, library books, toys and other media through which children are influenced. The Baltimore Feminist Project would be willing to initiate a community workshop of this nature, provided that funding were available.

Finally, we recommend that public pressure be applied to publishers, insisting that there be a change in the present textbooks and that elementary school readers be revised so that there be a wider range of choice for women, Blacks, and other neglected groups. It would seem that the Textbook Selection Committee of the Baltimore City School System would be in the position to apply such pressure. We would hope that the report we have prepared will provide the committee with enough factual information to convince publishers that their textbooks are indeed deficient in providing positive role models for the majority of the students in the schools of this city.

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### SLIDE SHOWS AND GRAPHICS

*Feminists on Children's Media, P. O. Box 4315, Grand Central Station, New York, New York (slide show on textbooks and general children's books).

*Weitzman, Lenore J., Sociology Department, University of California at Davis, Davis, California 95616 (slide show based on "Sex Role Socialization in Picture Books for Pres-School Children.")

*Women on Words and Images, P. O. Box 2163, Princeton, N. J. 08540 (slide show based on *Dick and Jane as Victims.*)

Feminist Resources for Equal Education. "Community Helpers" (#1) and "Professional Women" (#2). (Sets of 8 black and white photographs of women in non-stereotyped professions.) Write: Box 185, Saxonville Station, Framingham, Mass. 01701.